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'Do you ever get this feeling...?'

University Teacher narratives from a research-led university

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MA Hons

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Abstract

In 2002 a contractually differentiated teaching-focused post, University Teacher (UT), was created within my Russell Group HEI. This interpretivist study seeks to explore the impact of the 'lived experience' of this recent post on both myself and a group of 11 colleagues, some of whom were transferred and others employed as UTs. A narrative approach is adopted to evaluate existing public stories of the UK HE sector and changing definitions of academic functions and identities alongside original private stories, both my own and those co-constructed with participants. My primary research comprised in-depth narrative interviews with four Senior UTs, six UTs and one research-focused Lecturer recently transferred from a UT post. The interviews sought to elicit participants' storied accounts of professional identity construction and management on the career paths towards their current posts and beyond. The interview data was examined reflexively using a pragmatic hybrid model based on a range of narrative analytic lenses: structural and linguistic narrative analysis of three case studies, together with thematic analysis of narratives across all 11 interviews.

The participants shared highly personal, emotional and reflective accounts. The case study analysis centred on the identification and scrutiny of overarching plotlines, key episodes, genres and characterisation. The thematic analysis revealed common concerns around the job title, the relative weightings and status of teaching and scholarship, the nature of scholarship and career progression. The complex connection between intra-, inter-, cultural and structural dimensions proved key; personal values and agency, relationships with peers and managers, and institutional and sectoral priorities were all essential to the achievement of a progressive, as opposed to a regressive or static, UT identity typology. UTs clearly had some control over their own agency. However, institutional leaders and line managers were seen to have more significant power to promote or inhibit identity growth for academics on differentiated contracts.

Changes have recently been made to the UT post in relation to the job title and promotion criteria. In the conclusions I suggest that further research is needed on the effect of these changes and on the impact of contractual differentiation on staff and students across the HE sector. Implications for institutions and staff on how to facilitate teaching-focused academics' positive identity growth are also put forward.

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List of Abbreviations

AUT	Association of University Teachers
BIS	Business, Innovation and Skills
CAQDAS	Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software
ELIR	Enhancement-led Institutional Review
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
GTA	Graduate Teaching Assistant
HE	Higher Education
HEA	Higher Education Academy
HEI	Higher Education institution
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HR	Human Resources
ILT	Institute for Learning and Teaching
LC	Learning community
LTDF	Learning and Teaching Development Fund
LT&S	Learning, Teaching and Scholarship
LTSN	Learning and Teaching Support Network
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
P&DR	Performance and Development Review
PG	Postgraduate
QAA(S)	Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland)
R	Research
R&T	Research and Teaching
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
REF	Research Excellence Framework
RET	Recognising Excellence in Teaching
RUK	Rest of United Kingdom (not Scotland)
SFC	Scottish Funding Council
SNP	Scottish National Party
SoTL	Scholarship of Teaching and Learning
SRC	Students' Representative Council
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths
SUT	Senior University Teacher
TEF	Teaching Excellence Framework
UCU	University and College Union
UG	Undergraduate
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UT	University Teacher

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To all of my lovely family and friends, for keeping me going when the going got tough. You know who you are - and I hope you also know how very very much you were, and are, appreciated!

Finally, I dedicate this with all my love to mum who always told me I could do it, to dad who wasn't able to see me do it, and to Ella who grew up through it.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature

Printed name

Jane Sarah O'Reilly Cavani

Chapter 1

Once upon a time... Part 1. Setting the scene via my own story

1.1 In the beginning...

The first academic career story of this study, my own personal story of the professional and the personal intertwined, begins with the first course I undertook on the part-time EdD programme, a course entitled *Critical Reflection in Professional Learning and Practice*, which required me to produce a critically reflective professional autobiography. This consideration of my professional ‘journey’ with its focus on significant experiences, changing circumstances and ensuing choices was intellectually and emotionally challenging in the unfamiliar reflective methods of ‘transport’ used, the ‘ground’ covered and the ‘destination(s)’ reached. In her study on reflective teachers as ‘minds that watch themselves’, Holly (1993:157) chooses an apposite quote from Aldous Huxley that perfectly illustrates the significant impact of such an undertaking:

So the journey is over and I am back again, richer by much experience and poorer by many exploded convictions, many perished certainties. For convictions and certainties are too often the concomitants of ignorance... I set out on my travels knowing, or thinking I knew, how men should live, how be educated, what they should believe.... Now... I find myself without any of these pleasing certainties.... The better you understand the significance of any question, the more difficult it becomes to answer it.

Through being compelled to make this difficult journey, and to recount it, I grasped a particular seminal moment in my own professional trajectory that has ultimately provided me with both the research question I seek to explore and the research approach I have adopted in this study. Please note that I have opted to name my university from the outset. This decision was taken following a great deal of reflection, consultation with participants and discussion with supervisors and critical friends, as is considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

Now, are you sitting comfortably? Then I’ll begin...

1.2 Telling my story

In the spring of 2002, after three years in post as a new Lecturer working since its foundation in 1999 on the University of Glasgow's small, rural, multi-institutional satellite campus in Dumfries, some 80 miles south-west of the main Glasgow campus, I attended my end-of-probation appraisal. There I unexpectedly found myself placed under great pressure by the review panel to move 'sideways' from Lecturer on a Research and Teaching (R&T) contract to a post I had never heard of: the University's recently created University Teacher (UT) post on a newly differentiated Learning, Teaching and Scholarship (LT&S) contract. This would result in my losing the requirement to produce refereed published research, while simultaneously gaining additional teaching and administrative responsibilities.

I subsequently became acutely aware of the importance attached by the University to the then Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) - now Research Excellence Framework (REF) - given its 'strong reputational and financial value' and its 'powerful effect on management decisions in universities' (Newall, 2008:136). The pivotal role of the RAE in determining the selective distribution of government funds was becoming clear, having intensified nationally since the 1980s and 90s as successive governments embraced an agenda characterised, according to Ball (2003:215, original emphasis), by 'three interrelated **policy technologies**: the market, managerialism and performativity'. This last term was defined by Lyotard (1984:xxiv) as organisational discourse and behaviour aimed at 'optimizing the system's performance-efficiency'. While a continuous increase in HE student numbers had been actively pursued by UK governments since the drafting of the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, 1963) in an effort to promote national economic growth, cuts in state funding of HE from the 1980s onwards were contributing to the rise in competition between UK HE institutions (HEIs). This dwindling proportion of core public funding - representing only 60% of the income of Scottish universities by 2002 (Universities Scotland, 2002) - had increasingly compelled HEIs to vie with one another in pursuit of additional income streams from private sources. Consequently, like recent governments, universities were progressively adopting more 'managerial structures, mechanisms and values' (Henkel, 2005:159). In such a climate, Ball

(2003) contends, monitoring systems and production of information such as the RAE are foregrounded. This phenomenon was magnified in my university given its status as a founding member of both the Russell Group, established in 1994 as the UK universities' 'gold standard in an increasingly competitive global market' (Russell Group, 2010:1), and the international Universitas 21 network established in 1997 as 'the leading global network of research universities for the 21st century' (Universitas 21, 2017:1). It was therefore striving not only to remain in the top flight of UK universities, but also to compete on an increasingly international footing.

Clearly then, in 2002, it was becoming paramount for my university to feature as close to the top of the RAE table as possible, and to have as many RAE-returnable staff as possible, in order to secure the highest rankings and maximum funding possible. This impetus placed growing pressure on academic staff to publish what were deemed high quality texts in order to safeguard both institutional and individual advancement, irrespective, it seemed to me, of personal or professional circumstances. There seemed no space to accommodate my personal identity as a new mother who had decided to move to part-time working following a period of maternity leave. Nor were my particular professional conditions and choices taken into account; in my case a local management-directed, and personally-embraced, focus on the establishment of our outreach campus and its new curricula as a means to providing accessible HE in a low-income rural area, rather than on the production of individual research outputs. Barnett (1988:102) seemed justified in his assessment that 'the intrinsic character of performance indicators is such that they are bound to divert institutions' attention away from their essential purposes, values and continuing processes'. For him, as for me, these purposes comprised, and continue to comprise, a fine balance of four essential elements that in many respects defy the numerical measurement of standard performance indicators (Barnett, 1988:112):

the development of the student's critical abilities, the life of research as critical inquiry, [...] open access and continuing education, and [...] academic community as characterised by openness and constructive, collaborative, critical dialogue.

I initially resisted the suggested change in contract to UT in 2002 and was supported in this position by the local branch of my trade union - the Association of University Teachers (AUT), now University and College Union (UCU) - which had expressed objections to the University's Director of Human Resources (HR) in the lead-up to the introduction of this differentiated academic post. However, I came to review the situation a few years later. In the intervening period the campus had been threatened with closure and increasing efforts had been required to recruit and retain students. I had therefore agreed to assume additional administrative and support roles on top of my existing teaching commitments, leaving me even less time for research on my part-time contract. I consequently struggled to find my place as an academic with no PhD in a specific departmental context that obliged me to prioritise teaching, but in which institutional performance requirements also demanded both a doctorate and an enhanced research profile. This tension caused me to become more and more 'ontologically insecure' as Ball defines it in relation to UK school teachers (2003:220):

unsure whether we are doing enough, doing the right thing, doing as much as others, or as well as others, constantly looking to improve, to be better, to be excellent. And yet it is not always very clear what is expected.

On a personal level, I had also become a lone parent during the same period and was finding it progressively more difficult to find a tolerable work-life balance, culminating in a short period of stress-related absence; not an uncommon phenomenon among academics as revealed by the UCU's 2010 and 2014 surveys on occupational stress (Kinman, 2011; University and College Union, 2014). When the campus was reprieved, I realised that I had been managing the ongoing identity tensions by choosing to focus on tasks in keeping with my normative conception of HE as a form of community 'service' both within and beyond the campus walls (Macfarlane, 2005). I was thereby tacitly conceding that I could not in fact 'do it all' in terms of teaching, research and service, the 'tripartite [...] cornerstone of conventional assumptions about higher education' (Macfarlane, 2011a:59). I therefore ultimately requested a move to UT, enabling me fully to focus on my strengths in teaching and academic service and thereby to create a new professional story of success rather than one of inadequacy.

And yet, I did this with misgivings at several levels, echoing other less positive accounts of teaching-focused posts circulating in HE circles. My sense of failure at not being able to fulfil all three aspects (research, teaching and service) required of my Lecturer post felt like I was single-handedly creating a fissure in the foundations of both my HE institution and the wider HE sector. This sense of HE mission fracture arose despite the misgivings of some researchers regarding the existence of any such research-teaching nexus, with Hughes (2005) writing of the mythology of such a relationship, and Scott (2005) questioning whether research-teaching links are increasingly ones of divergence or convergence.

My unease also grew with regard to the seemingly stigmatised lower status of teaching-focused posts such as the University Teacher evident in the accounts of various interested parties. For example an AUT research paper examining the rise of teaching-only academics in the UK hypothesised that the increase in such posts reflected ‘the widely reported practice of institutions transferring **under-performing** teaching-and-research academics onto teaching-only contracts in the run-up to the 2008 Research Assessment Exercise’ (Association of University Teachers, 2005:2, emphasis added in bold). Moreover, in the *Times Higher Education*, Oxford (2008) reaffirmed this attitude by entitling an article assessing the rise of teaching-only academics ‘A **lesser** breed?’ (emphasis added in bold). Finally, other teaching-focused colleagues clearly shared this discomfort as rather comically, if somewhat ironically, illustrated by an image (see Figure 1.1 below) emailed by a UT colleague Megan (pseudonym) by way of a Christmas greeting, under the subject header ‘*Do you ever get this feeling...?*’ (Megan, 2012):

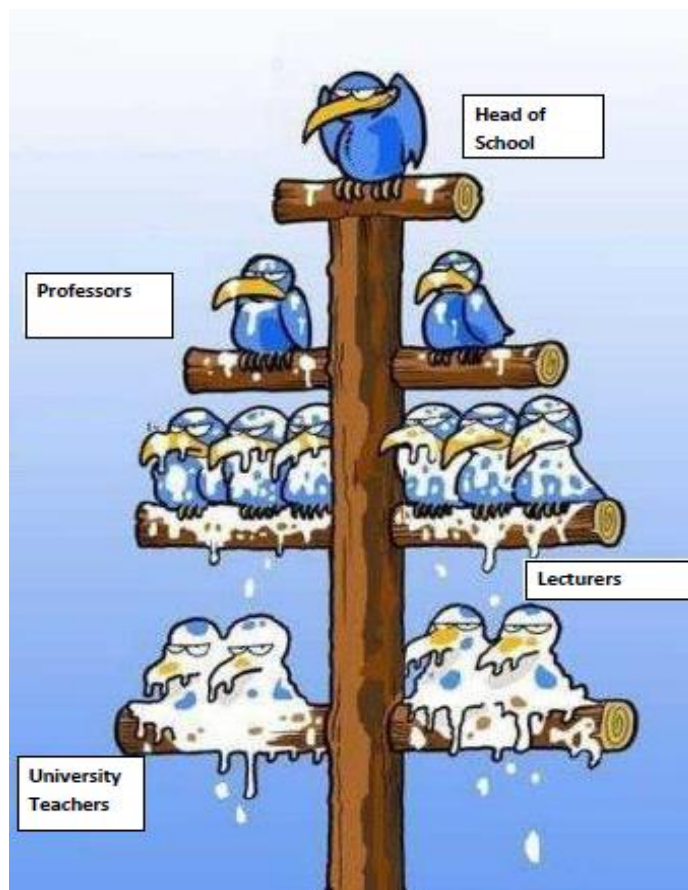


Figure 1.1:
Christmas greeting from UT colleague depicting ironic image of academic hierarchy
(Megan, 2012, text boxes added).
Image available from flickr: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/zipckr/4580812339/>

This image, while raising a wry smile, also seemed a perfect visual representation of some of my feelings regarding my post as a UT: shame and discontent at what could be perceived as a form of de-professionalising ‘downshifting’ (Troman and Woods, 2000:262). It was to become an unanticipated trigger point for this study.

1.3 Understanding my story

The EdD *Critical Reflection* course required me not simply to tell the ‘what’ of my professional story, but also to examine the ‘how’ of it. This dual focus on the thematic content of the story, and on the structure or form it is given by the teller, are two aspects of narrative analysis that accomplish different ends. As Tuval-Mashiach explains (2006:250):

Although content analysis tells the researcher about the narrator’s ideas and values and about the context in which he or she lives, form analysis highlights the narrator’s subjective experience of the developmental plot.

As such, she elaborates, the content is usually more consciously controlled by a participant, while the form is more spontaneous and unconscious and may therefore be less open to manipulation. An additional aspect of exploring 'how' autobiographical stories are composed is close study of the discourses they use, in other words analysing narratives as verbal (and non-verbal) 'performances' or exercises in 'social positioning' aiming at the creation and projection of 'preferred identities' (Riessman, 2002). Let me now examine the 'what' and 'how' of my story via these different analytic approaches.

1.3.1 *What does my story say?*

Beginning with a thematic approach to the analysis of my narrative, focusing on the **content** or holistic 'what' of the story, prompts a series of rather pessimistic interpretations. On the face of it, I do seem to have yielded to the temptation to escape the 'corporate enterprise' pressures of HE today (Henkel, 1997) by submitting to what the University required of me in order to maximise its revenue rather than following my own principles. I thereby appear to have been chanting a singular corporate mantra and pushing my own story into the shadows. Or, as Churchman and King (2009) might claim, I have allowed the official public story of the University to hold sway over my own private story. Moreover, by reducing my role and withdrawing from audited research activity to focus on teaching, I may simply have swapped one chase after ratings and income for another, namely student experience ratings and tuition fees. In so doing I may in fact have succumbed to 'the dark side of the social self', becoming an inauthentic 'slave to social valuation' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000:8-9) through 'cynical compliance' with changing institutional goals (Ball, 2003:224). And this, I fear, may have resulted in damage, not only to my individual sense of psycho-social coherence, but also to the wider community identity of HE itself, contributing to a 'hollowing out of what it means to be an academic' (Macfarlane, 2011a:69).

Simultaneously, an alternative set of more optimistic interpretations may also be read in the content of my story. By choosing an escape route from my former passive 'retreatism' as a non-publishing Lecturer through the more active and positive 'self-actualising re-routeing' (Troman and Woods, 2000:265) of opting to

become a UT, I may in essence have succeeded in reconstructing myself as a more authentic and agentic being in a changed organisational context; albeit a reconstruction more by decree than by design. Much research has acknowledged just such opportunities for greater agency in creating new forms of academic identity in evolving circumstances (Archer, 2008; Barnett, 2005; Clegg, 2008; Harris, 2005; Henkel, 2007; McInnis, 2010; Smith *et al.*, 2016; Whitchurch, 2010). Indeed, by creating the post of University Teacher, the University of Glasgow could be construed as attempting to tell a different story of specialised, rather than fragmented, academic identity that allows for a more equal valuing of both teaching and research. In point of fact the UT post was set up on the same salary scale and conditions of employment as that of Lecturers, with ostensibly corresponding opportunities for promotion to Senior UT and Professor¹. In addition, a number of teaching-related status-enhancing rewards have been established in HE in recent decades. This phenomenon has occurred nationally through the Higher Education Academy (HEA), founded in 2004 with the core proposition of ‘improving learning outcomes by raising the status and quality of teaching in higher education’ (Higher Education Academy, 2017:1). It has also been replicated at the level of the individual university, for example through the *Teaching Excellence Awards* that first ran in my university in 2005-06, and the more recently established institutional Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) website, *beSoTLed*, whose stated purpose is to:

promote the development of teaching and enhancement of the learning environment by providing practical, collegial, academic and pastoral support for staff to engage with the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning. (University of Glasgow, 2017a:1)

Moreover the University has afforded me a certain academic freedom to forge a new professional identity since I transitioned to UT, with space to pursue new interests and goals for the benefit of both my community and myself, as evidenced by the encouragement given to me to develop my scholarship activity by undertaking an EdD funded by my School².

¹ The job title has now reverted back to Lecturer. However, the differentiated academic tracks - research-focused and teaching-focused - remain. This will be explored in more detail in the interview data analysis undertaken in Chapters 4 and 5.

² The University of Glasgow structure now comprises Colleges and Schools in place of what were previously named Faculties and Departments.

And yet a number of inconsistencies remain despite institutional attempts to overcome them. For example, there has been a documented lack of clarity regarding the differences between the two principal academic tracks, Research and Teaching *versus* Learning, Teaching and Scholarship (Gunn *et al.*, 2014; Mackenzie *et al.*, 2010; Naula, 2014). The main concerns identified by these studies, and reflected in my own story, centre on perceived lack of parity of esteem and on confusion surrounding definitions of scholarship *versus* research. These issues merit further exploration.

1.3.2 *How does my story say it?*

Turning now to closer analysis of the form or shape I chose to give my professional story, what is revealed? Labov and Waletzky (1967), and later Labov (1997; 2001; 2006; 2013), developed an analytic model of the structure of oral narrative quite narrowly defined as an account of a past event. This model has six distinct components which are applied to a given story in order to facilitate evaluation of the temporal sequencing or plot created by the storyteller and thereby better to understand their perception of past events: abstract; orientation; complicating action; evaluation; resolution; and coda. Applying this model to my own story I note that I did indeed provide an ‘abstract’ and ‘orientation’ to set the scene (the contexts, individual and sectoral), posited a ‘complicating action’ (my probationary review meeting), moved to an ‘evaluation’ of what this event meant to me then and means to me now from various perspectives, before reaching a ‘resolution’ (the decision to move to UT) and a ‘coda’ (the meaningful linkages I have since made between this event and my professional identity, present and future). Through the linear structure of its subsequent telling I clearly aspired to impose coherence on, and derive meaning from, a critical turning point in my career that was far from coherent at the point of experience.

However, I would concur with various narrative specialists (Bold, 2012; Patterson, 2013; Riessman, 1993) that this narrow structural approach may be rather limited and prescriptive in scope. As with the analysis of content, there is more to be discerned in the structure and the discourse of a story than its outer frame. For example, alternative readings are perceptible in discursive

incoherence, or tensions between the surface story told and ‘narrative difficulties’, or ‘submerged stories’ touched upon but not fully articulated (Chase, 1995). Like the layered stories of female school superintendents elicited by Chase, deeper probing of my story reveals a number of difficulties in reconciling ‘two distinct experiences of self’ (Chase, 1995:13). For example, I perceive both negative and positive public accounts of teaching-focused posts in HE. My particular story also displays contradictions between the coherent linear chronology of the abstract, orientation and complicating action and the more incoherent movement backwards and forwards in the evaluation and coda, despite the fact that this particular narrative was a more considered written account rather than a spontaneous oral one. Opposing depictions of my ‘preferred’ protagonist identity (Riessman, 2002) are also discernible. In the first instance, one of ‘guilt’ about being prompted to move to UT by management, set against one of ‘innocence’ given my later understandings of the wider political and economic drivers that led to the creation of such a post. Also, one of powerless ‘victim’ at being compelled to become a UT against my will, contrasted with one of powerful ‘heroine’ of the piece, exercising my autonomy to choose the role for my own reasons.

1.4 And...? So what? Why tell and read stories?

Does any of this matter? I believe so, since clearly how I decide to shape and ultimately understand my academic backstory will affect my future professional activities and thereby affect those with whom I come into contact. As Churchman and King (2009:510) state, ‘narratives thus created are not only conversational realities but are also constituents of ongoing and institutionalised patterns of societal conduct’. Could my seeming inability to reconcile either/or aspects of my differentiated professional identity be a barrier to living successfully as an academic? Or, is the potential issue more accurately the dominance of discourses that tends to perceive identity in weighted binary terms, rather than viewing different storied understandings of identity as the postmodern ebbs and flows of an inherently shifting process, the inherently ‘dialogic self’ (Bakhtin, 1981)?

In her exploration of the formation of secondary teacher identity through an analysis of various narratives, metaphors and philosophy statements elicited from six pre-service student teachers, Alsup (2006:181) discovered that ‘an awareness of nonunitary subjectivities was important to holistic professional identity formation’. Clearly then, in the telling and reading of my particular story of being a UT many ideas have emerged and questions have arisen that have come to constitute the core of this study: the identity construction and management of teaching-focused academics. But why use stories as the lens through which to bring them into focus?

Narrative would seem a highly suitable approach for an exploration of differentiated academic identity for various reasons moving outwards from the individual to the social, as advanced by narrative researchers in a number of fields of social science. Riessman (1993:2) stresses the constructive power of narratives, affirming that ‘personal stories [...] are the means by which identities may be fashioned’. Riessman (2008:10) also contends that narratives are often triggered, as mine was, precisely at moments of instability or fracture: ‘When biographical disruptions occur that rupture expectations for continuity, individuals make sense of events through storytelling’. Bold (2012:13) defends the significance attached to the private and the particular in narrative research, highlighting ‘the importance of subjective meaning and emotion in making sense of social events and settings’. Chase (1995:2) extends the power of story-telling and story-reading into wider contexts, suggesting that ‘a major contribution of narrative analysis is the study of general social phenomena through a focus on their embodiment in specific life stories’. Fraser (2004:181) underlines the scope of narrative analysis to connect contexts rather than cultivate unbridgeable dichotomies: ‘to make sense of language’; to encourage ‘a plurality of truths to become known’; ‘to provide ways to understand the interactions that occur among individuals, groups and societies’; ‘to attend to context as well as idiosyncrasy’. It would therefore seem that narratives are able to challenge hegemonies and help people to live better, not just as individuals, but also in social groupings.

However proponents of the narrative approach also acknowledge common criticisms of it. Bochner (2001:133) engages with indictments of personal,

autobiographical or illness narratives which describe them as variously ‘ “a vulgar realism,” and “hyperauthentic,” “misleading,” “sentimental,” “exaggerated,” naively “heroic,” and a “romantic construction of the self” ’. Fraser (2004:182) concedes that stories can indeed be viewed as ‘escapist’. Griffiths and Macleod (2008:124) similarly acknowledge that they can at times be ‘dismissed as anecdotal’. Consequently, is an auto/biographical narrative approach genuinely useful? I believe so. In Squire’s view (2008), experience-centred narratives can be viewed as ‘the means of human sense-making’ (21), in which ‘personal change or transformation happens’ (24). According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:584) stories have the power to be ‘restorative of broken identities or shattered futures’. In short, telling stories may help us to live better by helping us to make sense of change in order to adapt and move forward in a positive way. Griffiths and Macleod (2008:139) argue very cogently for the place of auto/biographical research and counter criticisms that it is purely anecdotal as long as ‘it is presented critically and reflexively, and with attention paid to how far it is truthful and valid: accurate, sincere, representative’.

And yet, is close scrutiny of a lone insider narrative such as my personal career story, both deep enough and broad enough to address the issue of teaching-focused academic identity construction and management? Delamont (2007:2, original emphasis) criticises such autoethnography as lazy and unethical, claiming that it is ‘all experience, and is noticeably lacking in **analytic** outcome’, thereby failing to fulfil the basic tasks of social scientists: ‘to study the social world [...]; to move their discipline forward (and some would argue change society)’. Conversely Anderson (2006:375) argues that autoethnography can be ‘analytic’ as opposed to simply ‘evocative’, provided that the researcher is a full and disclosed member of the research setting under investigation and is ‘committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena’. Sikes and Potts (2008:7), while acknowledging potential issues associated with insider research in education, nonetheless stress its value, concluding that ‘research from the inside can be both scholarly and rigorous’.

This then is my outlook: to acknowledge and examine my emic, or inside-the-culture, position in relation to my own academic identity construction and management as a UT within the University of Glasgow, a research-intensive Russell Group and Universitas 21 university, and then move beyond that to capture the stories of others in this role. How do they formulate their embodiment of this relatively recent academic post? What kind of identity ‘scripts’ do they construct and how do these connect with mine? Can such a series of individual partial truths analysed together create a composite collective identity for this specific category of teaching-focused academic? Do the issues raised provide the basis for further research of a more comprehensive and representative nature? Moreover could the process of storytelling itself be a helpful act, creating what McAdams, Josselson and Lieblich (2006:8) define as a ‘springboard effect’ leading to ‘transformative and redemptive life changes’?

1.5 To be continued...

And so to the aims of this doctoral dissertation: I seek both to review and to extend the debate surrounding the University of Glasgow’s University Teacher post and the LT&S track via a meaning-seeking and meaning-creating interpretivist study of this specific embodiment of academic identity within the current UK HE context. The aim is to investigate the storied accounts of professional identity construction and management of University Teachers in a Russell Group university. I do so by using a narrative approach as my conceptual framework or ‘loom’ (see Figure 1.2 below). On this loom I interweave various stories or ‘yarns’: the more delineated ‘warp yarns’ of existing public stories of the UK HE sector, research-intensive universities and changing definitions of academic roles and identities, with the looser ‘weft yarns’ of previously unheard private stories elicited from those of us directly implicated in this specific partitioning of academic function. In so doing I seek to create new ‘fabric’ or substance, new material understandings of the University Teacher role that will, I hope, be of interest and possibly also of benefit to individuals, the institution and the wider sector, particularly in these times of rapid institutional, sectoral and societal change.

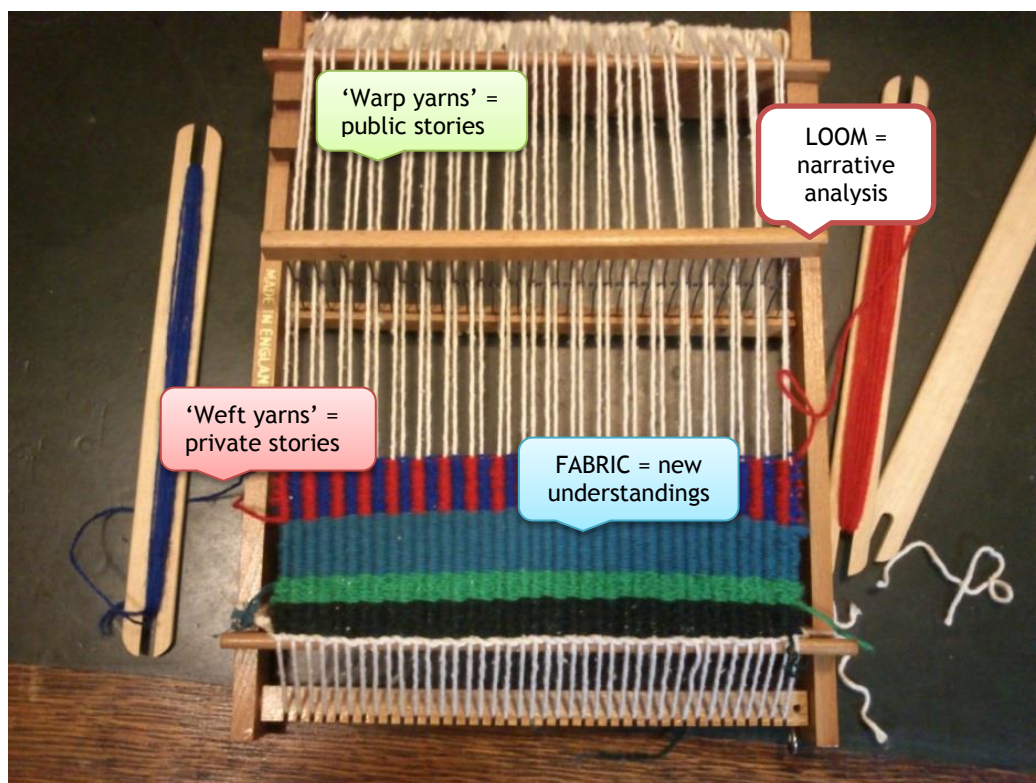


Figure 1.2:
 Conceptual framework (1), narrative 'loom' interweaving public and private stories of teaching-focused posts in HE
 Photo by daisymarmalade, available at: <https://daisymarmalade.wordpress.com/>
 (text boxes added)

Having begun, in this opening chapter, with a single strand, the 'weft' yarn of my own professional story, I now seek in Chapter 2 to set the scene via various 'warp' yarns, the public accounts of context and theme. This stage comprises an evaluation of the discourses surrounding the current UK HE sector and changing academic remits and identities, culminating in a critical analysis of the differentiated UT post itself through engagement with publicly available data regarding its establishment and evolution. In Chapter 3 I prepare the ground for the empirical data analysis by outlining and rationalising my chosen methodology and methods. In order to do so I assess various definitions of narratives, critique narrative inquiry as a research approach, outline the data co-construction process for this study and explain and justify my hybrid model of data analysis. In Chapters 4 and 5 I analyse the narrative interview data in detail. Chapter 4 focuses on 'narrative analysis', **within** individual interviews, of more holistic, structural or performative aspects of three specific case studies. Chapter 5 then moves outwards to focus on 'analysis of narratives', **across** all 11 interviews, based on emerging key themes. This then leads to the identification of three

main UT identity typologies alongside a critical understanding of the complexity of UT identity. In the final chapter I summarise my key findings and outline implications in relation to both the narrative approach and the question of UT identity, I acknowledge the limitations of this particular study, I revisit my UT story and that of my university and I look ahead to various possibilities for future research.

And so now, to the wider context stories of UK HE sector and academic identity...

Chapter 2

Once upon a time... Part 2. Setting the scene via the wider context stories

2.1 The wider context stories

In this chapter I seek to contextualise this study's core focus on UT identity narratives by firstly assessing existing public narratives of the UK HE sector, in elite, research-led universities in particular. I then evaluate the impact of this evolving setting on academic roles and functions, specifically focusing on the relationship between research and teaching at the level of both the university and the academic. Thereafter I outline and critically analyse the creation and development of the contractually differentiated, teaching-focused UT post within my university, as presented and revealed in official documentation and statistics. In this way I seek to prepare the ground for my empirical work on UT identity engaging with the lived experiences of colleagues who, like myself, have come to occupy this post.

Clearly then, the weft 'yarn' of my individual professional journey to becoming a UT assumes fuller material significance as an account of academic identity only when interwoven through these multiple precursor wider context warp 'yarns', or contextualising narratives surrounding universities. These narratives recount the defining features of the UK HE sector and the evolving purposes of universities, particularly research-intensive universities, within that changing context, the ensuing revision of academic functions, the creation of new academic posts differentiated by function, and the impact of these new posts on academic identity (see Figure 2.1 below, an updated return to the conceptual framework illustration outlined in Chapter 1):

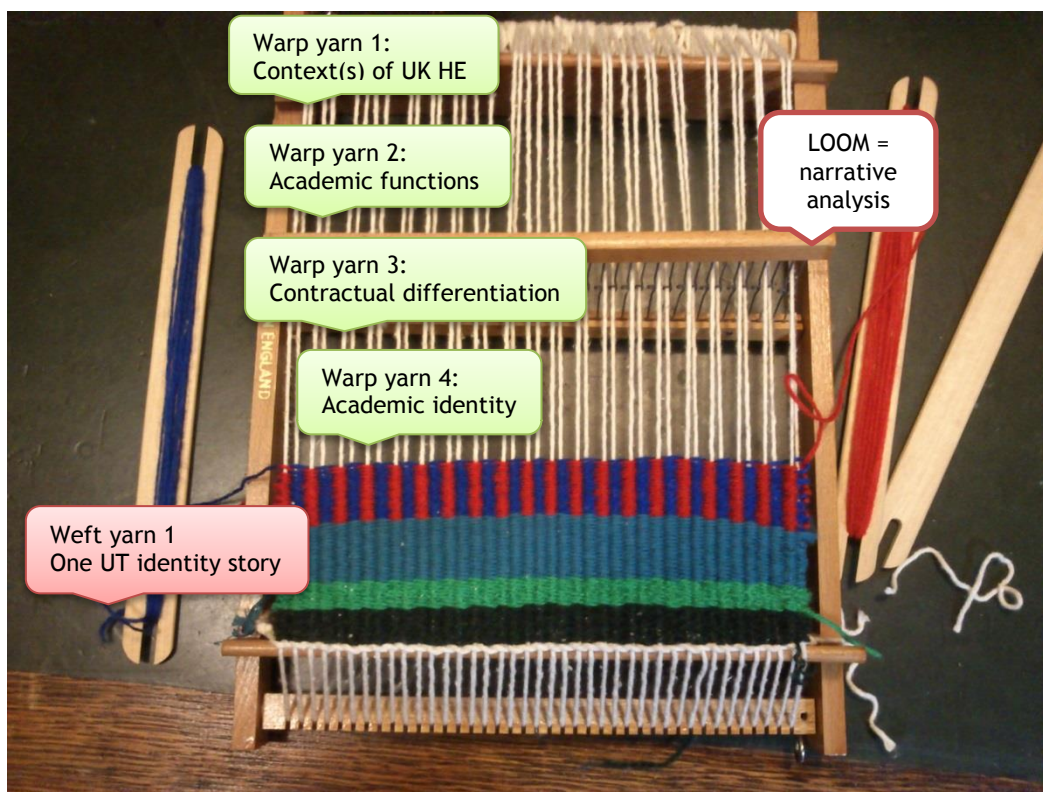


Figure 2.1:
Conceptual framework (2), contextual and thematic threads - the 'bigger stories'
Photo by daisymarmalade, available at: <https://daisymarmalade.wordpress.com/>
(text boxes added)

2.2 Recent (hi)stories of the UK HE sector

A number of educational thinkers have identified similar or overlapping characteristics of twenty-first century HE, especially in developed countries. In their report *Trends in global higher education: tracking an academic revolution* prepared for UNESCO, Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009) evaluated a number of large-scale contextual changes in global, and by association in UK, HE in recent decades. These included the massive expansion of HE participation in an era of global competition, alongside increased private financing of HE, both of which have impacted on research, learning and teaching and the academic profession. More recently the University of Oxford International Strategy Office (2015) identified the adoption of new technologies and the push for global economic ascendancy as key trends in HE. Educational futures theorists Bussey and Inayatullah (2008:3) had emphasised these same two shifts and linked them to the now pivotal place of competition, describing the future of education as:

now inextricably tied into the globalisation and new technologies discourse [...]. The future is obvious. The purpose of education is to ensure that one's nation (or school or university) is the most successful.

Barnett (2011:6-7) detailed the advent of these 'entrepreneurial' and 'bureaucratic' universities and their changed central impetus: 'a belief that the use value of knowledge should be maximised', under 'strongly managed forms of organisation'.

These recent developments in HE can be grouped into three multi-stranded contextual narratives or wider stories than my own, very narrow, academic career story, each of which have influenced, and continue to influence, the roles and professional identities of academics: massification; marketisation; and managerialism, examined in turn below.

2.2.1 Massification

In *What are universities for?*, Collini (2012:30) charts and evaluates what he terms 'the explosion in student numbers' in UK HE since the end of World War II. From 50,000 students studying in 21 universities in 1939 (a 5% participation rate), the arrival of the post-war 'baby boom' generation saw the numbers more than double to 116,000 students by 1961, and then more than double again post-*Robbins Report* (Committee on Higher Education, 1963) to 300,000 in 46 universities by 1980 (15% participation). The rate of acceleration then increased dramatically following the reclassification of polytechnics as universities in 1992, rising to over 2.5 million students in 161 HE institutions by 2010-11. Figures for 2014-15, contemporaneous with my participant interviews, show a drop to just over 2.25 million since the introduction of higher level UG student tuition fees in England in 2012, see Table 2.1 below (Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), 2016a).

STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF STUDY 2000/01 TO 2014/15			
Year	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Total
2014/15	1727895	538180	2266075
2013/14	1759915	539440	2299355
2012/13	1803840	536440	2340275
2011/12	1928140	568490	2496635

2010/11	1913940	589070	2503010
2009/10	1914835	578915	2493750
2008/09	1860425	537160	2397585
2007/08	1804305	501480	2305780
2006/07	1802280	502965	2305250
2005/06	1789025	492755	2281780
2004/05	1753810	482115	2235925
2003/04	1722685	477495	2200175
2002/03	1676920	454190	2131110
2001/02	1615130	427455	2042580
2000/01	1541225	406905	1948135

Table 2.1:

UK HE students by level of study 2000/01 to 2014/15. (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2016a, emphases added in bold)

Despite this recent dip, 2014-15 HE participation rates for 17-30 year olds, again contemporaneous with my participant interviews, stood at 47% in England (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS), 2015a:1) and 55% in Scotland (Scottish Funding Council (SFC), 2015:28).

Why such an increase in HE student numbers? Following the end of the war the *Education Act* of 1944 and *Education (Scotland) Act* of 1945 saw the school leaving age raised to 15 and free secondary education extended to all.

Thereafter the transformation of UK HE was driven by a need to provide more advanced educational opportunities for the post-war ‘baby boomers’ while simultaneously developing the national economy and increasing social mobility.

As the *Robbins Report* identified (Committee on Higher Education, 1963:5):

The extension of educational opportunity in the schools and the widening of the desire for higher education on the part of young people have greatly increased the demand for places. At the same time the growing realisation of this country's economic dependence upon the education of its population has led to much questioning of the adequacy of present arrangements. Unless higher education is speedily reformed, it is argued, there is little hope of this densely populated island maintaining an adequate position in the fiercely competitive world of the future.

Since then, and in particular since the ICT revolution of the late twentieth century, HE has increasingly been defined as a major driver of national economic growth and competitive advantage across the globe. The European Commission (2013:9) describes HE as ‘key to delivering the knowledge requirements for economic development’ and successive UK governments have actively promoted

its continued expansion. In its 2010 Green Paper, *Building a smarter future: towards a sustainable Scottish solution for the future of higher education*, the Scottish Government (2010:1) stated that, 'higher education in Scotland is the mainstay of our knowledge economy and serves the overall economic purpose of the nation at the highest levels'. This view is reiterated in the Universities Scotland (2013) paper, *Grow, export, attract, support: universities' contribution to Scotland's economic growth*. The UK Government has also echoed this focus in its most recent Green Paper on HE in England, stating that, 'Our research base is world class and our universities themselves are engines of both social mobility and economic growth' (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2015b:10).

2.2.2 Marketisation

In this current technology-led and competitive globalised world new knowledge of the kind created by universities has come to be regarded as a valuable marketable commodity. This trend is evident in the UK in the fact that a proportion of government HE funding has, since the 1980s, been allocated for knowledge creation on the basis of each university's results in the periodic research assessment exercise now known as the Research Excellence Framework (REF). Universities use the results to benchmark themselves against their competitors and to 'establish reputational yardsticks' (Research Excellence Framework, 2014:1).

Consequently, according to Newall (2008:136), this measurement mechanism has had 'a powerful effect on management decisions in the universities. Choices are being made about whether to invest in or withdraw from research areas of relative weakness'. A rise in government-directed research has resulted, exemplified in the growing requirement for research-intensive universities to engage in knowledge exchange and demonstrate 'impact' in politically and economically important priority fields such as the Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) subjects. Barnett (2015:10) refers to 'policy frameworks' that 'pump up the virtues of the so-called STEM disciplines'. Boulton (2009:1) critiques this 'increasingly instrumental view of universities', claiming that the undue focus on STEM subjects may have a detrimental impact

on society by undermining the humanities and social sciences. This view is borne out by University of Glasgow staffing figures, obtained from Human Resources by email, and current at the time of my participant interviews. These indicate that academics in STEM subjects outnumbered those in the arts and social sciences by more than two to one (University of Glasgow, 2014). In the context of a powerful knowledge economy, universities have sought to maximise their ability to garner such prioritised government funding, and simultaneously win additional private funding, by adjusting their institutional structures in favour of the 'triple-helix' model of 'communicative interactions and reflexive mechanisms' in university-government-industry relations (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz, 1996:284). It should be acknowledged, however, that this development had actually been promoted much earlier, in a recommendation of the *Robbins Report* (Committee on Higher Education, 1963:282, para.404): 'The links between university institutions and government research establishments and industry should be strengthened'.

In this evolving context of university financing UNESCO (2009:2) adopted a *communiqué* whose central, and indeed opening, tenet was the need to defend the status of HE as a public good: '1. Higher Education as a public good is the responsibility of all stakeholders, especially governments'. However the same *communiqué* also acknowledged the need for supplementary private sector funding, particularly in times of recession (UNESCO, 2009:6):

35. Given the need for increased funding for research and development in many countries, institutions should seek new ways of increasing research and innovation through multi-stakeholder public-private partnerships that include small and medium enterprises.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the ratio of public *versus* private financing of HE varies from country to country in the developed world. What is perhaps more striking is the extent to which overall UK public funding of HE has shrunk since 2000. Figures provided in *Education at a Glance 2015* (the most recent Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) annual report on the structure, finances, and performance of education systems in the 34 member countries) reveal that the UK government contribution to tertiary education - including further as well as higher education - sits at 55 *per cent* of all tertiary education income, well below the OECD average of almost 70 *per cent* public expenditure on tertiary education (see Figure 2.2 below):

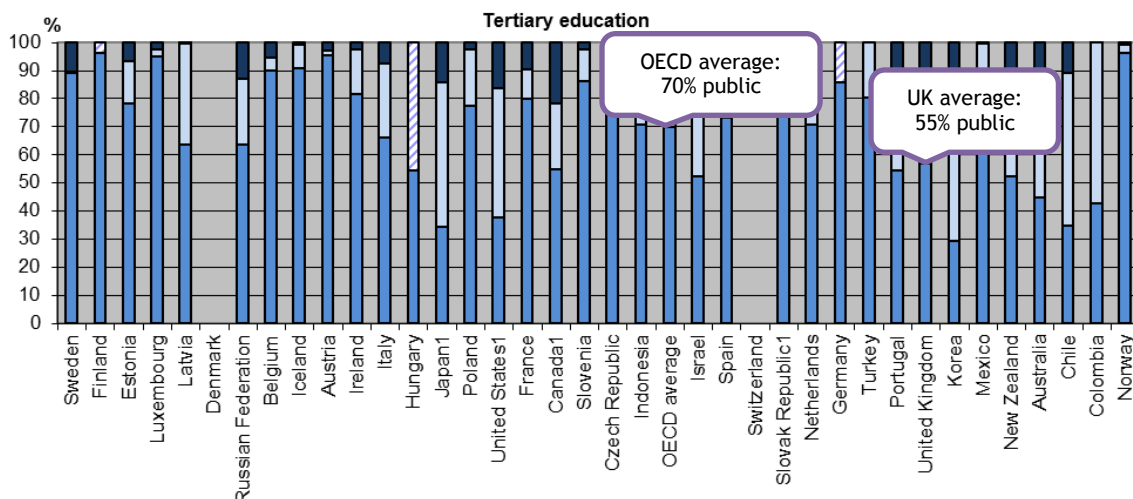


Figure 2.2: Distribution of public and private expenditure on educational institutions (2012) by level of education - Tertiary education (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015:242, text boxes added)

In fact, according to UK statistics for 2014-15 for *higher* education alone (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2016b) only 15.9 per cent of overall UK HEIs' funding at the time of the data collection for this study came from government funding body grants, compared to 39.7 per cent in 2000-01 (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2002), see Table 2.2 below:

SOURCES OF INCOME 2014/15		
Source	Income (£000s)	% of total
Funding body grants	5,279,035	15.9%
Tuition fees & education contracts	15,585,517	46.9%
Research grants & contracts	5,912,016	17.8%
Other income	6,062,545	18.3%
Endowment & investment income	359,559	1.1%
TOTAL INCOME	33,198,672	

Table 2.2: Sources of income of UK HE Providers 2014/15 (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2016b, emphasis added in bold).³

³ It should be noted, however, that there is a marked difference between Scotland and the rest of the UK in terms of government funding of HE, accounted for by the continued payment of Scottish/EU UG student tuition fees by the devolved Scottish Government; the 2014-15 figure in Scotland for government funding body grants was just over double that of the UK average, at 32.4 per cent (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2016b).

In this context, many research-intensive UK universities and their staff have become highly adept in the art of competitive funding bids, exploiting their ‘triple-helix’ interface with industry to generate additional private finance from commercial sources or ‘third-stream activities’ in order to offset the decline in public funds (Barnett, 2011:39).

As is also discernible from Table 2.2 above, another source of private funding, and an additional feature of the marketisation of HE, is tuition fee income. The massification of HE has generated increased costs, which UK universities have found difficult to meet given their curtailed public funding. As Collini points out (2010:23):

Between 1981 and 1997 considerable damage was done to universities, not least to the quality of their teaching, by this deliberate combination of headlong expansion and progressive lowering of funding levels.

These cutbacks, particularly in England, may have been, as both Collini and the University and College Union (UCU) believe (University and College Union, 2017a), the result of an active ideological move towards the privatisation of HE under recent UK governments. Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, they may stem, as Tsiligiris hypothesises (2012:1), from ‘the impact of the economic crisis on higher education macro planning and policy’. Nonetheless the outcome has been the same: a move towards viewing students a fee-paying ‘customers’ in the wake of the *Dearing Report* (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997), and the partial deregulation of university tuition fees in England following the *Browne Review* of HE funding (Browne, 2010). As a result English HE has become more of a private than a public good, with universities re-designated as ‘sites of service provision, consumer activity and commodity exchange’ (Freedman, 2011:1). In Scotland the Scottish National Party (SNP)-led devolved government has thus far maintained its manifesto pledge to offer free university tuition to home-domiciled (and, by legal requirement, to other EU-domiciled) undergraduate (UG) students (Scottish National Party, 2015). Scottish HE has nonetheless similarly responded to ongoing economic pressures by seeking to recruit in numbers, and raise income from, fee-paying rest of UK (RUK) and international UG students alongside an ever-increasing target number of postgraduate (PG) students.

This has resulted in a further aspect of the marketisation of UK HE: internationalisation, defined by Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009:iv) as ‘the variety of policies and programs that universities and governments implement to respond to globalization’. UK universities have adopted a number of internationally-focused endeavours. Some, such as the expansion of international research and teaching collaborations or the development of outgoing overseas study and employment opportunities for students, seem to be consistent with the ideals expressed in the ‘Internationalisation, Regionalisation and Globalisation’ section of the UNESCO *communiqué* (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2009:5): to ‘find common solutions to foster brain circulation and alleviate the negative impact of brain drain’; to ‘enhance mutual understanding and a culture of peace’; to ‘promote international cooperation’; and to ‘nurture the creation of national knowledge capabilities in all involved countries’. However, others seem rather more cynical and market-driven, such as the recruitment of a seemingly limitless number of international students. As the European Commission communication explains (2013:8):

The economic importance of international higher education is rapidly growing. A few countries, including popular destinations such as the UK, Canada, the US and Australia, attach great importance to higher education as a service that generates a significant source of income.

International (especially non-EU) UG students can be charged much higher fee rates than home or EU students: in the 2016-17 academic session my university, charged £15,250 per year international tuition fee for full-time UG arts and social sciences programmes *versus* £1,820 per year for home or EU students; more for veterinary, medical and life sciences and engineering (University of Glasgow, 2016a:1). International PG tuition costs were even greater, varying from £15,250 to £44,350 for taught Masters programmes and from £15,250 to £33,850 per year for research degrees (University of Glasgow, 2016a:1). PG recruitment has therefore become a strategic goal in the era of massification as first degrees become more commonplace and PG qualifications become more popular as a means of setting oneself above the majority. Thus PG student numbers have soared in the UK: from 60,000 in the 1980s to over half a million by 2014-15, of whom over 200,000 are non-UK or EU (HESA, 2016c).

2.2.3 Managerialism

Set against the backdrop of globalisation, the ICT revolution, and current times of economic austerity, the massification and marketisation of HE analysed above have prompted operational changes across the sector in all countries of the UK. Successive governments have driven a move towards audit practices in HE aiming to maximise efficiency and to account for all funding allocated. This has led to a ‘culture of managerialism, marketisation, performativity and accountability’ (Humes, 2010:6) in HE policy and governance, in the mould of Barnett’s ‘bureaucratic’ or ‘entrepreneurial’ universities (2011).

In this context ‘efficiency’ has become a watchword of UK universities. Indeed a UK Government-commissioned ‘Efficiency and Modernisation Task Group’ has been operating since 2010, led by Professor Ian Diamond of Universities UK. The key message of its latest report, *Efficiency, effectiveness and value for money* (Universities UK, 2015:79) could not be clearer:

It is imperative that universities continue to evidence their success in delivering efficiency and cost savings. Universities require investment, and in the context of austerity and continuing pressures on public spending must therefore be willing and able to demonstrate what they have done to deliver both excellence and value for money.

This trend is also exemplified in the Scottish HE sector by the establishment in 2011 of the Universities Scotland ‘Efficiencies Taskforce’ with the stated goal of effecting ‘a stepchange in universities’ collective action to promote the efficient use of resources’ (Universities Scotland, 2012:2).

Efficiency sits alongside another current dictum of UK universities:

‘accountability’. In Scotland, where public funding of HE teaching remains proportionately higher than in England, a ‘Joint Future Thinking Taskforce on Universities’ articulated three Scottish Government challenges to the Scottish university sector; first among these (Scottish Government, 2008:3):

Scottish universities must demonstrate that they use the funds they receive from the Scottish Government to support activities which are well-aligned with the Scottish Government’s Purpose, its economic and skills strategies and its other policy frameworks.

In England, too, the latest HE Green Paper stresses the UK Government’s commitment to call universities to account in order to ‘deliver better value for

money for students, employers and taxpayers' (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2015b:7).

This section has demonstrated that HE has become a key driver for national economic growth in an era of globalisation, resulting in increased student numbers. There has been a simultaneous reduction in the State financing of HE. Consequently universities have become more internationally competitive, marketised and corporate in their approach. Efficiency and performance-related accountability have become the key means for universities to guarantee continued funding, not only from government, but also from a range of other significant stakeholders such as industry and students. Moreover, in research-intensive universities, such as my own, stakeholder priorities now appear to be directing developments in university structure and academic labour in relation to two central purposes and activities of HE, research and teaching, 'the domain activities in the university' Barnett (2005:4). Given the clear impact of research and teaching remits on academic roles and identity construction - the central focus of this study - this additional set of wider context stories surrounding these two key functions in UK HE are explored in more detail in the section that follows.

2.3 Academic roles: a tale of two functions?

This section seeks to engage with a number of debates surrounding the relationship(s) between research and teaching in UK HE. I begin with a consideration of a core academic function generally considered, perhaps oversimplistically, to sit apart from research and teaching: service. I then turn to the widely accepted connection between research and teaching in order to assess various ways that this link can be interpreted. Thereafter I explore the alternative proposition that a fundamental divide is now discernible between the two functions, which can be understood at the level of both the specific type of HEI and the individual academic.

2.3.1 *More than research and/or teaching?*

Long-standing debates abound regarding the place of research and teaching within universities, focusing in particular on how - or even if - they are connected (Brew, 2010; Elton, 2001; Hattie and Marsh, 1996; Healey, 2005; Pan, Cotton and Murray, 2014; Rowland, 1996). However, it is important to begin by acknowledging criticisms of such a binary approach to the study of academic functions. Macfarlane (2005:171) talks of ‘the hegemony of the teaching-research debate’. He also warns against simplistic dualisms that may result in the exclusion of administrative and service activities from enquiries into the purposes of HE, and therefore have ‘a distorting effect on the design of research and broader understanding of higher education’ (Macfarlane, 2015a:101).

I would agree that service is fundamental to the academic role, but would also maintain that it is not in fact excluded from current discussion; rather, in the now market-driven HE sector, service would seem to have been thematically ‘repackaged’ and embedded within aspects of the rhetoric attached to either research or teaching. For example, I would contend that the growing focus on knowledge exchange and impact represents service within research, while the prevailing emphasis on student experience constitutes service within teaching. Moreover, as Rowland points out (1996:8), ‘it is in terms of our teaching and research that our productivity as academics, and that of our institutions, is measured’. Clearly therefore, although the research-teaching discussion may be hackneyed, or a ‘tired old [...] debate’ as Boyer had already suggested (1990:16), the idea of a fundamental connection or ‘nexus’ (Neumann, 1992) between research and teaching activity in universities nonetheless continues to carry weight, and deeply-rooted academic convictions continue to exist regarding its positive worth.

2.3.2 *Research and teaching?*

For many scholars and commentators the belief in a research-teaching link is framed by the thinking of Wilhelm von Humboldt, co-founder of the University of Berlin in 1810 (Anderson, 2004; Elton, 2005; Hattie and Marsh, 1996; Neumann, 1992; Simons and Elen, 2007). According to Anderson (2004:51), a key concept of

Humboldt's model of the university was 'an ideal of scholarship in which teaching and research fructified each other' or, in the words of Elton (2005:111), fostered 'learning in a research mode'. Various interpretations of the German research and teaching model subsequently exerted considerable influence over the structure of universities in Europe and North America through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Belief in a positive correlation between research and teaching has simultaneously become 'conventional wisdom' (Hattie and Marsh, 1996:511) and is regarded as representative of what a good university should be, and by extension what all good academics should do. Brew (2006:13) asserts that 'developing the relationship between research and teaching goes to the very heart of academic work'.

There are, consequently, many defenders of an integrative research-teaching relationship. Indeed legal definitions of interdependence exist in some countries such as New Zealand (Robertson, 2007) and Sweden (Geschwind and Broström, 2015), and HE representative bodies in developed countries across the globe promote this unifying outlook in their literature. Consider, for example, the *Magna Charta Universitatum* (1988), a position document drafted by the European University Association (EUA) and ratified in Bologna in 1988 by the Principals of 388 universities worldwide, including my university. This charter outlines a series of core university values and rights, or 'fundamental principles', the second of which defends the inherent connection between teaching and research: 'Teaching and research in universities must be inseparable if their tuition is not to lag behind changing needs, the demands of society, and advances in scientific knowledge' (*Magna Charta Universitatum*, 1988:1).

Likewise, the public discourse of leading research-intensive universities and their mission groups often stresses the connection between the two functions. For example the Russell Group of '24 leading UK universities' states that one of the defining features of its members is that they 'provide an outstanding student experience for both undergraduates and postgraduates, where teaching is enhanced by world-class research and facilities' (Russell Group, 2014:3). Similarly, Universitas 21 (2017:1) lists one of its agreed aims as 'working

together to foster global citizenship and institutional innovation through research-inspired teaching and learning’.

HE trades unions, too, have defended the link. For example the UCU lists workplace concerns on which it provides policy and guidance. One of these is ‘research and scholarship’, an issue on which the union pledges to campaign ‘for the maintenance of the link between research and teaching in HE’ (University and College Union, 2017b:1).

Individual academics have also defended the relationship. For example, Neumann’s (1992:162) qualitative study of academic experience revealed ‘multiple, positive and bi-directional links between the teaching and research areas of academic work’. Similarly, Boulton (2009:1) asserts that ‘research and scholarship are essential to the university enterprise only if they are intimately associated with the educational process’.

However others, such as Simons and Elen (2007), have presented a more nuanced interpretation, contending that, while the case in favour of the research-teaching link continues to be made, two distinct approaches now exist: the original Humboldtian **idealistic** approach, ‘education through research’; and a more recent context-driven **functional** approach, the ‘research-teaching nexus’. This, they conclude, explains ‘ambivalences’ in considerations of the relationship between research and teaching in HE, in which they continue to be inter-linked, but with a primarily instrumental and economic end in sight:

In short, it seems as if there is still a concern to safeguard aspects of the Humboldtian tradition (e.g. general education), yet one mainly stresses the importance of strengthening the ‘research-teaching nexus’ in order to guarantee optimal employability in the knowledge society (Simons and Elen, 2007:618).

Anderson (2004:55-56) goes further, suggesting that interpretations of Humboldt’s original concept as a balanced association of research and teaching have not only shifted in recent decades, but that they have been supplanted by manifestations of the relationship in which research tends to dominate teaching:

In the twentieth century, the ‘Humboldtian’ ideal has often been interpreted as meaning that research is the primordial purpose of the university, and teaching its ancillary. But this was not Humboldt’s conception. He did indeed speak of cultivating science and scholarship ‘for their own sake’, but the central concept was ‘the unity of teaching and research’.

In the current massified, marketised and managed HE sector, elevated research performance leads to increases in both government funding and private industry finance as all three ‘triple-helix’ partners collaborate in pursuit of competitive advantage and profit. However, as highlighted above by Simons and Elen (2007) in their allusion to the importance of employability in the HE sector, another stakeholder group is increasingly implicated in the research endeavours of universities, especially top-flight research-intensive universities: students. The higher the position of a given university in research outcomes league tables (*The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, *QS*, *Shanghai Jiao Tong*), the greater its reputation becomes, and the more students it is likely to recruit, thereby generating additional tuition fee income with which to fund further advances in research.

In this respect (the rise of students as a fee-paying stakeholder group), the teaching function of universities is once again, and rather ironically, becoming more and more strategically important. As Tsiligiris points out (2012:1), the marketisation of HE ‘legitimises talk about students getting “value for money” and a “return on their investment” in a “service provider-customer” model of higher education’. Thus ranking mechanisms are now being developed aiming to take better account of university teaching, however difficult a task some academics may believe that to be (Geschwind and Broström, 2015; Rowland, 1996). Examples include the European Union-initiated *U-Multirank* from 2014 (2017:1) and most recently the introduction of a Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) in England from 2016-17 (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2015b). In a 2015 address to Universities UK the Universities Minister for England, Jo Johnson, defended the need for a TEF, observing, ‘It is striking that while we have a set of measures to reward high quality research, backed by substantial funding (the Research Excellence Framework), there is nothing equivalent to drive up standards in teaching’ (Johnson, 2015:1). Research and

teaching, as interconnected, performance-determined income streams for universities, are now clearly linked economically.

However Barnett (2005:12) suggests that it is this self-same economic connection between research and teaching that is actually driving them apart. As both activities become commodified they become individually ‘corrupted’, and simultaneously ‘the relationship between teaching and research becomes distorted as the two activities, now driven by somewhat separate interests, split apart’. So is the research-teaching ‘nexus’ a myth? Is it in fact a case of research OR teaching in HE? Such a functional division can be examined both at the level of the **university** and of the **academic**.

2.3.3 Research *or* teaching: *university* typecasting?

The questioning of the research-teaching link as central to the ethos of the university is not a new debate. Cardinal Newman in *The idea of a university* (Newman, 1852: Preface, Section xiii) emphasised the separation between these two activities: ‘to discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts, and are not commonly found united in the same person’. As Macintyre (2009:348) explains, ‘Newman in 1852 [...] took it for granted that research was a task for institutions other than universities’. For Newman, like Humboldt before him, the purpose of the university was the provision of a liberal education. However for the former it was more teaching-focused and instrumental than research or ‘discovery’-focused. The university was ‘a place of **teaching** universal knowledge’ (Newman, 1852: Preface, Section ix, emphasis added in bold), and was created,

for the sake of her [the Church’s] children, with a view to their spiritual welfare and their religious influence and usefulness, with the object of training them to fill their respective posts in life better, and of making them more intelligent, capable, active members of society’ (Newman, 1852: Preface, Section xii).

Clearly then, universities as individual institutions have long had differing functions. In the UK traditional universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, originally tended towards Cardinal Newman’s teaching and learning-focused model. However, as outlined above, a particular ‘research-heavy’ version of

Humboldt's model of the research and teaching-focused university later came to dominate the sector until the massification of HE began in the 1960s. From that point the economically-driven establishment of many new universities, including the conversion of former polytechnics into universities from the late 1980s, created a parallel stream of teaching-focused HEIs specialising in vocational education and training, rather than in science-oriented research and/or broad-based liberal education.

The latest developments in the HE context have, as Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009:xvi) stress, 'encouraged further differentiation between institutions'. In the UK, although claims are often made for value-neutral 'diversity of institutional mission' in the university sector (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997:252; Universities UK, 2013), the differences between HEIs are often expressed in hierarchized terms. In fact Anderson (2010:1) argues that the introduction of the RAE-REF has allowed UK governments indirectly to create a bias towards research as the marker of quality, and therefore priority activity, of self-proclaimed leading institutions, alongside a concomitant downgrading of teaching:

Afraid of charges of 'elitism', no government dares openly identify a higher tier of institutions which deserve special support, and the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) became the *de facto* way of doing this - leading, many would argue, to a devaluing of the teaching which should balance it.

Thus Macfarlane's observations (2015a:109) regarding the discourse surrounding the 'research/teaching dichotomy': 'This language conveys a status differential: research universities (and research professors) are more prestigious than teaching universities (or teaching professors)'. In this stratified HE sector UK universities have sought to gain competitive advantage by organising themselves into mission groups, referred to in rather negative terms by some commentators as 'gangs' (Newman, 2009) or 'tribes' (Humes, 2010). According to Pirrie, Adamson and Humes (2010:97) these groups play a role in 'discursively producing notions of superiority and inferiority in the sector'. They claim that more research-focused groups, such as the Russell Group comprising the oldest and most traditional UK universities, are tending towards a form of 'gamesmanship' aiming to assert their superiority over rival groups, such as Million+ composed of more teaching-focused post-1992 HEIs. In so doing, they 'undermine an unspoken

agreement among universities to preserve one another's reputations' (Newman, 2009:1). Their presence, Filippakou and Tapper argue (2015:123), 'is a consequence of the fragmentation of higher education', and reinforces the notion of a qualitative distinction between research and teaching.

2.3.4 Research or teaching: *academic* typecasting?

As universities, in particular top-flight universities, now seek to gain financial advantage over their competitors both nationally and internationally, the concept of a research or teaching division centres not only between discrete universities in terms of differentiated strategic priorities, but also within individual universities in terms of differentiated or specialised academic roles. Enders and Musselin (2008:131) identify this move towards 'greater differentiation of academic sectors, institutions and job roles', with individual academics now 'more likely to concentrate on management or on teaching and research, while teaching and research themselves represent a further division of work'. Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley (2009:xix), in turn, predict the continued growth of this trend as well as its more legalistic turn: 'the activities and roles of the academic profession will be more diversified and specialized and subject to varied employment contracts'.

Some stakeholders view this development positively; UNESCO (2009:4) actively called for such differentiation in order to respond to the needs of the 'knowledge society':

The knowledge society requires a growing differentiation of roles within higher education systems and institution, with poles and networks of research excellence, innovations in teaching/learning and new approaches to community service.

The discourse here is clearly positive: 'excellence', 'innovations' and 'new approaches' will follow in the wake of specialised academic remits. Macfarlane (2011a:69) also considers the possible advantages of professional disaggregation in HE: 'efficiency gains' for universities; 'increased access to specialists' for students; additional 'professional expertise' for academics.

Other commentators are less positive. Rowland (2006) provides an analysis of the reasons behind a number of 'critical fault lines' in HE such as that between

teaching and research. He suggests that government policies such as the introduction of the RAE-REF and the separation of funding for research and teaching have precipitated the division between the two functions in a range of university structures: strategies and committees; job families and employment contracts; reward and recognition schemes. In addition Vardi (2011:3) references increased academic workloads and performance targets in an era of high student numbers and changing student profiles and learning needs. The consequence, she suggests, is a split in categories of academic, since ‘some academics have neither the time nor expertise to effectively perform across all areas of academic work’.

This ‘bifurcated infrastructure’ (Macfarlane, 2011b:128) has in turn widened the rift between research and teaching tasks within universities in a way that has become increasingly unbridgeable. Thus it is not solely a case of division - research **or** teaching - it is also one of standing - research **above** teaching. In his interviews with 12 Heads of Department in a British university Rowland (1996:10) discovered that ‘there was general agreement [...] that research (rather than teaching) was the prime factor in departmental, as well as individual, advancement’. Similarly, in her case study of the University of Sydney, Brew (2006:17) uncovered ‘the difficulty of gaining promotion without a track record in research’. Macfarlane (2011a:71) sums up the lower status of university teaching thus:

New career pathways encourage specialisation, principally in management or research, with teaching remaining as a Cinderella activity, rewarded through tokenistic prizes and ‘fellowships’ rather than attracting mainstream kudos despite institutional rhetoric.

This idea of a status differential between research and teaching is paradoxically reinforced by recent moves within traditionally teaching-focused Million+ member universities to impose a research function on many, if not all, academic staff. In his study comparing research and teaching in university promotion criteria, Parker (2008:250) discovered that, ‘almost a third of “new” universities, despite their historic support for teaching as central to their missions, do not formally recognise teaching activities equally with research for academic staff’. In their efforts to climb up high-value HE league tables post-1992 universities are increasingly imposing a teaching **and** research remit on

their staff while, simultaneously, many traditionally research-focused Russell Group universities are pursuing the same goal by doing the reverse: splitting academic functions into research or teaching, with the former ranked higher than the latter.

Supporters of the idea of parity of esteem between research and teaching have called for an increase in what has become known as ‘scholarship of teaching and learning’ (SoTL). According to Rowland (2006) the UK government prompted this development by urging universities to implement the recommendations of the 1997 *Dearing Report*, which sought to achieve ‘a change in the values of higher education, where research is currently the main basis for professional reward and advancement’ and ‘to establish higher education teaching as a profession in its own right’ (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997: Summary Report, paragraphs 32 and 34). Recommendation 14 called for the establishment of a professional Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education (the ILT) - subsequently founded in 1999 - with the following functions: ‘to accredit programmes of training for higher education teachers; to commission research and development in learning and teaching practices; and to stimulate innovation’. The ILT - now the Higher Education Academy (HEA) since a merger with the Learning and Teaching Support Network (LTSN) in 2004 - precipitated a redirected focus on ‘research and development in teaching and learning’, undertaken by a growing number of newly ‘unbundled para-academics’ (Macfarlane 2011a), such as teaching-focused academics or learning advisers based in university learning services.

And yet questions remain as to whether this development is indeed promoting teaching as an equally esteemed specialism, or simply creating another split this time within research itself, between high quality disciplinary research and lower quality scholarship work. Some would refute this, claiming that SoTL now has ‘a status that makes it more highly valued by institutions’ (Vardi, 2011:2), and that it represents a refocusing ‘towards excellence in learning and teaching practice within higher education’ (Clever, Lintern and McLinden, 2014:4). However Fanghanel *et al.* (2016:4), in a sector-wide study conducted for the HEA, conclude that there is ‘a lack of clarity as to the status of SoTL [...] and a perception that SoTL work lacks “rigour”’. Furthermore, Macfarlane (2011b:127)

argues that drives to promote teaching as a separate academic activity from research through initiatives such as ‘prizes, pedagogic research and teaching professors’, have in fact lowered its status, despite, or perhaps even because of, ‘the misguided efforts of those most committed to “raising the status of teaching” in higher education’. In his view such initiatives have resulted in more marked division between disciplinary and pedagogic research, with the latter often deemed ‘not “proper” research’ (Macfarlane (2011b:127)).

Consequently, there is a belief in some quarters (Enders and Musselin, 2008; Macfarlane, 2011a, 2011b) that research-teaching polarisation has not in fact fostered diverse specialisation among academics; rather it has engendered unequal fragmentation between higher status research-active, REF-returned academics and lower status teaching-focused academics. Thus it ‘has further widened the gap between the “haves” (the researchers) and “have nots” (the teachers and administrators) in the brave new world of research performativity’ Macfarlane (2011a:68). Indeed, in an article written to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the Society for Research in Higher Education (SRHE), Macfarlane (2015b:1) made an interesting discovery, highly pertinent to the focus of this study. His assessment of the topics addressed in early issues of *Studies in Higher Education*, the journal of the SRHE launched in 1976, reveals that:

The language of this time was all about ‘university teachers’. The virtual disappearance of this phrase in the modern lexicon tells us a lot about the way in which the subsequent separation of government funding for research and teaching has led to a radical shifting of academic priorities.

This section has acknowledged that academic functions are not limited to research and teaching alone; however these two are central. Arguments for an intrinsic link between research and teaching in academe can be supported, albeit with contrasting interpretations of the reasons behind such a link focusing on either philosophical or economic priorities. And yet the growing dominance of an economic link between the functions may, somewhat ironically, have simultaneously driven them apart at two levels. Firstly, at the level of the institution, certain universities have become research-focused, while others have opted to specialise in teaching. At the same time, at the level of the individual academic, there has been a growing trend towards academic contractual differentiation. In both cases a status differential is discernible, with

research invariably perceived as being of greater value than teaching. Various steps have been taken to enhance the value of teaching in HE through the active promotion of research related to teaching and learning for teaching-focused academics. However questions remain regarding the genuine worth of this activity. Teaching-focused academics may therefore still feel undervalued.

And so we return to the ‘*Do you ever get this feeling...?*’ image from Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1). In so doing we also return to the ‘University Teacher’ post, a specific example of a contractually-differentiated, teaching-focused academic post within a UK research-intensive university. Telling and understanding this core contextual story constitutes a further scene-setting ‘warp yarn’ to be unravelled and stretched across the interpretive ‘loom’ of narrative analysis. This follows in the next section.

2.4 Contractual differentiation and academic identity: the University Teacher post - ‘Divide and conquer?’ or ‘United we stand, divided we fall?’

In this section I outline the background to the creation of the teaching-focused UT post within the University of Glasgow in 2002, and explore its representation in official documents at the time of my empirical data work. These documents include institutional mission statements, strategy papers and staffing figures, institutionally-commissioned or authorised research studies and Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) (Scotland) inspection reports. In this way, I seek to explore the extent to which the research *versus* teaching status differential outlined above is reflected within my own university.

2.4.1 The institutional rationale for contractual differentiation

The new academic posts of University Teacher (UT) and Senior University Teacher (SUT) were introduced within the University of Glasgow in December 2002, with transfers and appointments to the new grades beginning in January 2003 (Matthew, 2009). Pritchard, Mann and Matthew (2006) explain that the idea for the post first originated at Glasgow senior management level in 2001, prompted by a scheme then in operation at the University of Bradford where an identically named category of academic staff had already been established. A

Human Resources Sub-Committee (Academic and Related Staff) draft paper set forth the Glasgow proposal for ‘an alternative designation and career route for some academic staff’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:1). This document outlined the background to the new appointment, the policy and principles on its use, the responsibilities of the UT, and the criteria for promotion to SUT. The influence of Bradford is clear in that sections of the Glasgow text, specifically those relating to the definition of scholarship and the criteria for promotion to SUT, are identical to the SUT job description outlined in the University of Bradford Briefing Paper for the Promotions Exercise 2000-2001 (University of Bradford, 2000).

The rationale underlying the creation of the Glasgow posts was ascribed to ‘an anomalous position’ brought about by ‘two developments in particular’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:1): firstly the appointment in some Faculties of a number of ‘Associate Lecturers’ without research obligations on Other Related Scales (ORS); secondly the University’s then recent merger with St Andrew’s College of Education, resulting in the arrival of new members of academic staff, again without research obligations. Given that the existing Lecturer promotion criteria included an ‘emphasis [...] upon a significant Research component’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:1), it was argued that these two new groups of academics were being prevented from progressing in their careers. The creation of the parallel UT academic career route was therefore expressed in very positive terms in this official document as ‘a structure which can recognise both their achievements and legitimate career aspirations’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:1). In his assessment of the new post a number of years after its introduction, a former Director of the University of Glasgow Teaching and Learning Service, and a key contributor to its development, praises the creation of ‘a career path that values and gives parity of esteem in terms of a promotion structure’ (Matthew, 2009:75). In her Masters-level study into UT academic identity Naula (2014:9) also commends the role, albeit rather simplistically, as ‘an interesting way to harness and foster the strengths of academics for whom teaching and learning takes a higher priority than research’. In 2001 the University stressed the broader advantages of the new post, describing it as an arrangement that could ‘operate to the benefits of students, the staff concerned

and the institution' (University of Glasgow, 2001:2). Clearly, in the view of the University, to 'divide' the roles was (potentially) to 'conquer' the sector.

Tensions are nonetheless evident from the outset, visible in disparities both within the original proposal and in later interpretations of the post itself. These disparities provide an answer to Barnett's (2005:6) very salient question regarding the direction of the research-teaching relationship in universities:

While the vice-chancellor and the other members of the senior team declare that there is a close (and an implied positive) relationship between research and teaching, are the university's strategies actually acting *de facto* to set research and teaching against each other?

In the 2001 UT-SUT proposal paper an ostensibly balanced link or 'nexus' between learning, teaching and research is described as 'central' to the University's mission, and the requirement for academic staff to undertake both teaching **and** research is stressed. This notion of a balanced, two-way research-teaching link continues to be emphasised in the University's current Learning and Teaching Strategy: 'Our learning and teaching **shapes and is shaped by** our research rich environment' (University of Glasgow, 2015a:1, emphasis added in bold). However the 2001 proposal foregrounds research as the driver of learning and teaching: 'The University as a "research-led" institution remains strongly committed to the preservation of this central principle' (University of Glasgow, 2001:2). Note the use of the weighted word '-led', as opposed to '-informed' or '-intensive'. For Griffiths (2004) research-led teaching is a hierarchical 'information transmission' model whose central aim is to pass on staff research findings to students. This ranking of research **above** teaching continues in the 2010-15 University Strategic Plan, in which 'research' is referenced 89 times, while 'teaching' is mentioned only 15 times and 'learning' 22 times (University of Glasgow, 2010). The latest 2015-20 University Strategy (University of Glasgow, 2015b) exhibits a re-balancing of this outlook, with the number of references to 'research' (67 times) almost equalling those to 'teaching' (28) and 'learning' (35) combined. However a greater number of the University's showcased 'Inspiring People' are researchers (11) than teachers (7), and teaching continues to be referred to as 'research-led' (University of Glasgow, 2015b:26, emphasis added in bold).

It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that attaining parity of status ‘was more problematic’ for UTs than obtaining parity of salary or conditions (Matthew, 2009:70). In their discussion paper on the recognition of teaching excellence in Universitas 21 universities Aitken and Tatebe (2014:3) acknowledge that ‘teaching is often represented - intentionally or otherwise - as being of a lower status than research’. They therefore aim to ‘set out possibilities for the ways in which teaching **can be** given prominence in research-intensive universities’ (Aitken and Tatebe, 2014:vi, emphasis added in bold), clearly implying that such prominence is not generally given.

The perceived lower status of UTs is already evident in 2001 in the rather negative discourse used in two secondary justifications for the creation of the post appended to the primary reasons examined above. Firstly the post is described as providing an alternative progression route for academics ‘who have chosen to focus on Teaching and Service roles **at the expense** of a Research role’. Secondly, and literally in parenthesis, ‘[It is also intended to **address concerns** expressed in the “RAE Post-mortem Report” of the University Research Planning and Strategy Committee.]’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:1, emphases added in bold). Matthew (2009:70) sheds light on the rather cryptic second statement, explaining that the use of volume indicators for research-active staff in the 2001 RAE caused a number of universities, especially elite universities, to seek to ‘maximise the number of “research-active staff” being returned, or put another way to minimise the number of staff who could NOT be returned’.

Somewhat revealingly, the authors of the Glasgow proposal document consider it necessary to include a discrete section stressing that any transfers of existing Lecturers to the UT role ‘will be voluntary’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:3). However this reassurance is then immediately undermined by the subordinating clause that follows, ‘**although** facilitated as appropriate by the relevant Dean of Faculty and Head of Department’ (University of Glasgow, 2001:3, emphasis added in bold), thereby suggesting that transfers to the UT post may indeed be imposed by management. This was certainly the case in my own story, given the pressure I came under in my end-of-probation review to make just such a move. Moreover, despite claims made for ease of transferability in both directions, University data from 2006 onwards indicates that transfers from Lecturer to UT

are 50 *per cent* higher than those in the opposite direction (University of Glasgow, 2016b). The post has perhaps predictably become imbued with an undertone of inferiority redolent of the ‘lesser breed’ label applied to teaching-only academics by Oxford in her 2008 article for the *Times Higher Education*.

And yet Matthew (2009:70) stresses that the University of Glasgow did not wish the UT post to be designated as teaching-only, even if this is how it has in fact been categorised in Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) returns since its inception:

At the outset it was clear that ‘teaching-only’ appointments were unacceptable. Given the research intensive nature of the University, the view from within the institution was that ‘teaching-only’ appointments would imply that these staff would not be exposed to research, far less engaged in any kind of scholarly activity.

This reflects the trade union stance on the increase in posts designated as teaching-only as ‘a matter of concern’ given the potential for such posts to ‘undermine’ the research-teaching relationship in UK HE (Association of University Teachers, 2005:2), a relationship that the Dearing Report sought to rebalance towards teaching, but retain as ‘a distinctive feature of higher education’ (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997: Paragraph 8.9).

The University of Glasgow response, Matthew believes (2009:70), was to introduce a new academic post and career track in which ‘concepts of “research-informed” teaching and “scholarship” activities were introduced as alternatives to “research-led” and “research” and the UT post was created for those engaged in the former’. These concepts evidently find their source in the work of Ernest L. Boyer who, in his seminal 1990 report *Scholarship reconsidered*, makes the case for a ‘more comprehensive, more dynamic’ (Boyer, 1990:16) definition of scholarship in HE. He counters a dominant discourse that pays ‘lip service to the trilogy of teaching, research and service’ (Boyer, 1990:15) while actually promoting research as the core scholarly function. He seeks to re-capture what he views as the original essence of scholarship, namely an activity encapsulating not solely the traditional research-centred definition of ‘discovery’, but also notions that are highly significant for HE in the late twentieth century/early twenty-first century context. These are:

‘integration’ aiming to contextualise and make meaning via multi- or inter-disciplinary connections; ‘application’ or two-way knowledge exchange and service; and ‘teaching’ that is not to be treated as an adjunct, but as a key scholarly activity that is both sustained by, and sustains, research. In his conclusion Boyer acknowledges a possibly adverse outcome of his identification of four different categories of scholarship: that they ultimately ‘divide intellectual functions that are tied inseparably to each other’ (1990:25). He is however very clear that these categories must be considered together, contending that they ‘dynamically interact, forming an interdependent whole’ (1990:25). The follow-on report, *Scholarship assessed*, was initiated and first presented by Boyer (1996), but ultimately published by Carnegie Foundation colleagues following Boyer’s untimely death in 1995 (Glassick, Huber and Maeroff, 1997). This paper similarly argues against the ‘current wisdom’ that considers scholarship as a separate function and ‘assumes that research, teaching, and applied scholarship [...] each has its own special yardstick’ (Glassick, Huber and Maeroff, 1997:22), a received idea that ‘helps to perpetuate the hierarchy that places greatest importance on research’ (23). And yet, ironically, it is Boyer’s work that is most often cited in support of disaggregated scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) undertaken by disaggregated academics such as UTs (Chalmers, 2011; Cleaver, Lintern and McLinden, 2014; Fanghanel *et al.*, 2016; Murray, 2008; Tierney, 2016; Vardi, 2011).

2.4.2 The *textual* experience

And so we arrive at the ‘story’ of the UT and related promoted posts in its actuality, as recounted in official documentation and statistics. I obtained University of Glasgow academic staffing figures (as of August 2014) from Human Resources by direct email request. The data was organised by academic track (Learning, Teaching and Scholarship (LT&S); Research and Teaching (R&T); Research (R)), College and School, as well as by job title, gender and age profile (University of Glasgow, 2014). In addition, I placed a Freedom of Information request in order to obtain details regarding the number of Professors who had come through the LT&S track, when they had acquired Professor status, what gender they were and which School or College they worked in (University of

Glasgow, 2015c). A comparative analysis of the University of Glasgow UT job description, workload information, review processes and promotion criteria in 2001, and at the time of the interviews for this study conducted in 2014-15, coupled with an evaluation of the academic staffing figures as outlined above, enabled an assessment to be made of this teaching-focused role and how it related to the roles of research and teaching academics and research-only academics in the same research-intensive university.

In the job description outlined in 2001, the workload of the UT is spread across three equally weighted domains (University of Glasgow, 2001:4-6): 'scheduled teaching' is normally to be 'in the range 500 +/-50 hours per year', equivalent to approximately a third of standard annual hours; one third is allocated to 'academic service or administration' such as course development, convening and examining, committee membership and pastoral care; and the final third or 'remainder of the annual workload' is to be devoted to 'teaching support activities'. Ten exemplars of such activities are listed (University of Glasgow, 2001:5-6), many of which would in reality be better categorised as 'academic service or administration': quality assurance procedures; record-keeping; scheduled meetings; course design and planning; teaching preparation; invigilation; marking; pastoral duties. Only two of the listed activities can legitimately be categorised as the 'scholarly activity' designated by Matthew (2009:70), namely 'scholarship' and 'personal self-development'. 'Scholarship' is initially defined by Glasgow (University of Glasgow, 2001:6), as it had been by Bradford (University of Bradford, 2000:7), as 'maintaining and developing knowledge of an individual's specialism, and academic professional discipline, as necessary to fulfil an effective teaching role through personal study, personal research and/or reflective practice'. 'Personal self-development' specifically links teaching to professionalisation through 'TLS courses [and] preparation for membership of the ILT' (University of Bradford, 2000:7; University of Glasgow, 2001:6). There are clear traces here of the Dearing Report's drive to enhance the status of HE teaching via accreditation. However there is still a focus in the initial UT job description on disciplinary learning over educational research. What is not yet fully visible is the understanding of scholarship that emerged in the wake of Boyer (1990), for example fellow Carnegie scholars Hutchings and Shulman's (1999:13) three-point definition of 'scholarship of teaching' as an

activity that is ‘public (“community property”), open to critique and evaluation, and in a form that others can build on’.

While there is no indication that publication, impact or income generation figure in the general terms and conditions of the UT post, they are specified requirements for promotion to SUT from the outset, as is a definition of scholarship that remains closely tied to proven expertise in an academic discipline:

in order to be successful it is also **essential** that applicants are able to demonstrate/provide evidence of their excellence in scholarship, i.e. maintaining and developing **knowledge of their specialism and academic/professional discipline**, as necessary to fulfil an effective teaching role... (University of Bradford, 2000:7; University of Glasgow, 2001:7, emphases added in bold)

However the definition of scholarship required for promotion also moves beyond the discipline, and towards Hutchings and Shulman’s (1999) definition of scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL):

Candidates will be expected to support their case in all appropriate circumstances by providing evidence (e.g. student feedback; application for, and success in, awards which recognise the quality of their work; publications in the area of teaching and learning; application for, and success in, awards for investigating teaching and learning; recognition of their success in teaching and learning by outside bodies). (University of Bradford, 2000:7; University of Glasgow, 2001:7)

And yet, as Pritchard, Mann and Matthew stress (2006:1), ‘there have been some difficulties in establishing a clear definition of what constitutes scholarship’. Moreover Bell *et al.* point out (2006:4) that this ‘need to engage in, and provide evidence of’ scholarship in support of teaching as well as in the discipline was a source of ‘some anxiety’ for many UTs who were initially unfamiliar with SoTL. An institutional desire to tackle this uncertainty and to promote teaching and SoTL as valued academic activities may explain a number of initiatives implemented within the University of Glasgow since the establishment of the UT and SUT posts.

Firstly, and central to the focus of this study, the teaching-focused (S)UT ‘track’ within the Research & Teaching ‘job family’, having initially been named ‘Teaching and Scholarship’, acquired its current name, ‘**Learning**, Teaching and

Scholarship' (LT&S) from 2013-14⁴. This clearly reflects the emergence of Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) as the accepted name for the field of study that emerged in the wake of the work of Boyer (1990) and Glassick, Huber and Maeroff (1997), but also of Hutchings and Shulman (1999) who made a case for the addition of student learning to the original classification of the scholarship of teaching. Secondly, a set of University-led initiatives has sought to improve academic staff engagement with 'quality' SoTL through various Learning and Teaching Centre workshops, the launch of an electronic journal from 2006, *Practice and Evidence of Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, the creation of the dedicated *beSoTLed* webpages (University of Glasgow, 2017a) and the institution of a Learning and Teaching Development Fund (LTDF). Thirdly, LT&S-track academic network-building and collaboration have been encouraged within the University through the foundation of SoTL Symposia from 2005, an annual Learning and Teaching Conference from 2008, and the piloting of a UT Learning Community (Bell *et al.*, 2006; MacKenzie *et al.*, 2010). Fourthly, increased professionalisation has been promoted through institutionally supported accreditation, originally via application for ILT membership, then HEA Fellowship, and now through a PG Certificate in Academic Practice and a University-initiated professional development scheme, Recognising Excellence in Teaching (RET), aligned to the UK Professional Standards Framework and initially - although no longer - accredited by the HEA (University of Glasgow, 2017b). Finally, efforts have been made to enhance the esteem of LT&S-track academics via the establishment of two sets of annual teaching awards organised separately by the University and the Students' Representative Council (SRC).

Many of these initiatives have been praised in the two most recent Enhancement-led Institutional Reviews (ELIR) of the University undertaken by the Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland) (QAA(S)) in 2010 and 2014. These reviews focus on the strategic approach to enhancement, in particular the student learning experience and academic standards. The 2014 ELIR Outcome Report singled out 'enhancing learning and teaching' (Quality Assurance Agency

⁴ Some inconsistency persists with regard to the naming of the track in various University sources. Human Resources refer to it as both the Learning, Teaching and Scholarship track and the Teaching, Learning and Scholarship track in different places; Gunn *et al.* (2014) refer to it as the 'Teaching and Scholarship' track.

(Scotland), 2014a:3) and ‘dissemination of good practice’ (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014a:4) as specific areas of positive practice. However while the 2014 ELIR Technical Report acknowledged the University’s attempts to ‘address parity of esteem between teaching and research within the promotional structures’ through its Maximising Academic Performance and Career Development Project (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014b:11), the 2014 Outcome Report flagged up ‘career progression for University Teachers’ as an area for development (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014a:5). Clearly a sense of unequal status between research and teaching was discernible by external reviewers. This may account for the tenor of the teaching-focused commitments made in the latest University strategy: ‘We must [...] ensure that teaching staff are **properly** valued and supported’, and ‘Teaching lies at the heart of our purpose and **should be** respected accordingly’ (University of Glasgow, 2015b:26, emphases added in bold). Evidently this outcome is, as yet, judged to be more aspirational than actual.

An assessment of academic staffing data for the University by function, and also by track, grade and gender (as of August 2014, the time of primary data collection), further exemplifies the context of the University’s overarching academic ‘job family’ and its differentiated ‘tracks’. See Figures 2.3 and 2.4 below:

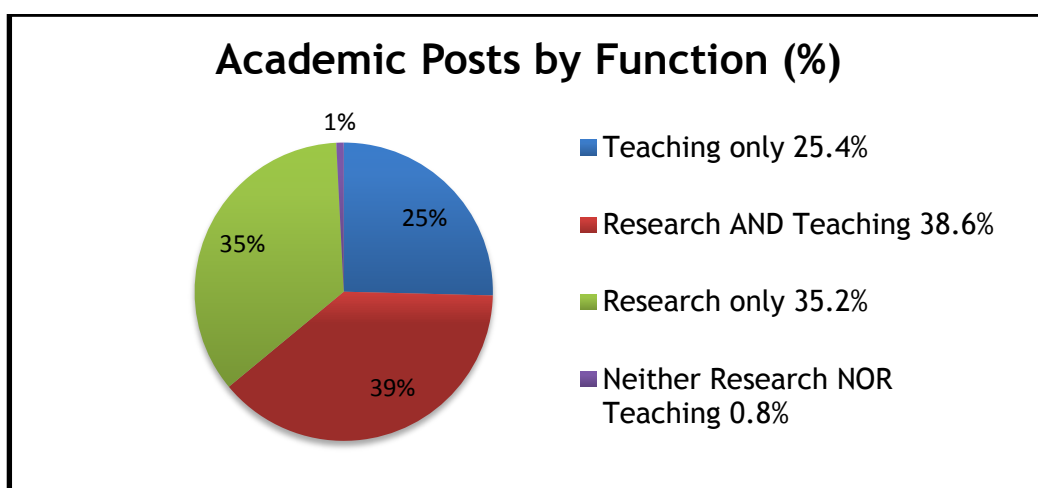


Figure 2.3:
University of Glasgow academic posts by function (percentage) as of August 2014
Original chart generated from data gathered from University Human Resources by email

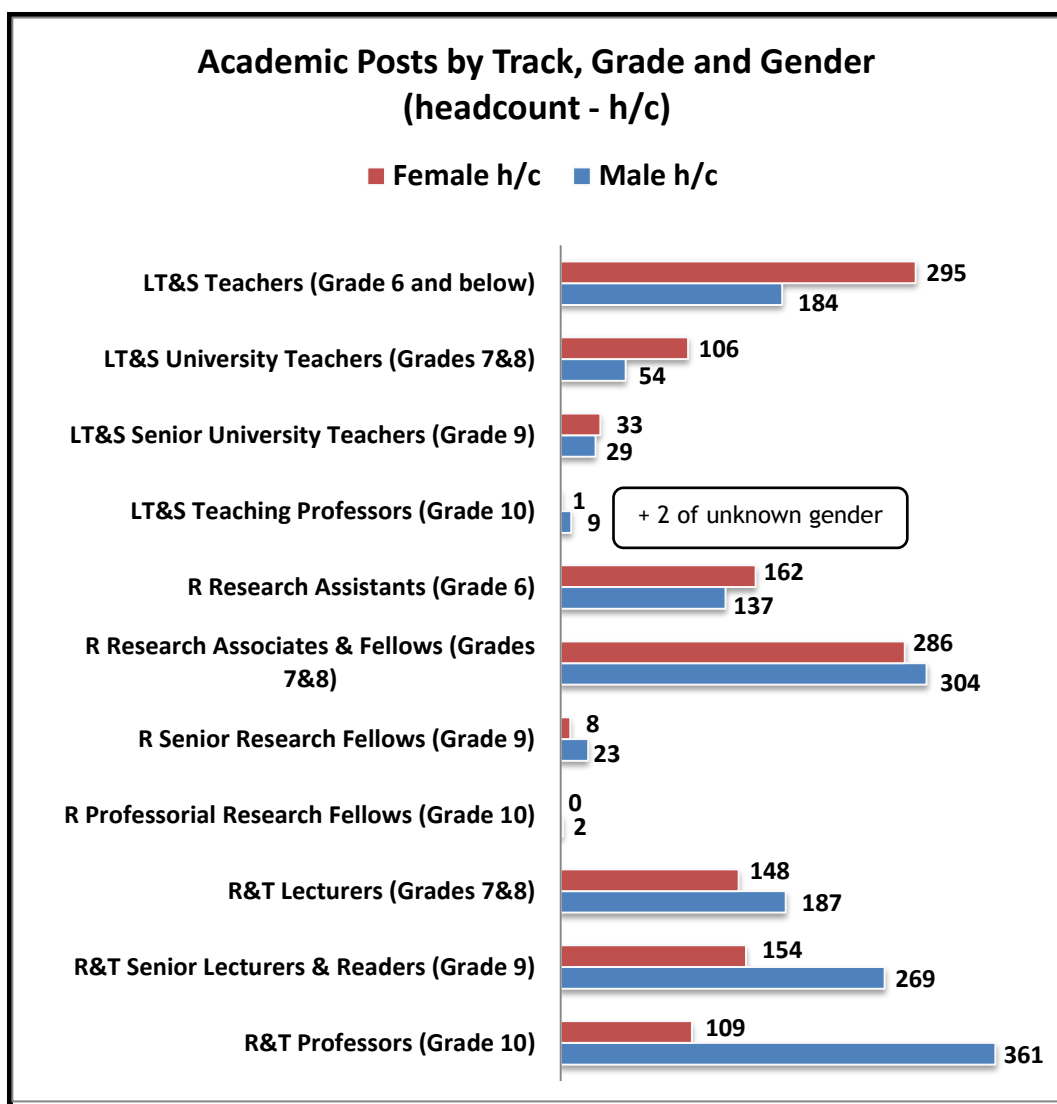


Figure 2.4:
University of Glasgow academic posts by track, grade and gender (headcount) as of August 2014
(LT&S: Learning, Teaching and Scholarship; R: Research; R&T: Research and Teaching)
Original chart generated from data gathered from University Human Resources
by email and by Freedom of Information requests

These figures plainly demonstrate the lower status of the Learning, Teaching and Scholarship (LT&S) track. Teaching is the smallest academic function, representing 25.4 *per cent* of academic staff, and LT&S staffing numbers are heavily weighted towards the lower end of the salary scale, with the vast majority (67.4 *per cent*) employed at Grade 6 and below, and only 10.1 *per cent* promoted to Grade 9 or 10. It is noteworthy that women outstrip men at the bottom grade by 61.6 *per cent* to 38.4 *per cent*. However this is the only academic track where women slightly outnumber men at promoted levels up to and including SUT Grade 9, but not at professorial level Grade 10. There are 12 LT&S Professors, representing only 1.7 *per cent* of academics on this track and 2.5 *per cent* of all Professors. A Freedom of Information request revealed the

gender divide as nine men and one woman, plus two of unknown gender (University of Glasgow, 2015c). Four of the men were already Professors before the LT&S track existed and must therefore have transferred to it subsequently, thereby indicating that only eight appointments to Professor have taken place within this track since it was established in 2003.

The research function is larger than that of teaching, representing 35.2 *per cent* of total academic staff as opposed to 25.4 *per cent* for teaching. Almost all staff on the Research track are employed in the low and middle Grades 6, 7 and 8 (96.4 *per cent*). The gender split is almost even across the whole track (49.7 *per cent* men *versus* 50.3 *per cent* women), although there are slightly more women than men at the lowest Grade 6 (54.2 *per cent* women *versus* 45.8 *per cent* men). What is notable on the Research track is the lack of promoted posts: only 3.6 *per cent* of Research staff work at Grades 9 or 10, and of those who do, 75.8 *per cent* are male.

The Research and Teaching (R&T) track is the largest of the three functions, representing 38.6 *per cent* of total academic staff. Here the numbers are heavily weighted towards the upper Grades 9 and 10 with 72.7 *per cent* of staff on this track promoted to one or other of these two levels. Moreover there is a male-orientated gender imbalance at all grades on this track, especially at Grade 9 (63.6 *per cent* male) and Grade 10 (76.8 *per cent* male).

There are a number of possible reasons for the lack of promoted posts on the LT&S track alongside the weighting towards promoted posts on the R&T track. As outlined above, the LT&S track is quite recent, dating from the academic year 2002-03 with promotion to Grade 9 available from 2003-04 and to Grade 10 from 2004-05; thus only a small number of promotion rounds have hitherto taken place. Moreover there is no Grade 6 on the R&T track and so promoted R&T staff may in fact have been employed initially on either the LT&S or R tracks. Finally, since the University restructure in 2010, both the annual performance and development review (P&DR) criteria and the promotion criteria have been identical for the three main academic tracks. At the time of the interviews these were based on self-evaluation against University strategic priorities and five separate measures: research and scholarship (sub-divided into outputs, award

generation and supervision); knowledge exchange and impact; teaching and learning; leadership and management; and esteem. There were differences at the level of the more detailed attribute descriptors for each measure; however preponderance across the categories was required. Given that LT&S staff now only have 10 *per cent* of their workload allocated to ‘research and scholarship’ - much less than the third originally allocated in 2002-03 - it may seem quite obvious why promotion has proven difficult to achieve on this track. As the more detailed 2014 ELIR Technical Report highlighted (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014b:11), ‘staff who met the ELIR team expressed a lack of understanding about how those seeking professorial promotion on the learning and teaching pathway might meet the criteria’. The QAA therefore recommended that the University ‘continue to develop its promotions criteria and the process for supporting the career development of staff on teaching, learning and scholarship contracts’ (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014b:11).

The issues raised in the 2014 ELIR reports are reflected in the findings of an internal, LTDF-funded study conducted into the recognition of teacher excellence within the University’s annual review and promotion processes, published later in the same year (Gunn *et al.*, 2014). Through engagement with existing research and grey literature, academic staff interviews and student focus groups, the project reports a number of key issues requiring action: lack of clarity around the definition and status of scholarship; inconsistent attention paid to teaching, with more focus on quantity than quality; and promotion criteria viewed as effectively unattainable for teaching-focused academics:

Research outputs and grant income are believed to be privileged above all other forms of performance and, within the T&S pathway, it is universally agreed that promotion criteria in these categories are extremely difficult to achieve given the emphasis on teaching commitments (particularly in the current funding climate for SoTL) and the recent developments in the workload model that apportion only 10% of staff time to scholarship. (Gunn *et al.*, 2014:5)

The key need identified is for ‘central guidance around teaching excellence and promotions to be explicitly reviewed and criteria established which are robust, achievable and acceptable across the Colleges’ (Gunn *et al.*, 2014:5), leading to a headline recommendation for the establishment of a short-life working group to undertake this task for both the LT&S and R&T tracks. This recommendation

has been implemented, as outlined in the 2015 Glasgow ELIR Follow-up Report to the QAA(S) (University of Glasgow, 2015d:6): ‘Good progress is being made towards these objectives, and recommendations, expected towards the end of 2015, will be reviewed by Vice-Principals’.

The activity of the short-life working group was still ongoing at the time of the (S)UT interviews and aspects of its conclusions will be taken into consideration in the final chapter of this study. However what remained seemingly accepted as fixed at that time was the existence of the separate LT&S track alongside the pre-existing R&T track. Glasgow’s continued commitment to contractual differentiation is thrown into relief by the University of Bradford’s decision to abolish its UT and SUT posts in 2007-08, opting instead to revert to the original job titles of Lecturer and Senior Lecturer and thereby ‘to harmonise their conditions of service with other staff on Lecturer and SL grades’ (University and College Union, University of Bradford, 2007:3). The University of Bradford local association of the UCU trade union acknowledged the ensuing need for discussion around definitions of research and scholarship and the fact that some staff may be more teaching-focused and others more research-focused, but judged that the removal of the parallel academic job track would ‘reduce anomalies’ and ‘build in flexibility for academic staff, enabling them to reflect the aspirations of individuals and their department’ (University and College Union, University of Bradford, 2007:3).

Aitken and Tatebe outline various academic naming conventions across 21 universities (2014:4-5). Some use the same set of job titles for all academics - usually Lecturer, Senior Lecturer and Professor - irrespective of pathway or track, for example the University of Birmingham, University College Dublin, the University of Melbourne and the University of New South Wales. Alternatively, other institutions have, like Glasgow, adopted differentiated nomenclatures and contracts for teaching-focused *versus* research and teaching staff, for example the University of British Columbia and the University of Auckland. This question of academic job titles is clearly significant. In their study of the ability of self-reflective job titles to reduce levels of emotional exhaustion, Grant, Berg and Cable (2014) assess the implications that professional naming conventions have on both organisations and their

employees. They highlight the nature of job titles as ‘important vehicles for identity expression and image construction’ that can impact positively or negatively on staff since they ‘serve a self-expressive function, influencing whether employees feel understood and accepted both inside and outside their work’ (Grant, Berg and Cable, 2014:1202).

Beyond the question of job titles much of the literature on academic professional identity is based on notions of complexity and division. Henkel (2000) depicts the pursuit of academic identity as a project seeking a balance of relationship(s) between a number of distinct aspects: the individual, the discipline, the department and the institution. She portrays academics as often divided between the nostalgic intrinsically-motivated ‘idealists’ focusing on traditional values and stability, versus the flexible extrinsically-motivated ‘pragmatists’ focusing on instrumental change and advance. Similarly Smith *et al.* (2016) engage with academe as an ‘uneasy profession’, positioned between ‘corporatist management styles and academics’ personal values’ (Smith and Rattray, 2016:vii). Skelton (2012:36) focuses on HE teacher identity as ‘highly complex’, with a few teaching-focused academics ‘pursuing their educational values with clear intent’, others ‘committed to changing prevailing culture and attitudes’, and some undergoing ‘significant “identity struggles”’ in an era of research dominance. Additional scholars similarly stress the idea of tensions or schisms, sometimes focusing on their negative impact (Billot, 2010; Churchman and King, 2009; Winter and O’Donohue, 2012), sometimes highlighting their potential (Clegg, 2008; Harris, 2005; Whitchurch, 2010).

Yet, as underlined by Macfarlane (2015a), this set of binary narratives may in fact be a series of overly simplified, and ultimately unhelpful, dualisms that fail to capture the fluid and multi-faceted nature of individual professional identity. Taylor (2008) traces trends in the history of the idea of human identity arriving at a postmodern definition of identity as a dynamic process of perpetual and multiple becoming via a continuous series of struggles or conflicts. In general terms therefore, human identity is now no longer regarded as essential in nature; rather it tends to be viewed as an existential and constructed ‘reflexively organised project’ (Giddens, 1991:5). For some postmodernists, such as Bauman (1996), identity may take the form of an empowering journey as

‘stroller’ or ‘vagabond’, ‘tourist’ or ‘player’, aiming ‘to avoid fixation and keep the options open’ (Bauman, 1996:18). Thus for Trowler, Saunders and Bamber (2012:258) academic identity has undergone a ‘rethink for the 21st century’. HE is now populated, they believe, by:

academics responding to imperatives to reshape their practices - sometimes in complicity, sometimes in collusion, often with resistance. Determined in part by where they are located in terms of career, role and biography, they make moment-by-moment choices in the flux of professional life, developing new repertoires, and yet still maintaining some disciplinary stabilities within an environmental matrix whose fluidity is ubiquitous.

In some respects this is a reflection of a prediction already made by the *Dearing Report* at the end of the last century (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997:Paragraph 14.12):

In the long term, we believe future career patterns might be expected to show some of the following characteristics: [...] individual staff developing and managing their own career portfolios, combining teaching, research, scholarship, and public service as appropriate, at different periods in their lives.

The University of Birmingham, one of the Universitas 21 universities identified above as using the same set of job titles for all academics, embraces just such attributes in its vision document, *The Birmingham Academic* (University of Birmingham, 2010). The creation and dissemination of this document appears to signal an institutional commitment to a singular and unified definition of the academic role, while simultaneously recognising that continuous revision must lie at its heart:

An academic’s contribution to the research, teaching, and knowledge transfer activities of the University will naturally vary over time, as will the roles he or she plays in leadership within the University. Review of this balance is properly a part of regular appraisal and career development (University of Birmingham, 2010:3).

This idea, of creating a single, yet adaptable, academic job description capable of encompassing a variety of remits, skill sets and specialisms over the course of a career, appears to provide a more sophisticated response to the wider context stories of evolving HE contexts and functions than the Glasgow model of compartmentalised research and teaching, teaching-focused or research-only academic posts.

Here a question arises: how are these wider context stories of the HE sector and its functions and contracts experienced by those who 'live' them? My singular UT career story has tried to answer this question at an individual level. Nonetheless it is but one weft yarn. It is not sufficient to create substantial material; it would quickly unravel. Therefore we need other weft yarns, other stories of the professional self, the **lived** experiences of differentiated academic identity as expressed in a range of particular narratives of teaching-focused UTs or SUTs. How do they construct and manage their sense of academic identity? In other words, how do they think and how do they feel as they live the role working day-to-working day?

2.4.3 The *lived* experience

Various qualitative research studies have been conducted into issues relating to the professional identity of teaching-focused academics (Probert and Sachs, 2015; Skelton, 2012; Tierney, 2016). Indeed within my own institution two studies have specifically focused on the role of the UT. Mackenzie *et al.* (2010) created an academic learning community (LC) with a view to addressing a starting position of 'anxiety regarding the UT role and scholarship' and 'the desire for community' (Mackenzie *et al.*, 2010:9). They analysed individual written data (application form statements and individual reflections) alongside semi-structured focus group interview data in order to identify and evaluate emerging themes relating to the LC membership experience and in so doing also touched on aspects of UT professional identity. Naula's focus (2014), on the other hand, was centred exclusively on UT professional identity. She undertook ten individual semi-structured interviews with UTs and SUTs from three of the University's four Colleges, using a two-part semi-guided interview schedule comprising demographic questions followed by core questions relating to academic identity. Again specific themes were gleaned from content analysis of the transcript data.

Both of the studies above, to be considered in more detail later alongside the empirical data from this study, adopt a common exploratory approach aiming to identify a series of emerging themes. While I, too, share this approach, I also aspire to a wider and deeper methodology such as that adopted by Skelton

(2012) in his evaluation of academic identity in a research-led institution. Using a loose interview guide Skelton engaged with 11 academics regarding ‘their university work, their approach to teaching and their educational values’ (Skelton, 2012:29). In so doing he attempted to ‘explore the lived realities of participants’, presenting the findings ‘as coherent teacher identities rather than through analytical themes’ (Skelton, 2012:29) while simultaneously situating these identities within their wider social context.

I seek to merge both approaches: to scrutinise a series of **whole** UT professional identity narratives; and to identify common **themes** emerging from those narratives, both relative to the settings from which they have emerged. Such a methodological merger thereby aims to embrace both experience-centred and socioculturally-oriented forms of narrative inquiry (Squire, 2013). Thereafter it is hoped that this research may have impact and be of benefit through the ‘double hermeneutic’ of social scientific research identified by Giddens (1987:19):

The concepts and theories invented by social scientists [...] circulate in and out of the social world they are coined to analyse. The best and most original ideas in the social sciences, if they have any purchase on the reality it is their business to capture, tend to become appropriated and utilized by social actors themselves.

However, an urgent question immediately arises regarding the true value of such an approach. How can the re-narration of highly individualised stories produce any coherent or meaningful common ground of wider relevance? Here the concept of the ‘parallax’ is useful, as contemplated by various theorists such as Žižek (2006) and Barnett (2015). Parallax is a disparity in the apparent position of a stationary object viewed along two different lines of sight, see Figure 2.5 below:

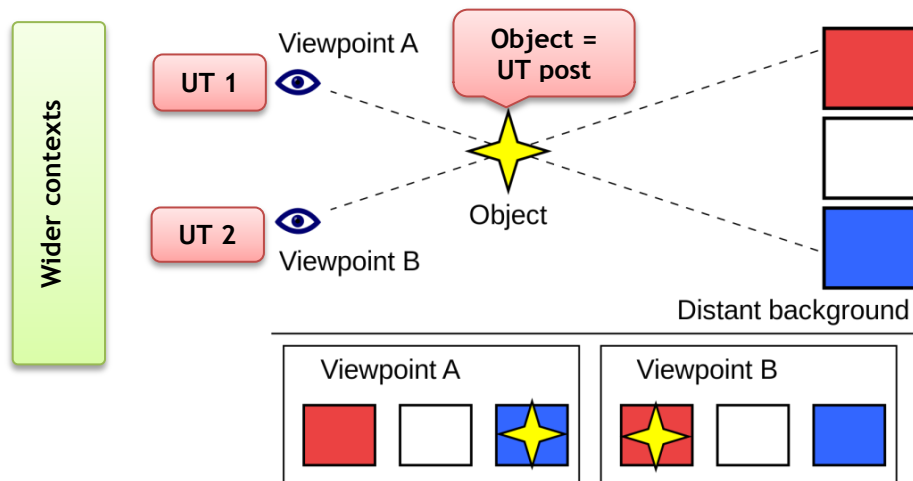


Figure 2.5:
Parallax views of the University Teacher post
Image available from Wikimedia Commons:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/Parallax_Example.svg
(text boxes added)

While it is clear that different UTs will view this academic post from different, albeit neighbouring, viewpoints or contexts (👁️ A and 👁️ B in Figure 2.5 above), and thus envision it differently (distant background images A and B above), these viewpoints nonetheless converge at the site of the focal object itself, the UT post (marked by a star above). In a sense, the various distant background images represent the series of differentiated whole UT identity case study stories to be told; whereas the star could be viewed as the point where common themes regarding the UT post emerge. In this way, and in a similar fashion to the parallax of binocular human vision, I believe that the narrative approach is a parallax with the capacity to create depth perception. And yet, I am also acutely aware of my plural positions within this parallax: I am, at one and the same time, an insider participant, the very particular 👁️ A with my own image of the UT post set against the distant background, and also the investigator endeavouring to visualise, depict and interpret the ‘whole picture’ wider context and the images of the UT post visible to others - 👁️ B, or C, D, E, and so on - while having only indirect narrated access to those other images. Care must therefore be taken to ensure the best choice of narrative approach and methods, as will be explored next in Chapter 3.

2.5 Summary

The research and teaching functions of academic life are often viewed as a nexus. And yet, as the HE sector has become rapidly evolving, globalised and competitive they are increasingly viewed as drivers of economic growth, best differentiated in order to maximise their revenue-generating potential. This development is illustrated by the rise in differentiated academic tracks and contracts such as those at the University of Glasgow and others within the Russell Group. In such elite universities research is often perceived as ranking above teaching, despite various steps to boost the status of the latter. This imbalance is borne out in documentation from my university, as well as in my own UT career story recounted in the opening chapter. It now remains to explore the lived experience of such a post through empirical research with others who occupy it through story prompting, gathering, transcribing, interpreting and re-telling. Nonetheless this approach is not without risk. It is therefore vital to reflect more fully on the definitions of narrative and narrative analysis that have influenced this study, alongside the potential problematics and the potential power of such an approach. This reflection now follows.

Chapter 3

Narrative research: 'house of bricks' or 'house of straw'? Justification and outline of methodology and methods

In this chapter I engage fully with various definitions of narratives and debates surrounding narrative approaches to research. In so doing I both justify and explain in detail my particular approach to drawing out and analysing UT career narratives.

3.1 Narratives and narrative research in context

Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2013:2), like Chase (1995) almost two decades earlier, highlight the 'ubiquity' of narrative in both popular culture and social science research. Atkinson and Silverman (1997:22) acknowledge the advent of the 'interview society' in the former, while warning against 'an untheorized and uncritical endorsement of personal narratives' in the latter. In a similar vein Riessman (2008:5) fears that the 'narrative turn' may have become so popular in various fields of research as to have mutated into an omnipresent 'tyranny of narrative', with a plethora of texts inappropriately treated as narratives. While recognising the great diversity in definitions of narrative within different disciplinary contexts, she stresses (2008:5) that 'all talk and text is not narrative'. For her, the central defining attribute of narratives within social science research is that they 'all work with contingent sequences' (2008:5), in the sense that they strive to create connections and meaning from an otherwise random set of happenings or ideas. Pals (2006:177) terms this 'the narrative act of constructing causal connections'. This definition resonates with that of Squire *et al.* (2014:7) who characterise narratives as 'organized, plotted, interpreted accounts of events' that can take a number of forms:

accounts of temporally ordered events, or as developing or expressing personal identity, or telling about the past, or making sense of mental states or emotions, or having particular social effects, or demonstrating formal linguistic properties (Squire *et al.*, 2014:6).

All of the above definitions apply to the narratives elicited from the participants in this study as well as that recounted in my introductory story. The focus here is

on personal **experience**-centred narratives (Squire, 2008, 2013), rather than the exclusive focus on narrative **events** of the Labovian approach. In particular, I concentrate on just one of the three broad types of story defined by Riessman (2012): not 'entire life stories' (369); not 'extended accounts of lives that develop in conversation over the course of interviews and other fieldwork interactions' (370); rather, they are 'brief, topically specific stories organized around characters, setting, and plot' (370) in the form of professional autobiographies elicited, or 'invited' (Chase, 2005), in the course of individual research interviews.

Clearly, then, definitions of narrative are plentiful. So, too, are approaches to their analysis. Indeed, as Atkinson and Delamont point out (2006:xxi), 'it is part and parcel of the development of narrative analysis that definitions abound'. What matters most, they suggest, is not to rate or rank the various definitions and approaches, but to examine them carefully in order to determine which are most applicable to a given project. As Bold underlines (2012:6), the use of narrative, or indeed any research approach, 'must be justified as fit for purpose'. In terms of this study the narrative research undertaken aims at a general level to merge two of the five broad analytic approaches outlined by Chase (2005). The first approach focuses on 'the "identity work" that people engage in as they construct selves within specific institutional, organizational, discursive, and local cultural contexts' (Chase, 2005:658), in this case UT academic identity stories, but also the University's institutional identity stories as recounted in a number of public narratives. The second analytic approach highlights the autoethnographic stance adopted; the interpretation of my own 'insider' UT narrative in conjunction with those of other UTs and the University itself, while simultaneously and explicitly acknowledging that all of these stories are necessarily mediated through my eyes.

The analytic processes of narrative research consequently generate further definitions by foregrounding varying purposes and outcomes for the different parties involved. For example the UT narrators' desire 'to remember, argue, convince, engage, or entertain their audience' (Riessman, 2012:373) sits alongside the value to me, the UT researcher, of the recounted narratives produced in terms of their ability to address the research question under

investigation, leading ultimately to the creation of new narratives in the form of future readers' interpretations of those drawn out and re-drawn stories. As Chase (2005) points out, narrative is at its core a complex cyclical activity in which the researcher is, at one and the same time, the listening and reading narratee to whom stories are told, and the speaking and writing narrator who interprets and retells those same stories to both the original narrators and new narratees.

In summary, through a process of drawing out and re-drawing UT narratives, I endeavour in this study to undertake both an ontological exploration of 'being' a particular kind of academic (teaching-focused) in a particular kind of HE context (UK, elite, research-led), and also an axiological exploration of the values and power structures underlying this particular academic job category. In so doing I seek to fulfil the potential of narrative research identified by Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2013:2), to 'help us describe, understand and even explain important aspects of the world'. However this will only be possible if I also address some of the acknowledged challenges or professed 'intractable problems' (Squire *et al.*, 2014:2) of the approach that are of particular relevance in this case.

3.2 'House of bricks': making the case for narrative research

3.2.1 Countering common criticisms

Various issues have been raised in relation to narrative research, highlighting what Atkinson (1997:369) refers to as 'inappropriate assumptions' espoused by some who adopt the approach. In this sub-section I define two broad categories of documented theoretical or methodological concern, alongside an assessment of the extent to which, both more widely and within the parameters of this study, they might constitute fundamental paradigmatic weaknesses, akin to a fairy tale 'house of straw' incapable of withstanding the 'wolf breath' of rigorous academic scrutiny. In each case, however, I counter these concerns in ways that, I believe, ultimately render the approach a more robust and reliable 'house of bricks'.

Exaggerated value claims

The first type of issue centres on reportedly exaggerated claims made for the value of the narrative approach. For example Atkinson (1997) criticises the ‘vulgar realism’ (371) of scholars who contend that narrative research provides access to ‘a unique and privileged locus of character and experience’ (370). Squire *et al.* (2014:112) similarly reproach those who assume narrative to be ‘the “royal road” to understanding individual lives’. Such claims can be viewed as both a misrepresentation of the nature, and an overestimation of the value, of individual narratives and narrative inquiry. For Bruner (1987) and Pals (2006) among others, autobiographical accounts are unstable, not fixed, and therefore the notion of a ‘locus’ of identity is inherently flawed. Moreover in Bruner’s view (1987:101) ‘this very instability makes life stories highly susceptible to cultural, interpersonal, and linguistic influences’. Thus narratives and narrative research must be regarded and examined as social phenomena. As Atkinson stresses (1997:386), ‘We will not produce good research on the social world by stripping out the social, replacing it with solitary voices or individualized versions of experience’.

Another related grand claim made in favour of narratives is the idea of their ‘recuperative role’ (Atkinson, 1997:371), endowing them with ‘an almost therapeutic and emancipatory aspect’ (Atkinson, 1997:378). Narratives gathered solely with a view to conveying purportedly authentic individual voices can lead, Atkinson asserts, to a celebratory rather than purposeful form of narrative inquiry. As a result, studies based on such an approach may lack criticality and thereby be rendered ‘trivial and simplistic’ (Squire *et al.*, 2014:112). And yet, like Atkinson and Delamont (2006:xxxii-xxxiii), I would argue that narrative research is not entirely devoid of the ability to empower and transform but, as already outlined above, only does so when considered in relation to local contexts and wider social constructs, for example in this study, the local institutional setting and the wider contexts of the UK and global HE sectors:

The point is to relate the structures of discourse to the social action and social organization of which they are part. Narratives do not just have form: those forms are used by social actors to do things. We should, collectively, be interested in doing more than just collecting and reproducing narratives as if they were self-justifying and self-explicating.

Consequently, with regard to the narratives examined here, UT professional identity stories invited in the context of research interviews, I agree that they should be approached questioningly rather than have their value either overestimated or underrated:

Our stance towards such forms and genres of social life should be analytic, not celebratory. While narratives are important forms of action and representation, we do not seek to privilege them by claiming for them any unique or special qualities (Atkinson and Delamont, 2006:xxvi).

Similarly, in terms of narrative analytical practices, these can simply be viewed as further 'tools for knowing about the world' (Squire *et al.*, 2014:112) rather than be held up as either exemplary or inconsequential. I therefore combine their use here with that of other analytical tools, such as detailed document analysis and evaluation of quantitative staffing data. I would nonetheless contend that the overarching conceptual framework or 'loom' on which the various threads of this study are woven is that of interpretive narrative research, with the various methods or tools comparable to different types of shuttle used to bring separate threads together.

Lack of reliability and validity

A second type of criticism commonly directed at narrative approaches to research is their purported lack of reliability and validity, where reliability traditionally denotes replicability of results, and validity refers to how truthfully the research represents the setting under investigation, both internally in terms of each particular case and externally in terms of wider generalizability of findings.

Bold (2012:6) recounts that 'the greatest challenge' she faced in her role as a teacher educator was 'to persuade students that narrative approaches were valid, reliable and just as rigorous as any other research when used well'. The prevailing assumption was that valid, reliable research comprised the establishment of 'facts and truths' (Bold, 2012:6) via the collection and analysis of numerical data by an entirely objective researcher. In Bold's view such methods are just as liable to manipulation as are qualitative approaches like narrative research. Moreover Elliott (2005) highlights the fact that for some

researchers it is highly inappropriate to apply the parameters of positivist quantitative methods to an investigation into subjective experiences. Indeed Connelly and Clandinin (1990:7) believe that 'narrative relies on other criteria than validity, reliability, and generalizability', although they have also conceded that those alternative criteria 'continue to be developed' (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000:185). I would nonetheless argue that certain interpretations of reliability and validity can be relevant in assessing the 'fitness for purpose' of narrative approaches to explore certain types of research question such as this one, the ongoing identity construction of a specific type of academic. In so doing it is possible to counter accusations that narrative research tends towards solipsism, conducted solely in and for itself and therefore devoid of wider resonance.

With regard to reliability, the standard definition is 'the replicability or stability of research findings' (Elliott, 2005:22) or 'the consistency of accounts' (Maines, 1993:131), in other words, the inherently repeatable production of results or measurements. It is clear that this is neither possible, nor I believe desirable, in narrative research given that narratives are created through, and focused on, the description and fluid interpretation, not the measurement and fixed explanation, of a unique narrator-narratee relationship uniquely situated in place and time. It is therefore a subjectively and socially constituted endeavour that can never be exactly reproduced. However this does not mean that narrative research is inherently inconsistent. Key to achieving a level of consistency or stability in narrative findings is an explicitly articulated reflection on the nature of the research question, on the selection of appropriate methods to investigate it and on any changes in either aspect as the project progresses, as well as providing readers with as much information as possible on the research process and as much access as possible to original research data alongside its analysis. Hollway and Jefferson (2000:80) stress this need for transparent evidence as a means to safeguard the robustness of holistic analysis:

The main plank of our defence of the knowledge we generate using interpretation is in the notion of evidence. Our work, as well as being theoretically led, is solidly empirical in the sense that supporting and challenging evidence is available.

In terms of validity, the perceived soundness of research findings, a focus on the ‘truth’ of narrators’ utterances is problematic. Debates abound regarding whether objective reality actually exists ‘out there’, or is impossible given that all reality is mediated and subjective, or, as Maines contends (1993:131), ‘may well exist but [...] cannot be directly known’. If validity depends on ‘truth’ defined as ‘the thing corresponding to fact or reality’, narrative research can be assumed to be inherently invalid since it is always mediated via subjective narration and re-narration and therefore can never attain objective truth.

However internal validity in narrative research seems more viable if subjective truth, or ‘trustworthiness’ as Riessman (2008) refers to it, rather than objective truth, is the benchmark applied to it. Internally valid research engages truthfully with the phenomenon it sets out to explore rather than creating untruthful or irrelevant results through the use of unsuitable research methods. Elliott (2005) outlines arguments for the enhanced internal validity of narrative research given its focus on the recording of stories freely expressed and interpreted by the participants themselves, rather than confined by a series of fixed interviewer-generated questions. However, since the narratives in this study are elicited, as will be outlined in more detail below, I subscribe to the more nuanced definition of validity provided by Squire *et al.* (2014). They stress that narrative findings are valid not simply because they give access to ‘the “truth” of how the world appears in the mindset of another’ (Squire *et al.*, 2014:110), but also on condition that they are ‘acknowledged as constructed, and as necessarily incomplete’ (109).

In contrast, this focus on subjective truth in narrative research would appear to preclude its external validity. Given the specificity and particularity of narratives how can related research findings ever be generalizable? Elliott (2005:26) claims that ‘for some researchers there is simply a trade-off between depth and breadth’, between a small number of highly detailed but discrete case studies, or a large, and ostensibly more representative, sample of more generalizable cases. However certain proponents of narrative research claim that its essential core strength in fact lies in its emphasis on rich and highly particular data ‘constitutive of individual identities’ (Elliott, 2005:13). And yet if research cannot be applied to broader settings what is its longer-term value? In

Elliott's opinion (2005:26) many qualitative research approaches, such as narrative, respond by adopting a 'common-sense view of generalizability' in which the reader is left to decide how applicable given findings may be to the same issue, in this case contractually differentiated teaching-focused academics, played out in similar contexts, such as other research-led UK HE institutions. Chase (1995:20) takes this further, suggesting that collective community meanings can in fact **only** be gained through the analysis of individual experiences and attitudes:

Understanding general social processes **requires** a focus on their embodiment in actual practices, that is, in actual narratives. In other words, life stories themselves embody what we need to study: the relation between **this** instance of social action (**this** particular life story) and the social world the narrator shares with others; the ways in which culture marks, shapes or constrains this narrative; and the ways in which **this** narrator makes use of cultural resources and struggles with cultural constraints (original emphases).

I therefore believe that a form of external validity can emerge from the analysis of narratives when, as Bruner states (1987:108), they 'spring from a common landscape':

the advantage that it yields is in narrative power and possibility, not in the ontology of verification. For one view of the world cannot confirm another, though, in Clifford Geertz's evocative phrase, it can 'thicken' it (Bruner, 1987:109).

3.2.2 Asserting additional advantages

Atkinson (1997), while critiquing certain aspects of narrative research and querying whether or not the 'narrative turn' may have led up a 'blind alley', nonetheless refers to it as 'a mixed **blessing**' (Atkinson, 1997:371, emphasis added in bold). Having countered some of the criticisms, I now assert some additional advantages of the approach.

Creative approaches to understanding identity-in-society and society-in-identity

At a basic level Bold (2012:2) defends narrative inquiry for its originality and accessibility: 'A narrative approach opens doors to alternative ways of conducting and disseminating research that is illuminating, novel and accessible to readers'. I certainly wish to communicate my research findings to interested

parties as easily as possible. However, in the wake of the ‘narrative turn’, I am unconvinced that narrative research continues to constitute an entirely fresh and innovative research approach. Moreover these grounds alone would seem a weak justification for its use here.

Squire *et al.* (2014) suggest related but more substantial benefits of narrative inquiry in the form of applied creativity. For them it ‘promises new fields of enquiry, creative solutions to persistent problems, [...] enhanced possibilities of applying research to policy and practice’ (Squire *et al.*, 2014:1). Likewise Chase (1996) values its ability to deepen and widen the scope of understanding by connecting individual stories to the wider contexts from which they spring: ‘its goal is to turn our attention elsewhere, to taken-for-granted cultural processes embedded in the everyday practices of storytelling’ (Chase, 1996:55). Thus a narrative approach would seem ideally suited to this study focusing on the link between the academic identity construction of teaching-focused UTs and the wider institutional and sectoral contexts in which university academics function. Narratives are commonly recognised as the means people use not only to ‘define who they are for themselves and others’ (McAdams, Josselson and Lieblich, 2006:4), but also to create those identities in the telling. For Atkinson and Delamont (2006:xxi) narratives ‘are productive of individual and collective identities’, while Griffiths and Macleod (2008:123) argue cogently in favour of ‘auto/biography’ focusing ‘on the intersection between individual experience and the social context’. The cyclical capacity of narrative research to create and comprehend identity-in-society and society-in-identity is both clear and powerful.

Engagement with complexity

It is clear, therefore, that analysis of personal narratives can address the complexity and contradictions in the creation of identity, in this case academic identities, in keeping with Ricoeur’s concept of ‘narrative identity’ (1991). For him it is neither an entirely unstable nor an entirely fixed entity; rather it is a culturally-mediated, dynamic process of composition.

Narrative inquiry also attends to the complex, multi-layered and overlapping relationships that exist in this study between the researcher, the participants and the readers. For example it is an approach befitting my closeness to the topic since it does not posit me, the researcher, as being solely 'object' with a neutral 'God's eye view' of the issue being explored; instead it requires an acknowledgement of my concomitant place as a participating 'subject' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000), a highly appropriate outlook - or indeed outlooks - given my parallel insider role.

Scope to extend beyond narcissism and solipsism

Finally, through the adoption of carefully chosen narrative methods this study aims to go beyond the narcissistic confines of my own singular experiences outlined at the outset, in an effort jointly and multiply to produce new meaning(s) and thereby create a composite emic picture of the UT professional role as it is experienced and as it interacts with prevailing etic narratives of academic identity. In so doing, and as in the case of Chase's analysis (1996) of the narratives of women school superintendents, my study seeks to cast off any criticisms of solipsism by inviting readers, particularly other teaching-focused academics and those in management positions, to listen out for, and reflect on, resonances with and within their own particular situations.

3.2.3 Reflexivity: overpowering 'the big bad wolf'...

Having sought to outline and critically engage with some of the problematics and the potentialities of the narrative approach in relation to this study, I am struck by Atkinson and Delamont's position (2006:xxvi) that such an endeavour is in fact unwarranted:

There need be no advocacy of narrative work, nor need there be any 'defence' of narrative. Narratives are social phenomena. They are among the many forms through which social life is enacted. They do not, therefore, need endorsement any more than they deserve to be neglected.

I agree that the ubiquity of narratives and their recognised status as social phenomena may preclude the need to justify the narrative approach to research in general. Nevertheless, I would contend that it is still necessary to rationalise the methodological details of specific narrative-inspired projects such as this,

particularly since reflexivity is fundamental to all good research projects, and to narrative projects in particular.

Riessman (2008:193) advises that good, trustworthy narrative research can only be achieved by 'following a methodical path, documenting claims, and practicing reflexivity'. It is through being substantively reflexive and self-reflexive that narrative researchers can acknowledge the limitations of any findings reported or arguments advanced while avoiding the 'nebulous' forms of reflexivity sometimes used as a criterion for justifying prescriptive interpretations (Squire, 2008:39). Reflexivity, or 'wakefulness' as it is termed by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), thus has the power to convert a potentially methodologically unstable 'house of straw' into a more stable and secure 'house of bricks'. As Atkinson and Delamont conclude (2006:xxxii), 'sloppy collection, or data gathering without reflexivity, produce impoverished material that will not support [...] analytic attention'.

It is therefore unsurprising that issues are often raised *and* countered by those same scholars who nonetheless espouse narrative inquiry. Note for example the 'persistent concerns' voiced by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), Riessman's 'truths and cautions' (2008) and the 'challenges' broached by Squire *et al.* (2014). Josselson (1996:70) succinctly conveys their shared viewpoint: 'Doing narrative research is an ethically complex undertaking, but I do not advocate that we stop doing it'. This leads us now to a consideration of the ethics surrounding narrative research, and of the researcher-participant relationship in particular.

3.2.4 Ethical considerations

Geertz (1973:9) refers to the already indirect nature of the narrative interpretive endeavour that highlights the complexity of the researcher-participant relationship: 'What we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to'. Researchers therefore clearly need to be aware of the highly mediated status of narratives recounted in the context of a research interview. While for Geertz in the 1970s ethnography was often more observational than interpretive, Yow

(1997:212) outlines a 'conceptual shift' in social sciences that now 'makes acknowledgement of the interviewer's reactions to, and intrusions into, research speakable'. Thus Squire *et al.* (2014:100) signal the need for reflexivity in narrative analysis that includes 'the deconstruction of power relations within and beyond the research'. This primarily encompasses recognition of the social, political and attendant ethical aspects of the relationship between the researcher/narratee and the participant/narrator during both the elicitation and the interpretation stages of the research. It also involves the relationship established with anticipated recipient narratees for whom the research is written and/or who read the research. In addition it should be noted that the potential for partiality in relationships is particularly heightened in this study given my trilateral insider position as researcher and participant and a member of the envisaged audience. Consequently a number of ethical issues regarding power relations and their potentially problematic consequences are manifest within narrative research generally, and this study in particular.

Firstly, as a narrative researcher I can claim too much power, declaring myself to be the 'voice' of my UT narrators, when it is inevitably my voice rather than their voices that is conveyed. Given the loose structure of the interview format used in this study, and outlined in more detail below, participants' story episodes and storied language may indeed be freely chosen. However these narratives are not naturally occurring; they are elicited via a framework devised by me and ultimately 'captured' and reported through my eyes and words. As Lieblich points out (1996:174):

Even if the participants are paid for their cooperation or thanked profusely in the introduction or footnotes of the final work, their stories are taken from them for the benefit of the researcher.

Secondly, and by extension given the guiding and controlling role of the narrative researcher, I can take too much power and risk becoming a domineering and disrespectful voice expressing interpretations that participants do not recognise, and thereby creating a dilemma over who 'owns' the data. Indeed Josselson (1996:70) refers to her sense of guilt at being both an 'intruder' and a 'betrayor' with regard to her participants.

Chase (1996:49) brings both of these potential issues together in her advice that narrative researchers ‘pay special attention to participants’ vulnerability and analysts’ interpretive authority’. Thus I can mitigate a sense of powerlessness if I allow participants to review research materials during the research process. However Riessman (2008) advises caution in this respect, making a distinction between allowing participants to comment on transcripts and giving them the right to amend researchers’ analyses. I agree with Ochberg’s view (1996:98) that an ethical balance must be struck between the rights of participants to tell their stories as they wish, to perform their ‘act of self-construction’, and those of narrative researchers to listen to them searchingly. Ultimately, as Riessman asserts (2008:199), ‘we have to take responsibility for the validity of our interpretive conclusions, and document how we arrived at them’.

Thirdly, narrative researchers can be overly familiar with their participants, especially when working with peers as in this study, and thereby run the risk of distorting research findings by falling foul of Yow’s question (1997) ‘Do I like them too much?’. Platt (1981) and McEvoy (2002) have explored issues pertaining to the interviewing of peers or colleagues from the point of view of both the interviewee and the interviewer.

From the perspective of participants, McEvoy (2002) points out that in any interview situation the interviewee is necessarily more exposed than the interviewer given the lack of genuine conversational reciprocity, adding that such ‘feelings of exposure may be exacerbated’ if that interviewer is a colleague (McEvoy, 2002:54). Platt (1981:77) suggests that in an effort to ‘appear well’ intellectually or maintain position, peers - whether researched or researcher - may seek to conceal any conceivable signs of weakness. Moreover, participant vulnerability may be further intensified in a small-scale organisational study such as mine, where the completed dissertation will be publicly accessible and ‘it may be difficult to conceal the identity of the interviewees from knowledgeable insiders’ (McEvoy, 2002:57). Alternatively, participants may feel so comfortable with a peer researcher that they may go off-topic into general conversation. Or they may assume that shared professional status circumvents the need for explanations, thereby producing ‘thinner’ data (Platt, 1981:82). Or, finally, they may share relevant information outside of the ethically approved research

parameters, for example once the recorder is switched off, thereby creating a moral dilemma regarding the legitimacy of using such 'covert' data (McEvoy, 2002:55).

From the perspective of the peer-researcher, McEvoy (2002:49) debates the "'emic" perspective' and the accusations made against it: that it is 'blinkered' and 'parochial' to such an extent that group assumptions may not be challenged due to the constraints of group membership. This echoes Platt's observation (1981) that such interviewers may be wary of asking more challenging questions of peers for fear of damaging their on-going working relationship, thus limiting the potential richness of the data produced and its potential to address the research question itself. While acknowledging many of these potential pitfalls, Sikes and Potts (2008) highlight the benefits of studies like this one seeking to research education 'from the inside'. Particularly similar to my own experiences is Potts' exploration of his research into academic staff (2008). He testifies to the ease in identifying willing participants, attributable in his view to the independent, non-commissioned nature of his research, his insider knowledge of the context and its associated jargon, and his perceived status as an empathetic equal. As a result he believes that participants were not only easier to locate and more amenable to taking part, but also more truthful and open, to the extent of sharing highly personal and sensitive information.

Finally, a fourth and particularly serious issue regarding the researcher-participant relationship in narrative inquiry is the inadvertent harm that can be caused to participants in various ways: through lack of informed consent; failure to protect anonymity; or emotional and psychological distress triggered.

As regards fully informed consent, I must acknowledge to myself and my participants that this is not in fact achievable in narrative research. In this approach conclusions are reached via the research process itself and not necessarily derived from the testing of a preceding hypothesis. Participants therefore cannot in fact know in advance exactly what they are consenting to. As Chase points out (1996:57):

narrative research is a contingent and unfolding process, the results of which we cannot anticipate or guarantee. An informed consent form cannot possibly capture the dynamic processes of interpretation and authorship.

Nonetheless detailed information regarding the research topic, approach and methods can be, and has been, shared with participants in advance in order to facilitate their decision to participate, and relevant ethical approval obtained (see Appendices 1-3).

The issue of guaranteed anonymity is problematic in this study in particular. Clearly individual participants have been promised, and are, anonymised, with any identifying details such as disciplinary specialism or institutional position removed, and the gender of five unidentified participants changed in order to provide enhanced protection of identity. However retaining the anonymity of the institution is more complex. Like Lieblich's reflections (1996) on an earlier narrative study of an Israeli kibbutz, it is not always easy fully to protect the anonymity of an organisation. Part of the aim of my project is to interweave institutional and individual narratives. This involves textual analysis of official documents, many of which are web-based with the institution thus immediately identifiable. While the use of pseudonyms has provided some protection of anonymity for individuals, extending this to the institution could have been construed as unethical. This seems particularly pertinent given that the rationale for the study is to share academic staff perceptions of the functionally differentiated UT job track with a view to benefitting not only the individuals involved, but also the wider university community. I reflected on this dilemma at length, debating the issues with my supervisors and critical friends and seeking advice from the College-level Ethics Coordinator. In the end I opted to follow Riessman's advice (2008:197) that trustworthiness can be enhanced by 'taking one's work back to those studied'. I therefore consulted my participants regarding the naming of the University. Seven out of 11 responded, with all agreeing that it could, and indeed in the opinion of some should, be named.

With regard to the potential distress caused to participants, although it may seem that an investigation into differentiated academic posts such as the UT is not an overtly disturbing issue, the use of narrative methodology to invite reflection on career trajectories may nonetheless prove to be unsettling for

some participants and also the researcher, 'like opening a Pandora's box' (Lieblich, 1996:177). Storytelling may also reveal personal attitudes and wider social structures that lead to changed outlooks and behaviour, or alternatively may make participants more entrenched in those outlooks (Elliott, 2005). Moreover participants may not agree with the researcher's interpretations, particularly given Hollway and Jefferson's observation (2000:77) that, unlike the work of therapists, social science researchers' interpretative work 'comes later, is separate from the participant and has a different audience'.

Consequently, both in my relationship with participants and as a participant, I have had to be continuously alert to the fact that narrative research is a complex and entwined activity, and use this awareness of potential issues to temper, rather than constrain, my research activity. I have therefore involved participants as far as practicable, ensuring that they have understood how the research is being conducted and why, that they have had an opportunity to check all transcripts, that they know how results will be disseminated, and will have access to the completed study on request. I have also openly acknowledged my position as an insider researcher endeavouring to explore UT academic identity with a view to co-creating conclusions unknown at the outset. Finally, I have remained acutely conscious of my potential to be 'an emotional catalyst' (Lieblich 1996:177) and heeded Elliott's warning (2005) to tread cautiously regarding participants' reactions to the narrative research process. In so doing I have sought to carry out 'the researchers' responsibility' as outlined by Hollway and Jefferson (2000:92) - 'to satisfy themselves that objections, alternative interpretations, and other views of the participants have been taken into account, if only implicitly, in the writing up of the research' - while simultaneously endeavouring to follow their ethical principles of 'honesty, sympathy and respect'.

Having assessed in depth various aspects of the narrative approach employed in this study, a detailed outline of the research process followed and the analytic methods used is now required and is provided in the next section.

3.3 The 'floor plan': drawing out University Teacher narratives

This section provides a blueprint of the specific narrative methods chosen as most 'fit for purpose' in order to draw out UT identity stories through a series of direct encounters between myself and the researched. The sub-sections that follow outline the steps taken to address the main aim of the study: to investigate the storied accounts of professional identity construction and management of UTs in a Russell Group university. I first discuss the planning of the interview framework specifically designed to elicit UT career narratives. I then explain how I recruited participants. Thereafter I outline how I conducted the interviews. Finally, I close the section with a reflection on the mode of transcription adopted.

It should be noted that I was able to refine my elicitation method and interviewing skills, alongside my approaches to transcription and analysis, as part of the 10,000-word EdD *Open Studies 2: advancing and applying research methods* course essay. This project involved the trial elicitation and analysis of four academic career narratives in relation to disciplinary attachment (Cavani, 2013).

3.3.1 Planning the interview framework

The empirical aspect of this narrative project required participants to 'produce stories' (Squire *et al.*, 2014:7) with and for the researcher. The narrative interview format was therefore painstakingly planned and trialled prior to the full project in order to ensure that the narrative data production methods used were the most likely to elicit enough rich and appropriate data to address the research topic under investigation. Chase (1995) stresses that the choice of elicitation methods can make a significant difference between inviting what she terms 'stories', where the participant is involved in making sense of what is recounted, or 'reports', where the interpretive task falls solely to the researcher. The key to inviting 'stories', she contends, is to build a rapport with participants, to use everyday language and, most importantly, to orientate the agenda towards each participant's experiences rather than the researcher's interests. Thus, as Chase reiterates (2005:661), it is 'a matter of framing the

interview as a whole with a broad question about whatever story the narrator has to tell about the issue at hand’.

When undertaking research in a particular institutional or organisational context, such as a university, this story-telling ‘invitation’ must be particularly well-prepared in terms of the researcher’s knowledge and understanding of that context. The research interviews in this study therefore followed a carefully considered narrative interview framework (see Appendix 2) aiming to elicit each participant’s storied account of her/his professional identity construction and management in relation to her/his role as a ‘teaching-focused’ UT. The framework comprised the initial use of a written elicitation tool in the form of a ‘career path response sheet’ derived from Odena and Welch (2012) and designed to draw out stories from participants, followed by a series of prompt questions aiming to deepen participant interpretation of those stories. Example prompt questions included: ‘How have you arrived at your current post?’, ‘How do you understand the moments of change?’, ‘Could you sum up your professional journey?’, ‘Where might the story end?’. Both the tool and the questions were informed by debates within the research literature (thematic and methodological) outlined in earlier chapters, complemented by my privileged insider knowledge of the ‘history and culture’ of the sector, the institution, and (at least some of) its people (Smyth and Holian, 2008:37). The first interviews were useful to fine-tune the wording and order of prompt questions. Subsequent interviews incorporated amended or additional prompt questions such as: ‘How do you feel about the job title?’, ‘What do you understand by “scholarship”?’, ‘Where might the story go next?’. Overall, the quality and length of responses made it feasible to conduct only one interview with each participant and to include all interviews in the analysis of data.

3.3.2 Recruiting participants

With regard to the nature and number of participants, I had initially contemplated conducting interviews not only with one UT and one SUT colleague within all five Schools of my own College of the University, but also with one Lecturer and one Senior Lecturer from each in an effort to compare the respective professional identity narratives of teaching-focused and research-

focused academics. However on reflection I realised that this type of 'representative sample' was not ideal on three grounds: firstly feasibility, since this would involve too many participants (at least 20), especially given Elliott's estimate (2005:32) that a 90-minute interview may generate a 15,000-20,000-word transcript; secondly applicability to topic, since my primary focus is the sense(s) of identity of teaching-focused rather than research-focused academics; and thirdly correspondence with the chosen methodological approach, since such an urge to identify an ostensibly 'representative' sample in effect undermines the non-positivist stance of the narrative, interpretivist approach by implying that some form of greater objective reliability may thereby be obtained. As outlined earlier in this chapter, this type of unique subjective study is not predicated on a belief in pre-existing objective 'truth' and does not aim to replicate results. It is the research methods used both to produce and to analyse narrative data and the evidence used to support the interpretations drawn that should be reliable.

I therefore reduced the number of participants and sought to recruit a total of ten teaching-focused colleagues, a mixture of female and male UTs and SUTs from across different Schools and Colleges of my university, identified via scrutiny of School and subject staff web pages. This purposive sampling approach is in line with interpretive studies that seek to investigate a variety of cases as naturally found in social settings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The aim was to avoid recruiting a group of participants from just one or two Schools, which would have changed the focus of the study. This approach has also been called 'maximum variation sampling' in other interpretive enquiries (Odena and Welch, 2009; 2012). In total 20 eligible potential participants were invited to take part via unsolicited initial email or verbal contact and provided with the Plain Language Statement (see Appendix 3). Of these 20, five did not respond (four female; one male) and four declined (all female), two because they had only been UTs for a matter of weeks, one who did not wish to be recorded and another who did not offer a reason. However ten immediately agreed to participate, in part due to their level of interest in the topic and also, I believe, due to my peer status and the attendant positive attributes identified by Potts (2008) as outlined above. I was therefore able to schedule interviews with six UT colleagues (two female and four male) and four SUT colleagues (two female and

two male) drawn from six Schools across two Colleges of the University. In addition one further colleague agreed to participate who had been a UT on the LT&S track for a number of years but had very recently transferred to a Lecturer post on the R&T track. This interview provided an interesting point of contrast with those of the (S)UT participants.

3.3.3 Conducting the interviews

Each of the participants was asked to take part in a maximum of two face-to-face audio-recorded interviews with the researcher at a mutually convenient time and location. Ultimately only one interview was conducted with each participant since the data provided was very rich and detailed. Moreover my trial study (Cavani, 2013) had indicated that little value was added in a second interview unless it took place very soon after the first interview, which did not prove possible in this case. The interviews took between 45 minutes and one hour 20 minutes, with most interviews lasting around one hour. For participant convenience they were mainly held in the period between the Easter break and the end of the Semester 2 examination diet (May to June 2014) or in the resit examination period (mid-August to September 2014) when most academic staff were on campus but not undertaking scheduled teaching. The final interview with the recently transferred Lecturer took place in January 2015.

The narrative elicitation tool, the 'career path response sheet' (see Appendix 2), was completed in advance and brought to the interview by participants. This written data, although brief, provided very interesting additional narrative data of a more considered type. The response sheet also served other purposes: to gather useful factual data about participants; to begin with a relatively 'easy' and objective task before the potentially more difficult subjective narrative activity; and to serve as a physical prompt or memory stimulator for the storytelling process itself. Participants were invited to use the response sheet to talk me through the 'story' of their academic careers in their own words with one broad lead-in question couched in everyday language and orientated towards the participant: 'How have you arrived at your current post as a (Senior) UT?' This approach thereby avoided the dangers of using overly research-targeted questions couched in overly technical language outlined by Chase (1995) and

Hollway and Jefferson (2000). The latter (2000:155) found that such questions elicited 'thin, rationally driven accounts which leave out more than they allow of human subjects'. The approach used here successfully stimulated very full and detailed narrative accounts with little or no researcher prompting during the initial narrating stage of each interview. Some participants did however request that I share my professional journey with them before they told their stories, which I was happy to do in order to build up trust, while stressing that my story should not be regarded as an exemplar model to be followed. The nature of participants' accounts was generally very free-flowing, reflecting the experiences of Lieblich (1996:176) who 'found out, consistently, that people liked to tell their stories and tended to forget the possible price of their exposure'. This positive engagement with the narrative interview process also reflected the academic predilection for talk experienced by Potts (2008:165), who found that 'academics willingly participated in long discussions and were pleasant subjects for open-ended interview-type research'.

Researcher field notes were also kept, detailing any logistical issues, recording general impressions and emotional impact and noting any minor methodological alterations required. One important change was the evolving nature of prompt questions as the series of interviews progressed. This was partly with a view to ensuring flow or to clarifying my understanding of points made or unfamiliar content. However it was also in an effort to embrace Connelly and Clandinin's view (1990:4) of narrative inquiry as 'connected knowing' or as 'a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorying as the research proceeds'. Thus I sought to test each new participant's reactions to themes emerging from my own insider situation, from the literature, and/or from views expressed in previous interviews. Fraser (2004:185) elucidates the process further:

Because we are interested in understanding how narrators interact with a range of narratives, we may look for ways to present our initial interpretations - as well as other theorists' interpretations - along the way.

Thus a process of 'active' interviewing was undertaken in which both myself and the (S)UT participants were active subjects jointly involved in the coproduction of narratives and their potential meanings (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, 2011, 2012).

3.3.4 Transcribing the interviews

Although considered here as part of the ‘floor plan’ for drawing out stories, I concur with various researchers specialising in qualitative and/or narrative inquiry who highlight the view that the transcription of interviews constitutes an integral part of the data analysis process itself (Elliott, 2005; Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999; Poland, 1995, 2005; Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008; Tilley, 2003). Riessman (2008:50) employs Mishler’s (1991) analogy between transcription and photography to underline their shared belief that the image captured by both processes ‘reflects the artist’s views and conceptions- values about what is important’ and is therefore ‘an interpretive practice’ that is, by extension, tightly connected to the context and aims of any given research project.

Transcription is, therefore, far from being a straightforward process. Poland (1995:299) acknowledges the inevitable ‘losses’ involved in transcription: ‘committing verbal exchanges to paper seems to result in their immediate deterioration: context, empathy, and other emotional dynamics are often lost or diminished’. Poland also identifies (2005) a series of challenges to transcription quality in the form of technical issues alongside ethical considerations. These range from practical concerns such as how best to incorporate sentence structure, indicate participant tone, quotes or mimicry and avoid omissions or errors, to ethical dilemmas regarding who should transcribe (the interviewer or an outsider), whether all or only parts of interviews should be transcribed and whether recorded text should be transcribed *verbatim* or ‘cleaned up’. As Elliott asserts (2005:51), ‘any transcription of speech must therefore be understood as a compromise’.

Given my desire to analyse the full articulation of participants’ stories, together with my fear of missing some important potential meaning that may more easily be seen or read than heard, I decided to transcribe all 11 research interviews in full, producing a total of 244, 1.5-spaced pages or 106,985 words. In view of my promise to each participant that s/he would have the opportunity to verify the transcript of her/his particular interview, it would have been problematic and potentially unethical to send only extracts, particularly if I later realised the research potential of, and ultimately quoted from, interview segments not

initially transcribed or verified by participants. In addition, given the co-constructed nature of elicited narrative interview data, I elected to record my own substantive (although not back-channel) utterances rather than edit these out. I also opted to note a number of non-verbal utterances, such as long pauses, interruptions or markers of emotion (laughter, sighs, etc.) in order to reflect emotional responses to the narrative interview process, although to a lower level of detail than that required in comprehensive conversation analysis. Finally, despite the time-consuming nature of the work, I chose to undertake the task of transcription myself rather than enlist third party clerical support. I did so on three grounds: firstly, I had no resource to pay for it; secondly, it seemed ethically unsound to give access to personal, and at times highly sensitive, data to others not invested in the research; and thirdly, I believe that transcription is best undertaken by someone who is fully committed to, and familiar with, both the topic under investigation and the methodological approach. Thus the act of transcribing constituted an early step in extending my interpretations of the primary research material beyond the initial interview context, reiterating the view that 'the work of transcription is intertwined with analysis' (Tilley, 2003:770). It is to the means selected in order to elaborate and communicate my interpretations that I now turn, to the various modes of narrative analysis or 'bricks' used to (re-)construct the academic identity stories drawn out through the narrative interview process.

3.4 The 'bricks': debating methods of narrative analysis

This section outlines how and which methods of narrative analysis - or 'bricks' - were selected as appropriate to the (re-)construction of the 11 UT identity stories elicited.

3.4.1 The dilemma

I was struck from the outset, by my difficulty in determining which method(s) to adopt. This is partly because well-informed analytic choices were required throughout, from the moment of eliciting the interviews and capturing them in audio and written form, through to evaluating them and reconstructing them in

academic prose. It is also due to the fact that the options are multiple and seemingly chaotic, in line with Elliott's assessment (2005:36) that

there is no standard approach or list of procedures that is generally recognized as representing the narrative method of analysis. Indeed, in Mishler's words, there is a 'state of near anarchy in the field' (1995:88).

And yet this would seem entirely logical given the highly subjective, contextualised and heuristic nature of auto/biographical narratives. Cohen, Manion and Morisson (2011:584) list just some of the many levels, 'personal, cultural, interpersonal, ideological, linguistic and so on', and elements, 'facts, themes, actors, a sequence, agency, coherence, situatedness and a sense of audience', that can be deconstructed or, as I see it, (re-)constructed, in narrative research. Therefore the choice of analytic method(s) for this study has very much depended on the particular lens(es) through which I have chosen to scrutinise the topic of UTs in a research-led institution. As outlined in the two sub-sections that follow, these include, firstly, established 'programmatic' approaches, and secondly, my own 'pragmatic' adapted analytic model.

3.4.2 'Programmatic' approaches

Squire *et al.* (2014:9-10) refer to the 'programmatic approaches' of certain narrative researchers who

want to call their own approach by a particular name, and they will articulate in what ways they consider this to be the 'right' approach, usually stressing a particular theoretical or methodological framework.

However it is rare for narrative researchers to recommend a single method; instead, as explored below, they are more likely to outline and critically compare a number of approaches which, while distinct in some respects, also overlap from approach to approach and theorist to theorist.

Hollway and Jefferson (2000:69), for example, consider the commonly practised categorical narrative analysis of themes, flagging up certain criticisms, in particular 'the problem of decontextualisation of text which is inherent in the code and retrieve method'. They contend that an analytic approach centred on picking out themes from individual stories is one that fragments data and may constitute what Squire *et al.* (2014:7) term 'analysis of narratives', an approach that need not engage with the narrative aspects of stories at all. Consequently,

and drawing inspiration from Wertheimer's *Gestalt* principle, Hollway and Jefferson (2000) assert that a holistic approach is the obligatory first stage of genuine narrative analysis. In their view it is not possible fully to comprehend a narrative if one begins by assessing its content as ingredient parts; rather there must first be insight into structure, performance and some aspects of context before the categorical thematic components may then be grasped. The narrative researcher is therefore required to 'hold the whole in the mind' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000:69), while simultaneously striving to avoid oversimplification via a false impression of coherence. In a sense, therefore, a holistic approach could be construed as the true 'narrative analysis', characterised by Squire *et al.* (2014:7) as 'analysing narrative aspects of stories', and is my initial focus in the next chapter.

Alternatively, Riessman (2008) identifies three main lenses through which to analyse oral and textual narratives: thematic; structural; and dialogic/performance⁵. The thematic, or content, lens focuses on what stories say and may mean in ways that may be both categorical, focusing on sets of detailed information identified within and between stories, and holistic, analysing what complete stories or a series of complete stories convey. The structural lens focuses on how each story is narrated. Again this may take a categorical approach, for example through the application of structural models, such as that of Labov and Waletzky (1967). It may also be holistic in nature, for example through comparison with recognised genre typologies, such as those developed by Propp (1968) or Todorov (1971), or the scrutiny of plot dynamics such as the 'progressive', 'regressive' or 'stable' plot types elaborated by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998).

While both the thematic and structural lenses are relevant to my study, I believe that it is Riessman's third dialogic/performance lens that is key in this exploration of professional identity construction and management by participants, and their reconstruction by an 'insider' researcher. As Riessman explains (2008:136-137), this approach

⁵ She also engages with **visual** analysis which, while relevant to this study to a certain extent in the analysis of the career path response sheets, is not a central focus here.

draws on components of thematic and structural analysis, but folds them into broad interpretive research inquiries. Attention expands from detailed attention to a narrator's speech – what is said and/or how it is said – to the dialogic environment in all its complexity.

Thus, while encompassing exploration of the **what** is said and **how** of the thematic and structural approaches, the dialogic/performance approach also attempts to answer questions around the **who**, **when** and **why** of narratives, ideal for addressing issues of individual academic identity stories of a specific contractual type in a specific HE context.

3.4.3 A 'pragmatic' direction

Clearly then, each analytic lens is of value for different purposes; the use of different approaches may generate alternative insights otherwise missed, or conversely may reinforce similar meanings across narratives. Rather than adopt any one approach, my belief is that the fullest level of understanding, or 'sharpest image', of (S)UT professional identity stories can only be achieved by looking through all three of Riessman's lenses simultaneously. Accordingly, I believe that a more 'pragmatic' orientation, rather than a single 'programmatic' method is indicated here, defined by Squire *et al.* (2014:10) as 'choosing theories, methodologies, data and modes of analysis that are not unique to any one approach'. In keeping with this pragmatic orientation, Fraser's (2004:186) series of 'practical activities associated with "doing" narrative research', while explicitly rejecting any suggestion of analytic 'formula' or 'recipe', has nonetheless served as a useful guide for engaging with the narrative interview data here, both holistically and categorically.

Through adapted implementation of some of these activities, Chapter 4 aims now to examine the structure and performance within and across a small number of complete and unabridged narrative interviews in the form of three detailed illustrative (S)UT case studies. In so doing we may be able to connect these less controlled, and therefore more subjective, aspects of participants' responses (Tuval-Mashiach, 2006) to some of their lived experiences as (S)UTs, and thereby be reminded that such employees are people; singular, complex and human. Thereafter, Chapter 5 analyses the content of narratives which, while perhaps more consciously controlled by participants (Tuval-Mashiach, 2006), also

provides the information that many of them seek from their participation: an insight into how various elements of each academic identity story - such as emotional response, reflections on themes and views in context - compare with those of peers in a similar professional position. In addition, it will enable connections to be made to the wider social, political and economic contexts evaluated in Chapter 2, thereby constituting what I hope are a set of accessible and constructive messages for the institution and others from the HE sector as well as the participants.

3.5 Summary

And so we revisit the introductory conceptual framework image. Through more holistic structural and dialogic approaches individual (S)UT stories constitute a series of discrete ‘weft yarns’, creating increasingly trustworthy or robust ‘material’ as more and more are woven alongside each other through the ‘warp yarns’ of context and theme using the ‘loom’ and ‘shuttles’ of narrative inquiry and its analytic methods. Given their unique positioning, these individual ‘yarns’ can never be identical, and can therefore be explored as individual case studies in Chapter 4. Nonetheless some elements of each are similar enough to group into discernible ‘patterns’, or themes, in the said ‘material’, as is explored in Chapter 5 (see Figure 3.1 below):

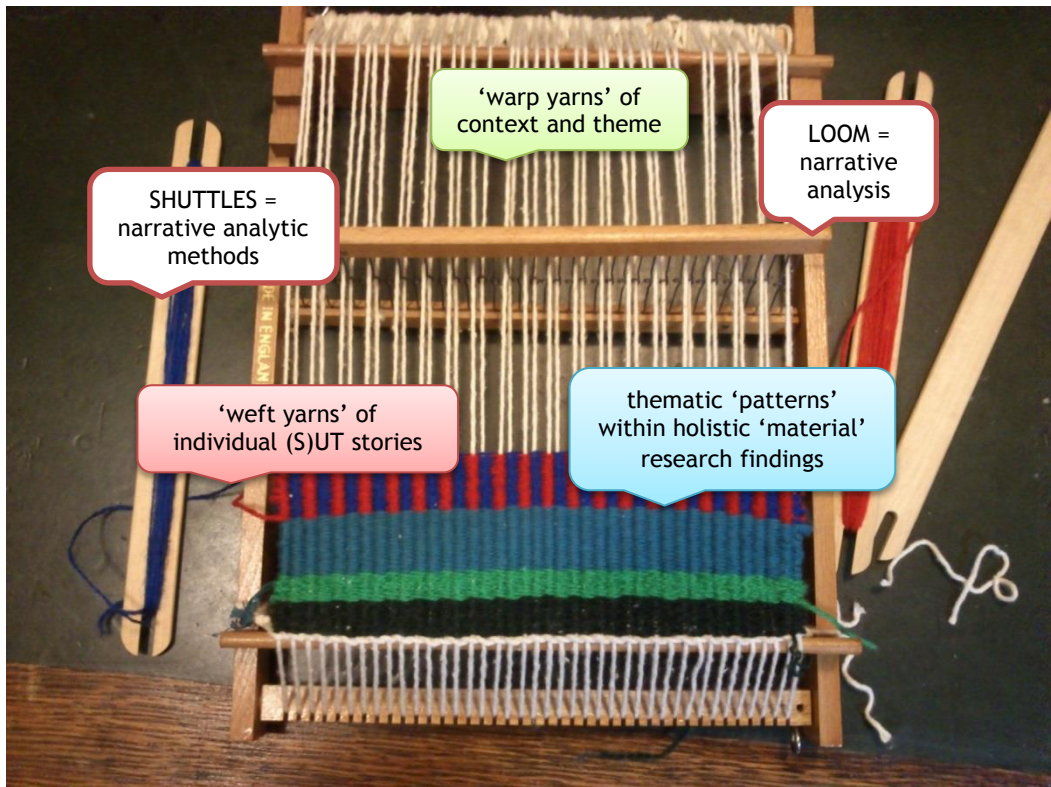


Figure 3.1:
Conceptual framework (3), holistic 'material' and thematic 'patterns' of narrative analysis
Photo by daisymarmalade, available at: <https://daisymarmalade.wordpress.com/>
(text boxes added)

And so now, let me tell you some (S)UT stories...

Chapter 4

‘Now let me tell you some stories’ Part 1. (Re-)Constructing individual University Teacher narratives

4.1 A holistic approach

Telling others’ stories is not easy. Squire *et al.* (2014) outline the difficulties involved, for example how to mould human ‘talk’ to the standard forms of academic research output, how to convert frequently unruly narratives into coherent argument, how to strike an appropriate balance between quotation and interpretation, and how to present the material in a way that compels and convinces while remaining faithful both to the participant and to the research aims.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Fraser (2004) proposes seven ‘phases’ of narrative research to facilitate detailed analysis of personal stories ‘line by line’, from hearing and experiencing the interviewees’ emotions through to interpretation of and writing about their stories. In Chapters 4 and 5 I adopt and adapt a number of these in order to guide the evaluation and interpretation of my participants’ narratives. In this chapter I take a more holistic or unitary focus centred on three whole career stories, and stories within those stories, recounted to and with me by one Senior UT and two UTs. In the ensuing chapter I apply a more categorical or thematic approach across and between the narratives elicited from all 11 participants.

I begin in this chapter with an analysis not only of individual transcripts, but of whole interview experiences in terms of the emotions conveyed and the holistic sense of each one. This would seem entirely appropriate given my focus on individual career paths towards the UT post within my university and the related construction of academic identity. As Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber state (1998:12), ‘the holistic approach is preferred when the person as a whole, that is, his or her development to the current position, is what the study aims to explore’.

4.2 Plot dynamics and titles

In my analysis of whole interviews it proved useful to follow Fraser’s proposition (2004:189) that researchers ‘note some of the specificities’ of individual stories. For example, she suggests that identifying their direction can be helpful in elaborating the overarching set(s) of ideas they raise. I therefore evaluated and categorised the plotline of each interview from start point to end point, using an amended version of the three classifications outlined by Tuval-Mashiach (2006), themselves based on an earlier model developed by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998): ‘progressive’, in which the overall plot development is one of advancement; ‘regressive’, where the movement is one of decline; or ‘stable’, where change is minimal. However, in my interpretation of this model a given narrative can, and does, incorporate internal changes of direction. Moreover the somewhat positive ‘stable’ category can also be re-interpreted more neutrally as ‘static’, or more negatively as ‘stagnant’.

Fraser (2004) adds that the naming of stories can aid in the holistic interpretation of narrative interviews, on condition that the rationale behind the naming process is made clear. I opted to give each of the interviews two titles: the first using participants’ self-descriptions in response to a prompt question posed near the end of each interview, ‘How would you sum up your career journey?’; and the second my own ‘sense’ of each, discerned as I undertook the interviews, took field notes and began to chart plot dynamics. Table 4.1 below summarises these overarching dynamics and narrative titles for all of the participant interviews in chronological order, including the eleventh participant, who had very recently transferred from a UT to a Lecturer post. The three case studies are highlighted in bold.

	PLOT DYNAMIC	PARTICIPANT TITLE	ALTERNATIVE TITLE
1	Progressive	I’ve been lucky	Onwards and upwards
2	Static	Strange tension between failure and success	Either / Or
3	Static	I’ve nothing to grumble about (but...)	Going with the flow
4	Progressive	I’ve broken out of the role	I did it my way

5	Stagnant	Adjustment	What's it all about?
6	Progressive	Journey of empowerment	Against the odds
7	Stable	Falling among thieves	Biding my time
8	Static	Relatively happy	Teaching is my first love
9	Regressive	Stymied and marginalised	Down and out
10	Stagnant	It's not what I envisaged	False promise(s)
11	In flux	A new hat	The right fork in the road?

Table 4.1:
Narrative titles of all interviews

4.3 Case studies: narrative performances of academic identity

4.3.1 Case study profiles

I selected three participants to focus on through more extensive case studies: numbers 6, 9 and 10, marked in bold above and hereafter known by the pseudonyms Victor, Justine and Gina. In many respects any participant could have been selected since each is of particular value and interest. However the three teaching-focused colleagues chosen offer a range of profile types in terms of post or grade, workload, overarching plot dynamic and related interview plotline image (see Table 4.2 below). Detailed analysis of these three case studies seeks to illustrate this range of participant profiles.


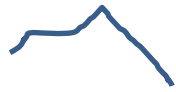

PARTICIPANT	POST	WORKLOAD	PLOT DYNAMIC	PLOTLINE IMAGE
Victor	Senior University Teacher	Full-time	Progressive	
Justine	University Teacher	Part-time x 2	Regressive	
Gina	University Teacher	Full-time	Stagnant	

Table 4.2:
Case study profiles (1)

With undergraduate, Masters and doctoral degrees in a social sciences discipline, Victor had been working in academe for 15-20 years at the time of our interview. Having started his career on renewed fixed-term contracts at Glasgow (research, and research and teaching), he was then transferred to a permanent UT contract. Following a difficult period in terms of line management relations he applied and obtained promotion to Senior UT within the same department where he is still based. His career continued to move in an upward trajectory from that point onwards in terms of scholarship, publications and funding bids. He portrayed his career story thus far as *'a long battle'* and *'a journey of empowerment'*. It was one that struck me as a story of success achieved 'against the odds'.

On leaving school Justine had worked for a science-related enterprise for almost a decade before successfully applying for, and completing, an undergraduate degree in arts and social science disciplines, followed immediately by a doctorate in the same fields. She then ran her own arts-related private business for a number of years before opting to embark on an academic career in mid-life some 20 years prior to our interview. Like Victor, her initial post, in another non-Russell Group university, was a temporary, full-time Lectureship. She then obtained a part-time Lectureship in one department at Glasgow, followed shortly afterwards by an additional part-time post as a UT in a different department. This split-site, split-remit academic career proved very difficult to manage and, following a painful incident with a line manager, the part-time Lectureship was transferred to a UT post. Following this event she attempted, unsuccessfully, to consolidate her two part-time UT posts into one full-time post in a single department. In the final analysis her career journey had arrived at a point where she felt *'stymied'* and *'marginalised'*, could see no future for herself (*'I don't think there's anything else here for me'*), and concluded *'I would never recommend that [the UT] route'*. It is this sense of despondent resignation that led me to entitle Justine's story 'Down and out'.

Gina's initial professional experience as an academic had been as a Graduate Teaching Assistant (GTA) during the completion of her PhD in an arts discipline at a different UK Russell Group university. At the time of our interview she had been in a UT post at Glasgow for fewer than five years, initially on a short-term

temporary basis and then full-time permanent. Although ignorant of the differences between teaching-focused and research-focused staff at the time of her appointment, she was initially relieved to have obtained a permanent academic post. However she rapidly became aware of those differences: *'There's a hierarchy between the people who do the teaching and the people who do the thinking'*. As a result, she was actively seeking a move to a research and teaching contract, as yet without success. She was therefore becoming increasingly frustrated at not having dedicated time to undertake the research that had been her main motivation for doing a doctorate and gaining employment as an academic:

It seems very strange to do a kind of training which doesn't actually lead to a job that entails those skills. So I think it's disingenuous to imagine that there are young people, or people of any age, coming out of PhDs who- their ambition is to be a University Teacher. I just don't think that makes any sense.

She ultimately summed up her feelings, and thereby entitled her career story, thus: *'It's not what I envisaged'*. As I listened to and interpreted it, there was a clear sense on her part that both the general 'promise' of academe, and the particular 'promises' of contract transfer implied to her, may ultimately prove 'false'.

4.3.2 Career path response sheets

The plot dynamics of Victor, Justine and Gina's narrative interviews were initially discernible from the individual content and mode of completion of the written career path response sheet (see Appendix 2). As outlined in more detail in Chapter 3, this was the tool initially used to draw out each participant's professional narrative.

Victor, for example, completed the sheet by hand and included a number of hand-drawn visual images reflecting his emotional responses to certain episodes: initially rain clouds when experiencing a *'culture of negativity'* and a *'bad PDR'*; followed by sunshine when he was recognised and promoted (see Figure 4.1 below):

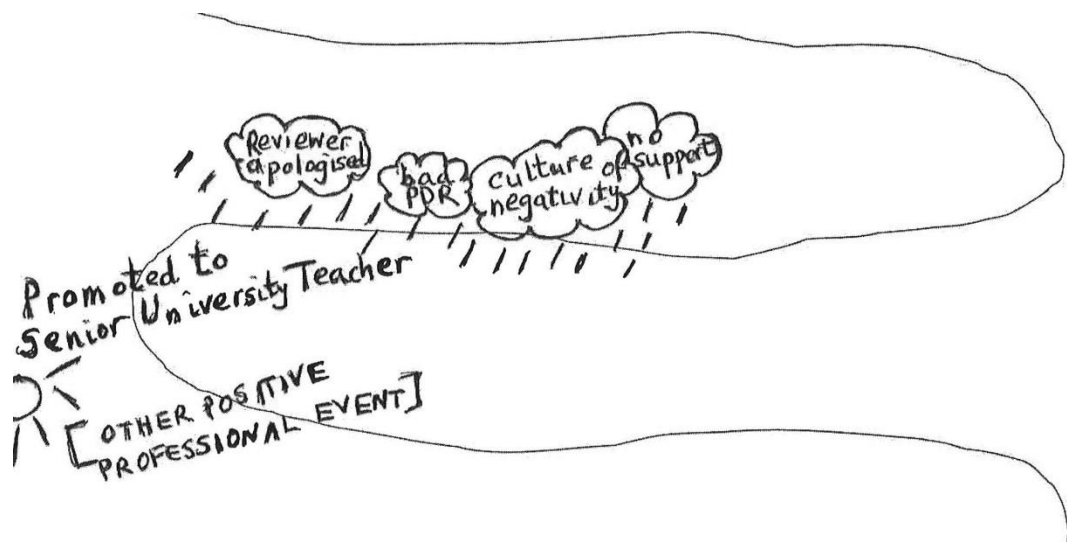


Figure 4.1:
Victor's handwritten career path response sheet (extract, copied)

The end section of his response sheet also projected into the near future, thereby clearly indicating the idea of progression and the overcoming of obstacles.

Justine's completion of the response sheet, on the other hand, was typewritten in list form, included no visual imagery and became increasingly minimal and factual as it moved forward from the completion of her PhD, the start of the professional academic career proper. Her log of events also moved from passive voice at the beginning of her academic career (*'It has all been quite accidental'; 'being offered'* funding), to active voice mid-career (*'returned to Glasgow'; 'obtained 0.5 FTE post'*), returning once more to passive voice at the end in relation to a seminal event four years previously when she was *'moved'* to a LT&S contract *'by'* her department. Significantly her response sheet ended with neither reference to the present nor projection into the future. In fact the last two 'bends' in the path were left blank (see Figure 4.2 below):

3. [...]
Returned to GU [year] on a 0.5FTE to teach [subject]
4. [year], obtained 0.5 FTE post as University Teacher in [Department]
5. Moved from Lecturer to University teacher by [subject] Dept in [year] (?)

[Large scribble]

Figure 4.2
Justine's typewritten career path response sheet (extract)

Finally, Gina provided much handwritten commentary on her emotional reactions to each episode logged. These were initially couched in positive language (*'relieved'*; *'excited'*; *'good experience'*; *'sense of optimism'*) regarding the completion of her doctorate and initial experiences as an academic. However they became more negative, passive and extensive following her permanent appointment as a UT, with comments spilling over onto the *verso* of the response sheet. She commented on her ongoing situation (*'frustration and anger'*; *'sense of exploitation'*; *'forced to conduct research for free'*), on her sense of academic identity (*'exploited on account of economic expediencies and managerial myopia'*) and on her future trajectory (*'at Glasgow or elsewhere'*). And yet, there was nonetheless a sense of potential in that future trajectory (*'transition to R&T'*). A sense of aspirational stagnation therefore emerged from her account.

4.3.3 Narrative episodes

These overarching plot trajectories were also visible in the interviews themselves. Here I find another of Fraser's suggestions (2004:189) very useful:

that narrative researchers attend to ‘specific stories, or segments of narrative’ within each interview. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998:12) endorse this evaluation of particular episodes within a narrative, or stories within a story, as a way to construct possible interpretations of the whole: ‘In the holistic approach, the life story of a person is taken as a whole, and sections of the text are interpreted in the context of other parts of the narrative’.

Clearly the choice of section is key. As Riessman states (2002:698-699), ‘deciding which segments to analyse and putting boundaries around them are interpretive acts that are shaped in major ways by the investigator’s theoretical interests’. Given that the professional identity construction and management of teaching-focused academics is the central focus of this study, narrative episodes recounting career beginnings and endings seemed ideal extracts for analysis, marked respectively by the green and red dots in Table 4.3 below. So, too, were key moment(s) highlighted by participants as turning point(s) in their career plotlines, indicated by the blue arrows.

PARTICIPANT	POST	WORKLOAD	PLOT DYNAMIC	PLOTLINE IMAGE
Victor	Senior University Teacher	Full-time	Progressive	
Justine	University Teacher	Part-time x 2	Regressive	
Gina	University Teacher	Full-time	Stagnant	

Table 4.3:
Case study profiles (2): seminal moments of change

Beginnings

In terms of narrative beginnings, the choice of starting point varied from case to case. In addition, the point of departure on each written response sheet did not always correspond to the one recounted verbally. Victor and Gina opted to begin both their written and verbal narratives with the same personal episode:

respectively, Victor's first appointment as a fixed-term Lecturer, and Gina's successful completion of her PhD. Justine, on the other hand, began her written and verbal narratives differently. Like Victor and Gina, her written career path started with a personal episode: her admission to undergraduate study as a mature student. However in her verbal account she began with a more collective episode that had occurred on the day of the research interview itself, and which had struck her as highly pertinent to the topic of teaching-focused academics generally: how, at a university graduation ceremony that morning, teaching-focused University Teachers had been lined up **after** research-focused Lecturers in the official academic procession: *'So that- there is a very graphic illustration of that sense of hierarchy. [...] University Teachers, and it's noticeable, bottom of the pile'*. For Justine it seemed that the wider institutional context and its impact were key, and in some respects took precedence over recounting her individual academic career trajectory.

With regard to career beginnings in terms of the case study participants' initial recruitment as UTs on the LT&S track, all three had followed very similar paths: completion of a doctorate, temporary fixed term contracts (part- or full-time), followed by employment as a UT with neither full awareness of the remit of the post, nor choice regarding the specific type of academic contract offered.

Gina joined the University as a UT from the outset - a part-time temporary one - with little understanding of what the post entailed. However she quickly understood it to be invaluable, but simultaneously undervalued:

So then I came to Glasgow and did a lo- very very busy, doing an awful lot of cover work, and generally it felt like, sort of, mopping up [laughs] where there were gaps.

Victor and Justine, on the other hand, started their employ as temporary fixed-term Lecturers who were then obliged to move to UT contracts.

Victor, on realising that his length of service as a Lecturer indicated a legal right to transfer to a permanent contract, approached his line manager to request this. The response was not what he had hoped for:

So, em, faced with this- Well, you know, my contract should be made permanent... she said... Well [laughs]... Yeah... If we want to have a Lecturer then we're going to have to interview. We'll need to open it up to other

people, em... in which case your research - which was on [subject] at the time - she said, didn't fit into the Department, I was unlikely to get the job, but I could become a University Teacher. So to me that was not a choice.

Like Gina, he felt a similar sense that teaching was underrated, despite its importance to him:

I was consoled by the fact that, em, colleagues, when I had been in [department], had mooted this idea about me becoming a Teacher rather than staying as a Lecturer, because of my teaching, and the students' responses. So I, kind of- But there was this feeling that- there was a sense of failure, that it was a second-class position.

After a temporary full-time Lecturer post at a non-Russell Group university, Justine started at Glasgow as a half-time Lecturer in Department A and an hourly-paid tutor in Department B. When a permanent half-time post became available in Department B she got it: '*But that was immediately offered as a University Teacher*', so again this was not an elective appointment.

Subsequently, following a seminal turning point analysed below, her Lectureship in Department A was forcibly transferred to a UT position:

And when it came to- I think [year (i)] or- [year (ii)] or [year (i)], em... RAE, I was told that I was being moved from a University Lecturer to a University, em, Teachership.

The perceptions expressed here of the lower status of teaching-focused posts reflect the findings of a number of recent research studies, both within my particular university and in elite universities more generally. Mackenzie *et al.*'s evaluation of a UT learning community at Glasgow (2010:9) noted a 'lack of awareness amongst colleagues of the equity of UT and lectureship contracts', with UTs' identity as academics 'often not acknowledged by research-oriented colleagues' (Mackenzie *et al.*, 2010: 10). Similarly, a more recent institutional investigation into the recognition of teaching excellence revealed that, despite recognition of the value of teaching, 'there was, however, a question concerning the relative status of the teacher track' (Gunn *et al.*, 2014:11). These findings at the level of a single university echo others at an international level. Probert and Sachs (2015:49) for example, question whether teaching scholars are truly 'different but equal' in Australia, China and beyond, while a Universitas 21-commissioned discussion paper on the recognition of teaching excellence

highlights the oft-represented 'lower status' of teaching in top-flight universities across the globe (Aitken and Tatebe, 2014:3).

Endings- and future directions?

The endings of the case study participants' narratives are similarly revealing, whether recorded on the written response sheets or recounted verbally.

Victor chose to conclude both types of narrative - written and verbal - not only with ongoing professional activity, but with projections into the future also, referencing several new academic ventures on the horizon in the short and longer-term. This was indicated on his written response sheet by activities attached to a future date and by a hand-drawn broken arrow pointing ahead towards and beyond the end of the winding career path line. In terms of the tone of Victor's verbal free-flowing career story a number of statements, both at the conclusion and in response to a 'Where next?' question at the close of the interview, also demonstrated an ending that was defiantly on an upward trajectory:

*It's a journey of empowerment I feel [...]
Yes, this is definitely- This is my peak, if you like [...]
It has impacted on my sense of identity. But... I think... yeah, it has been a long battle. But em... I think I'm winning it, personally [laughs]. I'm running with it.*

And yet this was tempered by a need to flag up the teaching focus of what, on the surface, appeared to be an increasingly research-focused profile:

*What I mean is, I've been doing a lot of research. [...]
And then when I was writing this out, I was thinking, 'God, this sounds, this sounds like a Lectureship'. And I thought, 'Well, that's not what I want. I'm happy to be a Senior University Teacher, and doing this. This is about teaching. I'm not doing this- I mean, it just sounds like I've been showing off there, and I don't like that, because I'm not in that culture.*

Victor also remarked on the different pressures placed on his research-focused colleagues and the resulting impact on their attitude to teaching:

*I think the pressure is on them to produce good quality papers, em, because they are... yeah, and the impact of their papers. [...]
And I think therefore teaching becomes a bit of a nuisance. It's in the way.*

These comments point to a tension between the LT&S and R&T tracks in terms of both the perceived status and focus of each. Such tensions reflect the findings of Naula's (2014) small-scale qualitative study into UT academic identity at Glasgow which, among a range of findings, uncovered a lack of clarity among UTs concerning the differences between research and scholarship, and their sense of shouldering excessive teaching workloads.

Gina, like Victor, concluded by referring to both the present and the future, listing her '*ongoing*' situation at the foot of her written response sheet, while adding assessments of her '*academic identity*' and '*future trajectory*' overleaf. Unlike Victor however, Gina highlighted a desire to transition to the R&T track, believing it more accurately to reflect her true academic identity. In writing she concluded by flagging up a future '*transition to R&T - either at Glasgow or elsewhere*', reiterating this verbally: '*Well, I just persist in the attempt to get, either at Glasgow or elsewhere, a Research and Teaching contract*'. She then expanded on this aspiration, indicating a level of managerial support for it tempered by an appreciation of the potential futility of the endeavour. In so doing she expressed frustration while questioning the very existence of the LT&S track:

So, em... there is ongoing, sort of... aspirations. Not promises, not solid promises, but attempts to encourage me to move in the right direction towards a Research and Teaching contract, from within the School. But likewise I've been told by my Head of School to look for jobs elsewhere, if I want an R and T contract, which on the one hand is sort of, honest, and gives me the freedom to do that, without secrecy. But on the other hand is- begs the question of why you're employing people on these contracts if you can't maintain them and you know they're not going to want to stick around.

Like her beginning, Justine's ending on paper differed from that expressed verbally in the interview. Justine's written career path narrative ended a full four years before the date of our interview on a critical turning point regarding her enforced move to UT - examined in more detail below. As indicated above (see Figure 4.2), there was no indication of any career developments beyond that date, with the last two 'bends' in the path left empty. However in the narrative interview Justine did talk about the present and future - albeit only when prompted - in particular her wish to consolidate her two part-time UT

posts into one full-time post in a single subject area. However she believed that to be an impossibility, hence her response to my question asking where she saw her journey going next: *'[Long pause] Out of the University. Probably. I don't think, I don't think there's anything else here for me'*. While Victor had already achieved promotion and a more research-oriented academic profile, both Justine and Gina continued to aspire to it, but unlike Gina, Justine felt unsupported in her efforts to achieve it:

*I could go back to the writing and recover the writing, and, and begin to flourish and do all sorts of things, and begin to represent [subject] in University life more generally. [...]
In [subject], you know, they're very nice, colleagues are very nice- But I don't think anyone sort of thinks that there's any work to be done to help me progress.*

Hence her sense of being at an impasse:

And I suppose I really sort of felt that I'm... [pause] you know, I'm just, I'm just trying, trying to hold place, without any serious view of taking things, taking things forward.

Detailed examination of these case study narrative endings would seem to indicate similar conclusions to those drawn by Aitken and Tatebe (2014:14) who question the 'value' and the 'drawbacks' of the compartmentalisation of academic remits within elite universities such as Universitas 21 members. Some, like Victor, clearly flourish in a context that favours an orientation towards teaching and SoTL, despite his acknowledged difficulty in distinguishing between scholarship and research: *'My teaching still comes first. And all this research is to do with that. It's to improve it. It's to improve my teaching- Well, not improve- help- students learn'*. However others, such as Gina, experience frustration at the seemingly artificial and senseless limitations their differentiated contract places upon academic activity, and opt to persist in aspirations to undertake disciplinary research that is institutionally recognised and supported:

*I can't really conceive, perhaps being optimistic, but I can't really conceive, you know, spending many many years as a UT, because it's just **not** what I did a PhD **for**, or what I did research **for**. And I think I would feel, increasingly resentful, and I would feel, sort of, exploited ultimately.*

Yet others, like Justine, ultimately end up feeling thwarted and pigeon-holed into a perceived lower status, overworked post that leaves little or no options for advancement:

If there was someone, em, who was pursuing a university career, and asked me whether or not they should be a University Lecturer or a University Teacher, I would say a University Lecturer. Because that keeps the career open; University Teacher would just put an end to the career.

Seminal turning points

What may have steered my case study participants to these diverse career story narrative endpoints? Reflection on this question explains the final type of narrative episode or ‘story within a story’ selected for close analysis: key professional turning points. In his study into modernity and self-identity Giddens (1991:112) speaks of such moments as ‘fateful moments’, defining them as ‘those when individuals are called on to take decisions that are particularly consequential for their ambitions, or more generally for their future lives’. Such moments, he claims, tend to occur in a limited range of ‘avenues of activity’, for example as in this study, ‘activity carried on in a sphere of work’. Troman and Woods (2000) focus on such instances in their study of primary school teachers’ adaptations to the stress caused by structural change or reform, challenging the received idea that reflection on ‘critical incidents’ invariably leads to improvement and growth. In their study, although progress may occur in such cases, alternative outcomes may also include loss of autonomy, loss of ambition or even career termination. In this study of teaching-focused academics the career path response sheet, with its ‘bends’ in the ‘path’, was specifically designed to facilitate the elicitation of such defining moments in individual professional trajectories. Thereafter, as already outlined in the previous chapter and explained in more detail below, I have adopted a ‘pragmatic’, rather than ‘programmatically’, hybrid model of structural and linguistic ‘narrative analysis’ combined with thematic ‘analysis of narratives’ as used in much qualitative interview research. This hybrid analysis model incorporates aspects of the work of Riessman (1993, 2002, 2008, 2012) and Labov (2001, 2006, 2013), with influences from Goffman (1974) and Gee (1991).

As Riessman (2008) points out, a focus on elements of language and narrative structure, both holistic and episodic, may serve to render themes more visible. Alongside this, she suggests, concentration on the interviewee/narrator's subjective dramatization of key scenes facilitates analysis of the ways in which s/he attempts to connect and 'achieve commonality' with the interviewer/narratee and by extension with other audiences, thereby, in this study, connecting individual UT narratives to wider contexts. Referencing the work of Goffman (1974), Riessman (2008:106) stresses that identity construction is a type of 'performance of desirable selves to preserve "face" '. This is not, she stresses (2008:106), 'to suggest that identities are inauthentic [...], but only that identities are situated and accomplished with audience in mind'. In order to enhance the validity or trustworthiness of narrative analyses Riessman (2008) advises that they be linked to actual features in the text. Consequently, as outlined in Chapter 3, the mode of transcription is key. So too is the form of textual (re)presentation on the page of selected narrative episodes.

In terms of depicting these turning point narratives, I have, like Gee (1991), chosen to break the *verbatim* narratives down into numbered 'lines' or idea units in order to facilitate linguistic analysis and to expose structural and thematic features. However rather than parsing the lines into named thematic 'stanzas', or longer 'strophes' and 'parts', I have opted to apply aspects of Labov and Waletzky's original (1967) structural model of narrative analysis, demarcating the discernible **functions** of various short segments of speech that make up a 'narrative of personal experience': abstract; orientation; complicating action; evaluation; resolution; and coda (see definitions outlined in Table 4.4 below). In addition I have applied some aspects of Labov's later augmented framework (2001:3) for 'uncovering the event structure of narrative', involving close analysis of the means by which narrators may, indirectly, provide an 'explanation' for the complicating action, or apportion 'praise or blame' for it, or achieve its 'validation'. Finally, in terms of performance analysis I have signposted linguistic elements that indicate an individual narrator's dramatisation of the event recounted through the creation of scenes and characters. Some of these elements, indicated by the insertion of text boxes, are those identified by Riessman (2008:112), such as direct speech, asides, repetition and variety of verb tense, mood and/or voice, with **passive**

voice and its possible meanings signalled in red and active voice in green. I have also identified additional elements I believe to be particularly significant in the selected turning point narratives: the use of linguistic structures of **negation (in bold)** and negative emotive language (underlined).

Senior UT Victor’s career turning point, ‘a bad P&DR’, is (re-)presented in Table 4.4 below. Here we note Labov’s definition (2001:5) of such a ‘reportable event’ or indeed ‘the most reportable event’ of a narrative:

the event that is least expected and has the greatest effect upon the needs and desires of the participants in the narrative. It is the least compatible with a potential intervention, ‘So what?’.

Abstract: overview	1. Em... [pause] it was, there was little status.
Orientation: orients the listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavioral situation/ triggering event	2. Even in staff meetings, 3. the undergraduate teaching was just, quickly covered , you know, 4. got through very quickly. INJUSTICE 5. It wasn’t seen to be important. INJUSTICE 6. It was all to do with research or postgraduate teaching. 7. So I wasn’t getting the support. INJUSTICE
Complicating Action: the main happening/ reportable event	8. Em... [pause] I also had a - Aside 9. this is very significant - Aside 10. a bad P&DR, Progress and Development, that’s right, P&DR, em... [pause] 11. so much so, that the reviewer apologised to me afterwards. INJUSTICE
Evaluation: meaning given to the story by the narrator for the narratee	12. And it was a kind of wake-up call for me, Present tense 13. cause I thought, ‘This is not , this is not right’. Direct speech - intrapersonal 14. And, there was a kind of change for me, in my thinking. Repetition 15. And, it was almost like I had to prove them wrong, 16. about me. Em... [pause] INJUSTICE 17. It was- I think the reason it was negative in that P&DR was because, [sighs] 18. things were <u>difficult</u> with the programme, INJUSTICE 19. and it was like it was <u>my fault</u> , 20. whilst I suppose in some respects I suppose it was because I was the [role], Aside

	<p>21. but I didn't think I was getting the support. INJUSTICE</p> <p>22. But I never answered any of the criticisms, INJUSTICE</p> <p>23. I just let it go,</p> <p>24. and I think they then realised that perhaps they'd gone too far. Aside</p> <p>25. It was- That's not what a P&DR's supposed to be about;</p> <p>26. it's supposed to be a supportive... interview- well, meeting. INJUSTICE</p>
Resolution: gives story completion	<p>27. But at the end of that, yeah, I put in promotion, TRIUMPH</p> <p>28. and I got promotion to Senior University Teacher. TRIUMPH</p> <p>29. So it was like, <i>[both laugh]</i> 'So much for your P&DR, I've actually- ' Yeah.</p> <p>30. Yeah. How do you explain that, or what-? TRIUMPH</p> <p>31. It was- Yeah.</p> <p>32. And then the year after that I got the [recognition].</p>
Coda: return to the present	<p>33. So to me that really consolidated and proved to mys-</p> <p>34. you know, it was good for <i>me</i>, <i>[sighs]</i> in that sense. JUSTICE</p> <p>35. It's been like <u>a battle</u> I think in some ways.</p>

Table 4.4:
Victor's turning point, from injustice to triumph

Tracing backwards from the complicating action to the orientation and abstract, we see how Victor does in fact provide the listener with an explanation of his chosen seminal turning point: '*I wasn't getting the support*' (line 7); 'It [UG teaching] *wasn't seen to be important*' (line 5); '*there was little status*' (line 1). By working our way up this 'chain of causal relations' (Labov, 2001:3) we come to discern his depiction of a wider departmental context that had allowed a sense of relative inconsequence to grow up around teaching, particularly UG teaching, and in turn laid the foundation for this pivotal account of a highly critical annual review of his performance as a teaching-focused academic.

In addition it is possible to observe how Victor seeks to 'affect the listener's view of motivation, praise, blame and culpability' through the use of certain 'linguistic devices', another aspect of the 'event structure' of narrative identified by Labov (2001:2). For example, the use of the passive voice in the orientation (lines 5 and 7) indicates Victor's sense of lack of responsibility and indeed lack of agency in this opening context. Thus the complicating action that follows appears unjustifiable, however explicable. The apportioning of blame is also achieved via the 'polarization of participants' (Labov, 2001:3), namely Victor *versus* his reviewer. Indeed aspects of this opposition, for example

Victor's report that *'the reviewer apologised to me afterwards'* (line 11) and *'they then realised that perhaps they'd gone too far'* (line 24), simultaneously serve in the 'validation' of the narrative 'through the use of objective witnesses' (Labov, 2001:3). Alongside enhanced credibility, listener engagement is also achieved via some additional aspects of 'dramatic presentation' identified by Riessman (2008:112). Victor uses asides (lines 9, 20-21 and 25-26) as well as repetition and present tense (line 13) to 'mark the key moment' (Riessman, 2008:113) and to 'make[s] the story vivid and immediate' (Riessman, 2008:112). In so doing Victor is clearly making a 'plea for commonality' (Riessman, 2008:112) with me, the listener, seeking to bring me into the scene on his side as if I had actually been present at the time.

However three additional linguistic aspects are key in my interpretation of Victor's narrative: structures of negation; passive and active voice; and direct speech. Revisiting the abstract and orientation, we see how **negation (in bold)** alongside **passive voice (in red)** serve to stress the perceived injustice of Victor's initial situation and his lack of agency and status: *'there was little status'* (line 1); *'It [UG teaching] wasn't seen to be important'* (line 5); *'I wasn't getting the support'* (line 7). However it is the specific form of direct speech used in line 13 that signals the turning point in Victor's narrative: direct **intrapersonal speech** alongside continued use of negation: *'I thought, "This is not, this is not right"'*. Victor depicts himself as seeking his strength from within with a view to recapturing his professional agency. In so doing he successfully effects a transformation in his academic identity, both internal and external, as visible in the resolution and coda. Here the use of **intrapersonal speech** moves from a negative expression of injustice as seen in line 13, to one of defiance and triumph in lines 27-29:

But at the end of that, em, yeah, I put in promotion, and I got promotion to Senior University Teacher. So it was like, [both laugh] 'So much for your P&DR, I've actually-' Yeah.

At one and the same time Victor's verbal voice moves from passive to **active (in green)**, while his attitude and actions move from initial passive injustice (line 7), through the pivotal *'bad P&DR'* (line 10), to active-voiced inaction *'But I never answered any of the criticisms, I just let it go'* (lines 22 and 23), leading to

positive action ‘*But at the end of that, em, yeah, I put in promotion*’ (line 27), culminating in reward and recognition (lines 28 and 32).

Thus in this specific narrative episode Victor experiences a very negative interaction with a line manager in a university context that appears to undervalue teaching and teaching-focused scholarship and scholars. This event triggers what he retrospectively describes as ‘*a wake-up call*’ (line 12) and ‘*a kind of change for me, in my thinking*’ (line 14), enabling him to scale barriers, both internal and external, in order to realise his ‘preferred identity’ as a self-directed, successful teaching-focused academic- however blurred the lines may then seem between such a role and that of a research-focused academic, as highlighted by Victor himself in his academic career story ‘ending’, and as will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Thereafter, stepping back from this episode to return to a more holistic approach, it can itself be understood as a turning point within the whole narrative interview. In his ‘beginning’, when Victor outlined his initial enforced appointment as a UT, he used the **interpersonal** reported speech of a conversation with his line manager to convey a lack of agency and choice: ‘*she said...*’. Following the **intrapersonal** ‘rallying call to self’ recounted in this turning point narrative, his ‘ending’ was characterised by the use of active present continuous verbal forms that conveyed his continuing agency and success: ‘*I’m running with it*’ and ‘*I’m winning*’.

Conversely, Justine’s seminal turning point, as initially told (see Table 4.5 below), seems diametrically opposed to that of Victor.

Abstract	1. <i>[pause]</i> I’m trying to think how to put this, this back, em... <i>[pause]</i>
Orientation	2. We had an informal study group in [my department], for [certain subject areas], 3. and we used to meet informally on a Friday night over a glass of wine, 4. where one of our members would have produced a paper 5. and we’d discuss the paper, em... <i>[pause]</i>

Complicating Action	6. And I produced a paper on my specialist area, [topic], 7. and it got ripped to shreds by the then Head of Department, em... [pause] 8. And I stopped writing. Repetition 9. I stopped writing.
Evaluation	10. This was meant to help us prepare material for publication. 11. And this was- It was dreadful. Repetition 12. It was an awful experience. [pause] Present tense 13. And to this day I still do not understand- 14. Oh, it might not have been at the highest level of journal publication; Aside 15. I still think it was a good paper. 16. And I'm trapped on that; Present tense 17. I can't do anything with it. Repetition 18. And although I've written bits and pieces, 19. I've never. I've never seriously written, written since. 20. My confidence was just utterly destroyed.
Complicating Action	21. And when it came to- I think the [year(i)]- or [year(ii)], or [year(i)], RAE, 22. I was told that I was being moved from a University Lecturer to a University, em, Teachership. Direct speech - interpersonal 23. And 'that would be the best thing for my career'
Evaluation	24. Well perhaps it was, perhaps it wasn't. 25. But it, it was pretty clear I had no choice in this. 26. Em... [long pause]
Coda	27. Well, that's been ok, that's been ok [upset tone]. Repetition

Table 4.5:
Justine's turning point, the road to defeatism

After some hesitation in the abstract regarding how best to express the selected episode (line 1), Justine begins the orientation in a positive vein, using active-voiced past imperfect tense (lines 2-5) to describe a collegiate 'informal study group', 'over a glass of wine'. The extreme negativity of the first complicating action (lines 6-9) therefore comes as an unexpected dramatic twist: 'it [her research paper] got ripped to shreds by the then Head of Department, em... And I stopped writing. I stopped writing'.

In Justine's turning point narrative, as in Victor's, the apportioning of blame is realised via the 'polarization of participants' (Labov, 2001:3), namely Justine versus her line manager. Listener engagement and credibility are once more sought via the aspects of 'dramatic presentation' already noted in Victor's

narrative, and as designated by Riessman (2008:112): asides (lines 14-15); repetition (lines 8-9, 11-12, 19 and 27); and present tense (lines 13 and 16-17).

Finally, the use of the same three additional linguistic aspects again stands out: active voice (**in green**) and passive voice (**in red**); direct speech; and linguistic structures of negation (**in bold**). However unlike Victor's turning point, the overarching narrative shift here is towards incapacity and defeatism rather than triumph. At the start of the episode as recounted there is some use of active voice and a certain sense of potential (lines 2-6). However, by the end, negative language structures (lines 13, 17, 19 and 25) and passive verb forms (lines 16, 20 and 22) prevail. Moreover a second complicating action follows on from the first, relating Justine's enforced transfer to a UT post (lines 21-23). Note the use of passive verb forms - '*I was told that I was being moved...*' (line 22) - alongside the use of a different type of direct or reported speech than that used by Victor: interpersonal with another party, rather than intrapersonal - '*I was told that [...] "that would be the best thing for my career"*' (line 23). It seems that the power of a given line manager over her career trajectory has undermined Justine's self-assurance and resulted in a total lack of professional agency: '*Well perhaps it was, perhaps it wasn't. But it, it was pretty clear I had no choice in this*' (lines 24-25). Unlike Victor, there is no clear resolution; rather the coda, and Justine's path ahead, remain uncertain.

In the end the use of negative emotive language (underlined) is the most noticeable linguistic feature running through Justine's account from the complicating action through to the end: '*...it got ripped to shreds*' (line 7); '*It was dreadful*' (line 11); '*It was an awful experience*' (line 12); '*I'm trapped on that*' (line 16); '*My confidence was just utterly destroyed*' (line 20). This ultimate sense of distress and incapacity is then ironically reinforced by the falsely positive post-script: '*Well that's been ok, that's been ok*'.

Moreover, when the episode is briefly re-told towards the end of the interview (see Table 4.6 below) repeated negativity (lines 3 and 6) and passivity (lines 2, 4, 7 and 9) dominate, with interpersonal direct speech from Justine's line manager (line 5) ironically signalling Justine's sense of injustice and lack of future direction.

Complicating Action	1. What, what I feel... 2. What I recognise is this sense that a paper got <u>torn to shreds</u>,	
Evaluation	3. and there was just never any question then; 4. I was told that effectively, 5. 'Oh, it'll be easier for your career and for you to progress' 6. But actually there was never any question of me progressing. 7. And it was visited upon me.	Direct speech - interpersonal
Coda	8. And I suspect that that's the use of University Teachers: 9. <u>to get people out of the way</u> 10. so you don't bring the REF rating down.	Repetition

Table 4.6:
Justine's turning point, the road revisited

Here, as in Victor's case, the emotional impact of recounting key episodes of an academic career trajectory is clear. Its professional impact can be similarly seminal: for Justine this episode has no Labovian 'resolution' and she later left the employ of the University.

In the case of Gina, the third case study participant, it proved more difficult to identify a seminal turning point. This may be explained by the fact that she was at an early, and still rather unsettled, stage in her career. However she recounted one particular event soon after her permanent appointment on the LT&S track that seemed significant in terms of her future trajectory (see Table 4.7 below):

Abstract	1. So, there was great relief to have a permanent position then.
Orientation	2. And, em... <i>[pause]</i> the permanent position came with a kind of an understanding 3. that hopefully it would transition into a Research and Teaching contract from a University Teacher contract.
Complicating Action	4. At the same time my peer, 5. my good friend and colleague, 6. who also works in the subject, 7. got a Lecturing post,

Evaluation	8. which was wonderful for her, 9. but compounded my sense that, 10. 'I'd like- I would like that' <i>[both laugh]</i> 11. So, em- And really that's been the position since. 12. So there have been, discussions over the past year 13. about, transitioning to a Research and Teaching contract. <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 10px; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> Direct speech - intrapersonal </div>
Coda	14. And- I'm not very clear about what it actually entails, but I- 15. and I'm very keen to get a clear sense, 16. if there is actually a clear protocol and trajectory, 17. - which I suspect there isn't .

Table 4.7:
Gina's turning point, finding a path to transition?

Gina uses passive voice in relation both to her permanent appointment as a UT, '*there was great relief*' (line 1), and to her simultaneous desire to transition to an R&T post, '*hopefully it would transition*' (line 3). In contrast, active voice is used when describing her peer's appointment to a Lecturer post, '*[she] got a Lecturing post*' (line 7). In so doing Gina communicates some absence of control over her career trajectory, alongside a lack of enthusiasm for her current post. However, like Victor, the use of intrapersonal direct speech, '*my sense that "I'd like- I would like that"*' (lines 9-10), constitutes a form of self-motivation, seeking to encourage herself in her efforts to achieve that goal (line 15). However, this is tempered by continued use of passive voice, '*there have been discussions*' (line 12) indicating lack of agency, and structures of negation (lines 14 and 17) indicating uncertainty. The absence of consistency in the linguistic features of this narrative episode appropriately reflects the undecided stage Gina has reached in her career: there is no Labovian 'resolution' and Gina remains unclear which door leads to her ultimate goal of transitioning to an R&T contract, and how, or indeed if, it can be opened.

4.3.4 Characterisation and genres

Clearly then, whether the narrator is aware of it or not, narratives are performances of identity: for her/himself; for the immediate listener; and for future audiences. In the words of Labov (2001:22):

The narrator is unconsciously directed by a normative ideology that assigns praise and blame for the actions involved in ways that are sensitive to the social relations of the narrator, his immediate addressees and the wider

potential audience.

Thus, as observed above, close analysis of the overarching structure of the case study narratives, and of specific narrative episodes within them, reveals much about each participant and her/his construction of professional identity, for example their resolve to overcome obstacles, to persevere, or their ultimate decision to retreat.

However another of Fraser's (2004:189) suggested techniques for 'interpreting individual transcripts' is similarly revealing: 'scanning for characterization'. Through ascription of character types, literary genres may be identified based on form, content and mood (Chamberlain and Thompson, 1998). Here we see the influence of two major narrative theorists: Propp (1968), with his focus on the successive narrative functions of characters; and Todorov (1971), with his central concept that the two principles of narrative are 'succession' and 'transformation'. In effect, when the overarching plotline of each case study career story is considered, together with an evaluation of the character type each participant appears to perform and her/his emotional state at the end of the story-telling process, a discrete literary genre can indeed be discerned for each one (see Table 4.8 below).

PARTICIPANT	PLOTLINE	CHARACTER TYPE	EMOTIONAL RESPONSE	GENRE
Victor	Progressive	Hero	Upbeat and positive	Saga
Justine	Regressive	Victim	Sad and defeated	Tragedy
Gina	Stagnant	Seeker	Disappointed and frustrated, but hopeful	Quest

Table 4.8:
Case study profiles (3), characterisation and genre

Victor exhibits characteristics of the charismatic, adaptive, pragmatic 'hero' of the saga, a tale of heroism with struggles and feuds fought and won in the name of a wider community. Justine displays more features of the confused or idealistic 'victim' of the tragic romance, a story of loss and betrayal. Gina on the other hand embodies the 'seeker' of the adventure quest, pursuing individual fortune and glory via various trials and tribulations, with an uncertain outcome. These categorisations are interesting in themselves; however more

importantly for the purposes of this study, they guide further understandings of the case study participants' professional identity narratives.

Victor's narrative displayed a high incidence of active voice and an orderly, linear structure, in keeping with his role as assertive 'hero'. He had faced down opposition and taken control over his career trajectory, successfully obtaining a promoted position alongside other forms of institutional recognition. He exhibited a well-developed sense of identity coherence, fully embracing the contractually differentiated LT&S track and his UT then SUT posts, while acknowledging the blurring of boundaries between his scholarship and research activities. In many respects, therefore, his performed identity was similar to that of the adaptive 'pragmatist' identified by Henkel (2000:208): 'holding on to their values [...] within a hostile culture, which in some cases challenged their sense of self-esteem'. Like some of the more successful teachers in Troman and Woods' study into teacher adaptations at times of intensive reform (2000:259), Victor had refused to 'let the system beat' him, and had made the most of change and adversity by 'self-actualising' via 're-routeing'. He had achieved this by focusing on research into teaching and learning, and encompassing publications as well as income generation, in line with both his own values and the University requirements of his differentiated UT post. Thus he came to personify Trowler, Saunders and Bamber's (2012:256) revised view of academics in the 21st century who, 'on the battleground of daily practices', 'work between what they value and what they give priority to'.

In contrast, Justine's 'victim' narrative had a less assured, circuitous structure and used a greater number of passive verbs, negative linguistic structures, and perhaps most tellingly, highly emotive language of defeatism and lost hope. In this respect it reflects Taylor's identification (2008:30) of 'a disposition to academic work and academic identity that is indicative of a fundamental pessimism about the present and the future'. In his review of academic identity studies in Finland, Australia and the UK Taylor (2008) detected a recurring theme of nostalgia for a lost 'golden age' of academe. Like many of the academics who expressed such views, Justine was slightly older, in a lower status position, described serious issues with management, and expressed a lack of autonomy coupled with a sense of fragmentation. Severe criticism of her

disciplinary expertise had been followed by her removal from the RAE/REF through imposed transfer to the teaching-focused UT post. The impact on her professional identity was accurately captured by Ball (2003:220): 'the contentments of stability are increasingly elusive, purposes are made contradictory, motivations become blurred and self worth is uncertain'. In the final analysis she believed there was '*no way out of it*', concluding that '*I'm just, I'm just trying, trying to hold place, without any serious view of taking things, taking things forward*'. Thus her final outlook was redolent of Troman and Woods' (2000) 'downshifting', whereby some teachers opt to alleviate the stress and anxiety of imposed structural changes by withdrawing some of their personal investment in the job and curtailing some of their professional activity. It also hints at the more negative 'retreatism' of total withdrawal, with Justine predicting, correctly as it transpired, that her next move would be '*out of the University. Probably. I don't think, I don't think there's anything else here for me*'.

Finally Gina, as 'seeker', remained resolutely on a path towards her ultimate goal of transferring to a research-focused post, however uncertain that desired outcome may have been, revisiting this ambition several times in the course of the interview. Her uncertainty was visible in the mingling of active and passive voice throughout her discourse, but also in the contrast between, on the one hand, a sense of determination, self-belief and hope that such a transfer would happen - '*I persist in the attempt...*'; '*there is ongoing, sort of... aspirations*' - and, on the other, misgivings and exasperation about her teaching-focused UT post - '*It [the UT post] seems inconsistent and incoherent, the whole policy really*'; '*I think it's generally pernicious, em for, early career people*'. Thus Gina continued to seek the 'self-actualisation' achieved by Victor, either via 're-routing' through transfer to an R&T post at Glasgow, or by 're-locating' to another University. In the interim, like the 'young/er academics' constructions of professional identity' explored by Archer (2008), Gina had found ways to negotiate the pressures of contemporary academia by engaging in some of the 'safeguarding' discourses identified. Two in particular stood out in her career narrative: firstly 'safety/protection through "playing the game" '; and secondly 'challenging/speaking out'. She played the game by doing what her School required of her in terms of the expected teaching load of a UT, while indirectly

challenging the system by striving to be the kind of research-focused Lecturer she already perceived herself to be:

My self-perception is very much of a, of a researcher, research and teaching, a Lecturer. I lecture. I do research. But unfortunately I don't get paid to do my research, and I do more teaching, [laughs] than people who do get paid to do it!

Through her participation in this study Gina also directly challenged the University's adoption of academic contractual differentiation:

I don't believe that the University, or any higher education establishment, has really provided a very explicit statement of the virtues of a University Teacher contract, which really just elicits suspicion in those people on those contracts I think. That it's just a money saving exercise. And I remain convinced that that is all it is.

However, Gina's academic ambitions had yet to be realised. Thus, like Archer's research participants (2008:277-278), 'without broader support, the potential for the younger academics to effect a change in the system was constrained'.

These three individual case studies illustrate Castells' contention (1997:7) that 'identities are sources of meaning for actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation'. However I am less convinced that 'identities organize the meaning while roles organize the functions' (Castells, 1997:7). In this study into the influence of a specific academic role or function on the construction of academic identity, Taylor's interpretation of Castells seems more fitting (2008:29, emphasis added): 'For individuals, roles give rise to **context-specific** opportunities to express, and even to develop, personal identity'. Clearly then, this exploration of UT identity narratives must now move beyond the individual to the level of the community of teaching-focused academics while encompassing aspects of the wider contexts of UK HE and research-led universities in particular.

4.4 Moving from the 'personal' to the 'communal'

An additional phase of narrative analysis identified by Fraser (2004:191) serves as a useful tool for achieving this wider focus: 'scanning across different domains of experience'. In so doing, Fraser contends, narrative researchers may gain 'insights about how people interact with different dimensions of their

environments' (2004:191), and thereby assess the contribution of those dimensions to identity formation.

Fraser (2004) distinguishes between four different dimensions that may facilitate a move outwards from disconnected analysis of atomistic identity stories to inter-connected analysis from multiple perspectives: within stories, between stories and outwards to their wider settings. Firstly, the **intrapersonal** dimension focuses on 'intra body-mind experiences' and the extent to which narrators engage in 'self-talk' (Fraser, 2004:191) and to what ends, for example Victor's 'rallying calls to self' assessed above. Secondly, evaluation of **interpersonal** aspects centres on the role of interactions with others, sometimes indicated through the use of reported speech. It is noteworthy that the case study seminal moments all centred on relations with others, in particular line managers for both Victor and Justine, but also peers for Gina. The third and fourth dimensions, the **cultural** and the **structural**, focus on organisational cultures and social structures, for example those of my university, a research-led HEI in a UK HE context. Thereafter, or perhaps more accurately concurrently, Fraser suggests that narrative researchers search for 'commonalities and differences among participants' (2004:194). This is achieved in the next chapter by moving beyond the 'personal', the individual case study, to the 'communal', bringing all 11 participant career narratives into contact in such a way that thematic patterns may emerge and common concerns be (re-)presented.

4.5 Summary

The focus in this chapter has been on whole narratives or narrative episodes. Following the initial discernment of overarching narrative plotlines, three UT case studies were selected. Thereafter key narrative episodes were examined: beginnings, both textual and verbal; endings; and self-selected seminal turning points. Structural and linguistic performative analysis of these key episodes, alongside holistic identification of genres and characterisation, revealed the impact of various dimensions of experience on the trajectory of individual UTs: the intrapersonal, interpersonal, cultural and structural. These now lead us outwards from the personal to the communal, and to the thematic analysis that forms the core of Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

‘Now, let me tell you some stories’ Part 2. (Re-)Constructing University Teacher concerns

In this chapter I begin by providing a rationale for, and an outline of, the thematic, content-based analysis of all 11 UT career narratives within my ‘pragmatic’ hybrid narrative approach. I then engage in detail with emerging key themes, leading to the identification of a number of UT identity typologies. I conclude by examining the complex nature of UT identity.

5.1 A thematic approach

5.1.1 Why?

Lieblich *et al.* (1998:12) explain that in narrative research ‘the categorical approach may be adopted when the researcher is primarily interested in a problem or phenomenon shared by a group of people’. Clearly a methodology that identifies and interprets discernible key categories of interview content is ideal in the case of a study such as this, focusing on the identity narratives of a specific type of academic in a specific context. A reconsideration of the final conceptual framework image of the loom (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3) further assists both in illustrating and in validating this approach. By means of an exploration of emerging ‘patterns’ or significant themes discernible in the ‘material’ or interview data co-created, I seek to identify and interpret areas where the majority of individual participant ‘yarns’ or narratives converge. Simultaneously, I note how these categorised ‘patterns’ or themes may then diverge into ‘patterns within patterns’ or sub-themes, or alternatively may feature distinct individual ‘yarns’ that stand proud within a given ‘pattern’ or theme.

5.1.2 Who?

Given this focus on shared concerns, it is essential that the narratives of all ten (S)UT participants be closely scrutinised. In addition, and as explained in

Chapter 4, I also include the narrative data co-constructed with the final participant, Andrew, who had transferred from a UT post on the LT&S track to a Lecturer post on the R&T track only a few months before our interview took place. Table 5.1 below provides a list of brief participant profiles including pseudonym, post type, discernible plot dynamic and narrative titles as allocated by the participant and by me. Note that the participants are organised initially by post, with promoted posts listed first, and then by plot dynamic, with the Chapter 4 case studies highlighted in bold. As already indicated in Chapter 3, the gender of five of the participants has been changed in order to provide enhanced anonymity.

PARTICIPANT	POST	PLOT DYNAMIC	PARTICIPANT TITLE	ALTERNATIVE TITLE
Victor	SUT	Progressive	Journey of empowerment	Against the odds
Daniel	SUT	Progressive	I've broken out of the role	I did it my way
Megan	SUT	Progressive	I've been lucky	Onwards and upwards
Kirsty	SUT	Stable	Falling among thieves	Biding my time
Tom	UT	Static	Relatively happy	Teaching is my first love
Elaine	UT	Static	I've nothing to grumble about (but...)	Going with the flow
Dominic	UT	Static	Strange tension between failure and success	Either / Or
Gina	UT	Stagnant	It's not what I envisaged	False promise(s)
Sandra	UT	Stagnant	Adjustment	What's it all about?
Justine	UT	Regressive	Stymied and marginalised	Down and out
Andrew	L	In flux	A new hat	The right fork in the road?

Table 5.1:
All narrative interview participant profiles

5.1.3 How?

The 11 narrative interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in full, as outlined in Chapter 3. Thereafter the transcripts were carefully examined following a two-stage process. Firstly they were scrutinised in a semi-deductive manner against a number of pre-identified themes surrounding the LT&S track and UT post raised by earlier University of Glasgow-based studies (Gunn *et al.*, 2014; Mackenzie *et al.*, 2010; Naula, 2014): the perceived low status of the post; issues in relation to specific aspects of the job remit, particularly scholarship and teaching; and concerns regarding career progression. Secondly the transcripts were closely re-scrutinised more inductively in order to identify additional recurring themes and sub-themes, as well as related categories of those sub-themes. Throughout both stages they were simultaneously evaluated in relation to the four 'domains of experience' referred to by Fraser (2004:191) and explained at the end of Chapter 4: the intrapersonal, the interpersonal; the cultural; and the structural. The thematic analysis process thereby followed 'a constant comparative method' as outlined by Odena (2013:357): immersion; categorisation; reduction; triangulation; and interpretation. The emerging themes were discussed with supervisors at different research stages as the investigation progressed.

NVivo software was used throughout to assist in organising the interview transcripts and in recording and grouping developing themes over time. It should be stressed that the coding of interview data to themes was carried out manually rather than automated. In this way a level of interpretative sophistication could be retained, extending beyond the more limited capabilities of machine coding. Moreover, as indicated by Odena (2013), the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) not only facilitated the categorisation and sub-categorisation of sections of interview transcript, but also assisted in substantiating claims made for that data and in enhancing readers' confidence in it, on condition that its use was outlined as fully and as transparently as possible, as I have endeavoured to do here.

5.2 The themes

Following the process described above a number of key themes and sub-themes regarding participant perceptions of the LT&S track and UT post were identified as recurrent across all or most interviews (see Table 5.2 below):

KEY THEME	SUB-THEMES	PRIMARY DOMAIN(S) OF EXPERIENCE
Emotion	<i>Negative</i>	Intrapersonal
	<i>Positive</i>	
Status / Self-esteem	<i>Low</i>	Intrapersonal Interpersonal
	<i>High</i>	
Features of the UT post	<i>Appointment as a UT</i>	Intrapersonal Interpersonal Cultural Social
	<i>Job title</i>	
	<i>Job remit:</i> (i) workload; (ii) teaching; (iii) scholarship	
	<i>Career progression:</i> (i) promotion; (ii) internal transfer; (iii) route(s) to successful promotion	
Professional relationships	<i>Students</i>	Interpersonal Intrapersonal
	<i>Peers</i>	
	<i>Managers:</i> (i) line management; (ii) University management	

Table 5.2:
Narrative interview key themes, sub-themes and domains of experience

The most striking overarching theme, noted during the interview process itself, in post-interview field notes and in the subsequent analysis of transcripts, and lying within the domain of ‘intra body-mind experiences’ (Fraser, 2004:191), was the intensity of emotion expressed by all participants. It was also notable that the types of emotion expressed were predominantly, although not exclusively, negative rather than positive. Closer scrutiny of the sources of this negativity suggested a link to a second key theme, again intrapersonal but also interpersonal in nature: a dual sense of low status and low self-esteem, experienced to a greater or lesser degree by all of the interviewees. A

chronological narrative course, coupled with a broadening out to the cultural domain of my university and the wider structural context of UK HE, then guided the exploration of these first two themes in relation to a third theme: particular features of the UT post, as raised by participants, from their initial appointment on the LT&S track through to their accounts regarding possibilities for career progression. In so doing a final key theme emerged, reflecting findings from Chapter 4: the importance, to successful UT identity construction, of positive inter- and intrapersonal relationships. The following four sub-sections provide detailed analysis of each of these themes in turn.

5.2.1 Emotion

Participants' comments evidencing emotional language relating specifically to the UT post and their own or UT peers' sense of self were identified and coded under this theme. They were multiple as is outlined below. It is perhaps not surprising that emotion should have been so evident in the narratives elicited from the participants. According to Kleres (2011:188), narratives

grant us access to human experience as it is inextricably meaningful and emotional at the same time. The very nature of emotional experience can be conceptualized as essentially narrative in nature (rather than mediated by narratives) and vice versa: narratives essentially are emotionally structured.

One UT participant, Dominic, echoed this outlook towards the end of our interview in his comments regarding the narrative process he had just undertaken:

But there is a sense in which it's got a- clearly an emotional quality, cause you don't get too many opportunities - in fact you get hardly any - when someone asks you, 'So, what's your life narrative?' And that's effectively what this is asking. So of course there's forms of emotionality that can go along with this, which is partly sort of pathos, partly a degree of satisfaction or pride, and partly just whatever the generic emotionality that seems to accompany telling your life story, or aspects of your life story, that you're not used to telling.

Negative

The more surprising feature was the extent to which a sense of discontent or distress punctuated each interview. This is clearly visible in the preponderance

of personally negative emotive language, noted and coded at the level of words and phrases, used by each participant to describe themselves and/or their fellow (S)UTs (see Table 5.3 below):

PERSONALLY NEGATIVE EMOTIVE LANGUAGE	
Victor	<i>in a cloud with rain coming off it; sense of failure; demoted; shame; negative; my fault; no support; criticisms; insulting; a battle; no choice; second-class position; little status; lower status; not important; not much kudos; not equal; no time for scholarship</i>
Daniel	<i>poor relations; worker drone; uncomfortable; hammered; embattled; pressure; pigeonholed; closed off horizons; restricted; in a rut; de-skilled; unsuccessful; trammelled; held back; in a dead end/ cul-de-sac/ Catch 22</i>
Megan	<i>sometimes unsupported; community of them and us; not a specialist in anything; no opportunity to carry out research; held back; stagnant; isolated; too much responsibility</i>
Kirsty	<i>used; cynical; inertia; disillusionment; in the bucket file</i>
Tom	<i>hilarious overwork; crazy number of hours; limping along; picking up the tab; exploitation; no reputation outside of UoG; not a researcher; firefighting; exhausted; multiple demands; busted down; failed promotion; abandoned notion of promotion; left in the lurch; negative thing/ mistake (applying for promotion); scathing/ contemptuous (treatment by manager)</i>
Elaine	<i>stressful; horrible experience; less confident; nervous; horrific; horrendous; torturous; I can't breathe; a dogsbody; undervalued; not recognised; working outside your field; no choice; pressure to fail/ movement to failure (possible move to L)</i>
Dominic	<i>less clearly a success; never particularly brilliant as a researcher; never going to shine; failed academic; a failure; second-class citizen (don't feel it 'but no doubt I am'); Jack-of-all-trades; Am I in the right job?; How good am I?; no trust; cynical; stretched; no sense of belonging; erosion of identity; dead-end; fragile status; sad; element of pain; painful; emotional; personal; reluctant (to go for promotion/R&T track)</i>
Gina	<i>sceptical; disadvantaged; mopping up; insulting; elicits suspicion; doesn't seem fair; makes no sense; not what I envisaged; not what I foresaw; not what I want; not a situation I want to maintain; strange; disingenuous; hazy/ don't respect definition/ not interested/ doesn't make a lot of sense to me (understanding of scholarship); hard to imagine (promotion)</i>
Sandra	<i>tensions; worry; used; not best-fitting; criticised; blocked; undermined; disadvantaged; less prestigious</i>

Justine	<i>bottom of the pile; not very good; turned down; laughed at; ripped to shreds; stopped; dreadful; awful; trapped; can't do anything; confidence utterly destroyed; no choice; crisis point; can't keep pace; murderous; crushed; disenchanted; views don't count for anything; lost all energy and all spirit; serious cause of distress; no future; dispiriting; distanced; alienated; don't know what to do; breaks my heart; don't feel I count; lack of recognition; stymied; no longer central; peripheral; marginalised; background neurosis; griping; absolute hell; bullying; nothing here for me; caught; no way out; trying to hold place; second-class citizen; silo-ed</i>
Andrew	<i>cracking; a fight; unable to do what I wanted to do; no time; in two-tier system; jumping ship; cynical; Oh God!; dehumanising; demoralising; insane; inadequate; confused; panic; worried; a loss (teaching- following transfer); enormity (re. research targets)</i>

Table 5.3:
Self-referring negative emotive language, listed by participant

Positive

This self-referring negative emotive language clearly outweighed the positive emotive language utilised (see Table 5.4 below):

PERSONALLY POSITIVE EMOTIVE LANGUAGE	
Victor	<i>wonderful; sharing; worth; improve; help; change; promoted; not under pressure; freedom; proved them wrong; won the battle; in control; consoled; more power</i>
Daniel	<i>intellectually curious; interested; a blank sheet of paper; could generate things; strong case; promoted</i>
Megan	<i>valuable; character-building; good; do things by myself; learn; confidence; make decisions; find solutions; promoted; doing the right things</i>
Kirsty	<i>enjoy; interest/ interesting; strengths</i>
Tom	<i>reliable; capable; enjoy; passionate; interested; positive feedback; great opportunity; crazy amount of freedom</i>
Elaine	<i>quite good; quite enjoy; like; quite happy; help/helping; loved; fantastic; great; proper real interest; enjoyed; a peak; a high; spot-on; entry to the club; good/great fun; open doors; nice; no pressure</i>
Dominic	<i>enjoy; strength; natural; valuable; thoroughgoing expert; immersed; up-to-date; open up opportunities; freedom; variety; developing; not pressured; pretty fulfilling; success</i>
Gina	<i>really like; good; knowledgeable; experienced; relieved; excited; over the moon; foot in the door</i>

Sandra	<i>exciting time; interesting; specialised; went very well; free rein</i>
Justine	<i>love; great; wonderful; productive</i>
Andrew	<i>passing on; impacting; successful</i>

Table 5.4:
Self-referring positive emotive language, listed by participant

Overall, emotional language, negative and positive, was used throughout each interview, suggesting that the approach to narrative data co-creation facilitated participants to disclose their views and feelings. This will be discussed further in the final chapter. In terms of its significance, a simple reading of the lists above immediately indicates that both sets of emotive language linked clearly, albeit differently, to a second key theme of status or self-esteem, analysed in more detail in the following sub-section.

5.2.2 Status / Self-esteem

This theme comprised the participants' expressions of, and views on, their role as UTs and the sense of status attached to that. As is examined below, the negative or positive emotive language used by participants (see Tables 5.3 and 5.4 above), conveyed contrasting feelings of low or high self-esteem as seen from the outside-in, from within, and from the inside-out.

Low

The negative language communicated a sense of low self-esteem and externally perceived low status attached by all 11 interviewees to the UT post and LT&S track. Negative sentiment was often explicitly expressed as an outside-to-inside feeling of inferiority in relation to R&T colleagues and managers; the (S)UTs described themselves as being considered: '*poor relations*' (Daniel); '*a lower class*' (Megan); '*the bucket file*' (Kirsty); '*bottom of the pile*' (Justine); '*a second-class citizen*' (Dominic); '*exploited*' (Sandra); '*a dogsbody*' (Elaine). Any move to the UT post from the R&T track was viewed as a source of '*shame*' (Victor), a '*demotion*' or a form of being '*busted down*' (Tom). For Andrew, who had started his career as a UT and then successfully applied for transfer to a Lecturership, the dual-track structure was in fact '*a two-tier system where one*

job has more prestige, or has more honour, or has more roots to enhancement available'. The focus here was firmly centred on how UTs felt themselves viewed from the outside.

High

Positive language use sometimes also expressed views from the outside, but this time of affirmation, for example in how participants' felt themselves judged following a successful promotion application: *'I decided [...] that I would try for promotion [...]. And I got it, and that obviously gave me a lot of confidence that I was doing the right things'* (Megan).

However, it more often tended to express participants' inside, or internally experienced, sense of self-belief stemming from a perception of their own strengths, or an assertion of personal preferences, especially regarding teaching: *'I enjoy teaching, I enjoy course development'* (Daniel); *'I've always had an interest in teaching, or education'* (Kirsty); *'I really like teaching'* (Gina).

Alternatively, positive emotive language was also used to convey an inside-to-outside orientated concern for students: *'I mean, I love the teaching and I love the actual student engagement. That's the great bit about it'* (Justine);

I think the University Teachers would be the kind of job roles where you would be playing a really really important part in terms of [...] passing on areas of research and impacting on students (Andrew).

Thus here the focus was firmly centred on how the UTs viewed themselves subjectively or looked outward towards those for whom they felt responsible.

This analysis of UT perceptions of the status of their role and related issues of self-esteem highlighted additional themes contributing significantly to participants' sense of academic identity and therefore worthy of examination: specific features of the UT post itself and the influence of professional relationships. These themes are explored in the two sub-sections that follow.

5.2.3 Features of the UT post

In order to identify features of the UT post that were of shared concern to participants I returned to the beginning of their career journeys to examine, as a first sub-theme, how they portrayed their initial appointment as a UT.

Thereafter, and continuing to follow a chronological narrative line, further features of the UT post emerged as significant sub-themes around which a majority of career stories converged, namely the 'University Teacher' nomenclature, aspects of the job remit - specifically in relation to workload, teaching and scholarship - and perceived opportunities for, or barriers to, career progression. These are examined in sequence below.

Appointment as a UT

For eight out of 11 participants the creation of the UT post and the LT&S track had enabled them to enter academe from non-HE positions, for example from secondary education, the third sector or business. Andrew spoke positively of '*a tradition of hiring people who had come up through the profession, rather than up through the academy*'. However others stressed the more negative point that this practitioner focus would in fact have disbarred them from accessing a Lecturer post on the R&T track, as would a lack of doctorate or proven track record in research - although it was notable that six out of 11 participants were already in possession of a doctorate at the time of their appointment as a UT. According to SUT Megan, '*I would never have got into the University if they required research, because I was out for ten years. [...] People like me just won't have had that*'. Indeed, SUT Kirsty hypothesised that the teaching-focused UT post, too, would be inaccessible to her in the current HE context given her background in private enterprise: '*the more practical focus [...] that I've got would not be a viable way into teaching at Glasgow University these days*'. There is a clear sense that the qualifications or academic credentials of staff in UT posts were regarded by some participants as inferior to those of staff in Lecturer posts. This perception would appear to be externally reinforced by the fact that ten out of 11 had initially been employed by the University on a part-time and/or fixed-term basis.

More positively, two of the participants, Megan (SUT) and Tom (UT), had actively embraced the UT role, fully informed of its focus on teaching. However four participants acknowledged that their choice, although active, had been uninformed; they had applied for the position in ignorance of the specifics of the job remit and how it differed from the Lecturer post. For Dominic and Gina they were simply content to obtain an academic post and gave little thought to the differentiated contract. According to Gina, *'I just applied wherever I could get a job'*. On applying for a post that was being offered as either UT or Lecturer, Sandra had been advised by her future line manager that UT was the best fit for her profile and had accepted the advice without querying it:

He said, 'Well then you should probably apply as a UT rather than a Lecturer'. And I'm bringing this up because it bears on this question about UT, which I am unclear about, I think, entirely for myself.

Andrew, on the other hand, was aware that the UT post was different but struggled to understand the exact nature of those differences: *'I couldn't quite understand how everything fitted together here. I couldn't quite understand what my role was to be'*.

Moreover, the remaining five participants, like myself, had been transferred to the LT&S track from the R&T track by management recommendation or directive rather than by choice. Unlike Naula's finding (2014:38) that such transfers were 'seen as positive by those UTs interviewed who have experienced it', the (S)UTs in this study reacted rather less favourably. For example for some, like Daniel, it was a source of regret: *'when it was recommended to me I just accepted it. You know, now that I'm older and more mature and seasoned, I might have made a different choice from the outset'*. Similarly for Victor, *'to me that was not a choice, and looking back I was a bit naïve. I wouldn't have that now; I would challenge it'*. For others it was with a sense of passive acceptance: *'I came in as a Senior Lecturer [...] when it became permanent it became permanent as a Senior University Teacher'* (Kirsty); *'it was as a UT. There wasn't any sort of negotiation there as a Lecturer or anything like that. It was just a UT'* (Elaine).

It would seem evident from this brief analysis of the circumstances surrounding the initial appointment of all 11 participants that there are echoes of one of Naula's findings (2014:3), that 'there is a perception that the UT role is maybe

less prestigious than the lecturer role'. Exactly how perceptions such as this, and others, were expressed in relation to further features of the UT post was clearly central to my participants' academic identity construction and warrants further exploration, again beginning near the start of their career stories with the job title itself.

Job title

As with the initial appointment to the UT post, a small number of participants - in this case only one, Tom - positively embraced the differentiated job title. Given his love of teaching, the 'teacher' nomenclature seemed entirely fitting to him, and he in fact preferred it to the notion of being an 'academic':

I'm not an academic; I'm a teacher. And there's one colleague in particular who says to me, 'No, no, no you're an academic' and I say, 'No, no I'm not; I am a teacher'. [...] I think of myself as a University Teacher.

For Sandra, although not embracing it as wholeheartedly as Tom, the job title felt appropriate given her central focus on teaching:

For me it is a lot about teaching, probably more so- I'm not somebody who's- someone who thinks of my research as my academic life, and then teaching as what you have to do, you know, to be able to have your post, so that you do your research.

A further two participants had adopted the job title quite defiantly. For Victor it was a deliberate attempt to defend it in the face of the perceived low status of the post:

If I have to write references for anybody, or if I'm talking to somebody within the University, I will definitely say that I'm a University Teacher. [...] I've made a conscious effort with that, to try to say that this is perfectly ok. [...] No I'm quite proud, especially in staff meetings or anywhere else, 'Yes, I am a University Teacher'.

Justine, on the other hand, acknowledged that the job title was confusing for some, but claimed that, '*I don't object to actually personally being called a University Teacher. I take that as being a matter of great pride. I don't invest anything in that difference*'. This view was however somewhat contradicted by additional highly negative comments made later in our interview in which she maintained, '*I would never recommend that [the LT&S] route*'.

Significantly, however, nine out of 11 participants (Victor and Justine and the remaining seven) expressed a dislike of the job title, and avoided its use in some

circumstances for a range of different reasons. For Megan, although the post felt fitting, the title was a misnomer:

For me the University Teacher track was ideal- I think the name was wrong. Yes, because it's 'teacher'. You know, it's saying that that's all you do, is teach, and you don't.

For others it was not widely understood by either fellow academics or the general public, and was both difficult and frustrating to explain. For example, according to Elaine:

So if you want to go somewhere else and you say, well, you've been a UT for, you know, how many years, well what on earth does that mean? Having to explain it to folk. It's not well-known everywhere.

And for Andrew:

It was always hard because if you said to somebody, 'I'm a University Teacher' they would kind of go, 'Oh, you mean a Lecturer?' You know, where do you start? 'No, I'm not a Lecturer' [...] And then you would have to explain, 'Well, it's a slightly different focus'. And then sometimes you'd think, 'Will I bother? No!'

Thus the job title was sometimes avoided and the R&T 'Lecturer' title used instead, especially outside of the university: *'Mostly I describe myself as University Lecturer because that's what the outside world would recognise'* (Justine). Daniel, however, acknowledged that this involved a certain level of duplicity:

But if I was to have a business card printed to go out and do some research networking in Europe, I probably wouldn't have- I wouldn't want to have Senior University Teacher on it, because that wouldn't mean a great deal. It would be easier, if slightly dishonest, to say that I'm a Senior Lecturer, because I'm at the same status, apparently, and it's a much more widely understood terminology, or designation.

Daniel's use of the word 'apparently' above hinted at a further reason for disliking and avoiding the use of the job title: the sense that for him, despite the official parity between the two posts, the UT post was in fact of lower status than the Lecturer post. Gina expressed a similar opinion:

I suppose within an academic context I would feel like I was being a bit fraudulent, because I suppose in my eyes it's better to be a Lecturer than a University Teacher.

Furthermore, for some, the word 'teacher' exacerbated this sense of lesser value given its evocation of school-level education. Kirsty articulated this view very clearly: *'I think it's a derogatory term, "teaching", because teaching is*

what they do in the schools and what they do in the colleges; universities talk about “education”’. Indeed, according to Dominic, ‘teacher’ was not an appropriate label for the activity of university academics:

Teachers are a very well respected - as they should be, school teachers - But the perception is that a Lecturer is of a different kind of being in some way- and I suppose it’s largely around expertise, that you’re able to impart this knowledge at a much higher academic level.

Clearly, then, as highlighted by Grant, Berg and Cable (2014:1202) job titles are inherently linked to perceptions of professional standing: ‘titles are important markers of an employee’s self-concept because they convey meaningful status signals’. Moreover, as they also point out (1202), job titles can in fact be used by the employer to ‘anchor’ employees’ professional identities with a view to maximising the benefits to the employing organisation. As outlined above, in the view of the majority of (S)UT participants the job title was not functioning in their favour, thereby potentially, and paradoxically, undermining advancement at the level of both the individual and the University.

In the case of the UT post not only could the job title tie employees to an institutionally-prescribed identity, so too could specific aspects of the job remit itself, either as laid out in contractual requirements, or as understood by participants at a more subjective level. These aspects are identified and examined in more detail in the sub-section and related categories below.

Job remit

Three specific aspects of the UT job remit were identified as being of concern to the majority of participants: workload; teaching; and scholarship - including the crossover with research. These aspects or sub-themes were the most frequently cited, and therefore clearly considered as central to the nature of the post and to UTs’ ability to create an academic identity around them. It should be both observed and observable from the discussion below that, although these three aspects are considered separately here for the sake of clarity, all three are inextricably interrelated and overlapping.

(i) Workload

In terms of workload, a major concern raised by participants was the University's recently updated workload model and the revised amount of time allocated to teaching and scholarship. As outlined in Chapter 2, when the UT post was first established in 2002 each of these tasks - then designated as 'scheduled teaching' and 'teaching support activities' respectively - had been allocated a third of standard annual hours. However in the period preceding the research interviews the share assigned to scholarship had been reduced to 10 *per cent* of workload, while that for teaching had been correspondingly increased.

Although a heavier teaching load would clearly be expected on the Learning, **Teaching** and Scholarship track, participants nonetheless considered it excessive at points, to such an extent that some had struggled to cope or had suffered a negative impact on their health and wellbeing. Tom referred to '*how totally exhausted I sometimes get because of the multiple demands of teaching every level, of having what objectively is a totally bonkers combination*'. Sandra also questioned whether such a system could in fact be maintained by the University, or indeed continue to be assumed by UTs, going forward:

It seems like people do a lot of, a lot, a lot of teaching, with UT contracts. And the question is whether, that's sustainable for them, us, in the long term.

In addition, the disparity in the teaching loads of UTs compared to those of Lecturers was mentioned by several participants, at times signalled as a contributing factor to some participants' sense of inferior status and low self-worth. As Daniel pointed out,

it is about the relative esteem that the two posts are held in, in the sense that the University Teachers are the poor relations, and they tend to get hammered in terms of their workload around teaching.

Elaine conveyed this perceived lack of parity through a specific narrative episode describing a difficult encounter with a Lecturer colleague:

*I can only speak for one person here, a relatively new appointment, cause they came in and thought that, you know, this was not **beyond** them, but it was **beneath** them.*

[Interviewer - What was?]

The sort of, the teaching aspect of it. 'I don't understand why I'm doing so much teaching. Surely that's the job of the UT'. That type of attitude.

With regard to the resulting reduced weighting for scholarship or research activity within the workload model, many (S)UTs felt that too little time was now available for quality work, resulting in negative feelings of indignation and injustice. Victor's exasperation manifested itself via repetition and exclamation: *'we don't have much time in the week that we're allowed - allowed! - that's supposed to be set aside for scholarship. [...] I think it's half a day!'*. For Gina sarcasm and self-mocking laughter clearly exposed her discontent:

It's meant to be something like four hours a week or something, I believe, which I think's just a travesty when you have- I have probationary objectives, progress and development review objectives, which stipulate 'Publish a monograph [laughs], plus an article', whilst also stipulating all these teaching and grant capture initiatives. I think, well, 'You're having a laugh, aren't you? [laughs] When do you expect somebody to do that within these contracted hours?'

Ironically, given the UT post's contracted focus on teaching, this reduction in scholarship time had resulted in a perceived inability to ensure high quality teaching, as highlighted by Daniel:

How that [quality teaching] can be done with 150 hours, half a day essentially a week, is difficult to see. If we're talking about a Russell Group university that does value research-informed teaching, I find it hard to reconcile that with the amount of time that's given over to that.

Indeed Elaine urged the University to reconsider the workload weightings:

I would encourage them to think more about the proportions of time that they apply to the likes of scholarship. It's undervalued. I mean the last I heard it's somewhere round about ten per cent, which is utterly ridiculous if you want to be a good teacher.

Megan pointed out an additional irony, that *'if you look at the Teaching Excellence Awards, it doesn't always go to University Teachers because they're not always given the time to do fantastic things'*.

For some this workload imbalance had led either to an aspiration (Elaine and Gina), or an actual application (Andrew), to transfer from the LT&S track to the R&T track. In her desire to escape a job that curtailed her ability to do more research following her PhD, Gina was actively seeking *'to move in the right direction towards a Research and Teaching contract'*. Gina's use of the value-

laden adjective *'right'* clearly conveyed the lower status of the LT&S track in her eyes. Likewise, Andrew's successful application had been a direct consequence of the reduced time allocation for scholarship activity:

So when I first started here we had 500 hours devoted to scholarship in a year, which was the same as a University Lecturer. And then it went down to 300. And then, the icing on the cake was, it went down to 150. And that was at the point where I was just cracking.

Daniel offered a perceptive summary of the shortcomings of the model, for himself personally, but also for his peers and for the wider University community:

It just feels very counter-productive that teachers, particularly University Teachers, are essentially manoeuvred into a position in terms of their workload in here, that they have very little scope to do the kinds of things that the University values. They're so busy teaching and marking that they have little time to think, to reflect, to come up with ideas.

Malcolm and Zukas (2009) provide an insightful critique of the impact of workload models on academic identity, viewing them as 'fabrications' in the mould of Ball's definition of the term (2003:224):

versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist [...] they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable'. Truthfulness is not the point - the point is their effectiveness, [...] and in the 'work' they do 'on' and 'in' the organization.

Malcolm and Zukas (2009:504) argue that 'managerialist fabrications such as the workload allocation form fragment [academic] experience and attempt to reclassify purposes and conceptualisations of academic work' through an assumption 'that teaching, research and administration are discrete elements of practice'. However in their view, and that of both their participants and mine, the various strands of academic work are 'messy' and 'inextricably entangled', visible above in the overlap between teaching and scholarship/research in the discussions relating to UT workload. It is teaching that we examine next, clearly central to the remit of the University **Teacher** post, but again interconnected with workload and scholarship by participants, as will become evident below.

(ii) Teaching

Teaching was a second feature of the UT job remit raised by all participants as an area of ambiguity or concern. Admittedly some (S)UTs viewed the

contractually disaggregated emphasis on teaching as an advantage. This was characterised firstly by a perceived correlation between their individual values or perceived strengths and the weighting attached to teaching, as was apparent in the links between positive emotive language and teaching examined in subsections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above. Secondly it was depicted as a welcome sense of ‘freedom’ with regard to teaching: Dominic brought both aspects together in his assessment of his UT post:

what is generally a pretty fulfilling job, in terms of the kind of things that I teach, the kind of people that I teach, freedom to make choices about what I teach, is your success narrative.

However, other more overtly negative views regarding the inferior institutional status of teaching prevailed, echoing both the findings of various wider context research studies explored in Chapter 2 (Brew, 2006; Macfarlane, 2011a, 2011b; Rowland, 1996), and another of Naula’s findings (2014:3) in the context of the University of Glasgow, that ‘UTs have the perception that teaching is not seen as important as research’. Some participants acknowledged that teaching, and by extension LT&S staff, did not appear to be as valued by the University as research and R&T staff. Kirsty, for example, described the central focus of the University in just such terms:

‘research-led’ is the phrase that’s used, and what you’re basically saying is ‘research-dominated’ - I’ll change the verb that’s used - which means, therefore, that we sacrifice teaching on the altar of research.

Thus for Tom, despite his love of teaching and enthusiastic espousal of the UT job title, the LT&S track remained problematic: *‘I would have less of an issue with it if I didn’t feel sometimes that the University pays lip service to the notion of valuing teaching’*. Moreover, according to Victor, UTs were at times explicitly labelled as being inferior: *‘The problem is, as I’ve said, is this lower status. I’ve heard people say, “Oh, people become University Teachers cause they’re like failed researchers”, which is so insulting!’*.

A number of participants also flagged up their belief that the LT&S track had been expressly created in order to maximise the research value of R&T staff. According to Gina, with a rather cynical laugh, *‘I know, just anecdotally, there are people within the subject who perceive the UT post as a good thing because it enables them to do their research [laughs]’*. Similarly, according to Sandra:

I know that there are some people who think of it, UTs as being, the role, as exploitation. They're being exploited to cover teaching gaps so that other people can do research.

Or alternatively that its purpose had been to extract those deemed to be devoid of such potential: *'I suspect that that's the use of University Teachers: to get people out of the way so you don't bring the REF rating down'* (Justine). This view is echoed by Probert and Sachs (2015) in their examination of the rise of teaching-focused academics in Australian universities. They describe the obligatory transfer of R&T staff onto teaching-focused contracts as 'a more punitive approach', adopted 'where a rapid improvement in research rankings has been the prime objective' (Probert and Sachs, 2015:60). My university, as a globally competitive Russell Group HEI, clearly shares a similar outlook, as evidenced by its pursuit of top-flight REF results.

Victor, however, was keen to defend teaching alongside research, stressing their inherent interconnectedness, and criticising the partial and constructed nature of the dominant view of a hierarchical divide between them:

It's like a hegemony, that this is what is good about the University, or this is what is good about the Department, and it's to do with research, and it's to do with the RAE, it's to do with getting five stars, blah blah blah, and all that. Whereas I don't think that's the whole story. And I don't think people have been critical enough to think that that is everything that education is about, because to me it's about, it's about learning and teaching as well, it's about disseminating all that knowledge and all that wonderful research.

Consequently, although the split between teaching and research has clearly been strengthened by the establishment of differentiated academic tracks within my university, this segregation may be perceived as a form of fabrication in two ways. Firstly, (S)UT participants' narratives around the realities of their academic experience reflected their genuine belief in a continuous interaction between the functions of teaching and research. Thus, as Macfarlane stresses (2015a:109), 'As with all dualisms it [the research/teaching dualism] squeezes out a more complex reality representing what universities do and how academics spend their time'. Secondly, the University's most recent official narrative around the purported essential value of teaching as a separate function, explored in the analysis of corporate documents in Chapter 2, also appears fabricated, in part at least. It masks the possibly more genuine aim of this

separation, defined as a '*money-saving exercise*' by Gina: to enhance University revenue by maximising, firstly the research income generated by Lecturers, and secondly the tuition fees income generated by UTs.

Moreover for all participants, teaching was neither their sole focus nor the defining feature of their academic identity, as has already been indicated above; research or scholarship activity was also viewed as intimately and positively bound up with their role. However this, too, was a source of uncertainty and misgivings for some.

(iii) Scholarship

A positive interest in engaging with some form of research or scholarship activity was expressed by each participant. All 11 expressed their views on, and involvement in, research, while ten discussed scholarship, thereby challenging Naula's finding (2014:3) that 'scholarship is a minor component of the interviewed UTs' daily work'.

Also in a positive vein, most of the (S)UT participants expressed the sense of freedom they gained as a result of being exempt from the pressures of having to produce a prescribed number of research outputs to be assessed within the Research Excellence Framework (REF), this time reflecting Naula's finding (2014:3) that 'being able to work outwith the constraints of the Research Excellence Framework (REF) is seen as beneficial for all UTs interviewed'. This was one area in which they felt a sense of advantage over their R&T colleagues: '*They [UTs] don't have the burden of the publications for the REF*' (Megan). Thus they could take their time completing research that they had chosen to undertake, as outlined by Elaine:

You don't have the same pressures in terms of publications. So it's quite nice for me to work away on something and taking years to do it. It's great. I don't have any pressure.

Or they could use any time available to focus on activity seeking to inform their teaching: '*I'm not under pressure to produce a certain amount of papers every year. And to me that gives me the freedom to develop my teaching*' (Victor).

By contrast, Andrew, who had recently transferred to a Lecturer position, felt more pressure and more anxiety in relation to research activity, and at a higher level, than he had as a UT:

*And that's where I'm beginning to start to panic because what it **does** mean is now I need to publish, which I had been doing, but I also need to grant capture. And... you know sometimes maybe it was easier in the past because I wasn't worried about it.*

Daniel agreed that R&T staff came under a great deal of pressure; however so too, in his view, did LT&S colleagues: 'And I'm not saying that Lecturers aren't under pressure; we're all under pressure'. For Daniel it was simply a different form of pressure. For example, it was generally felt that, despite UTs' interest in it, research or scholarship work was extremely difficult to undertake as a result of the heavy teaching load allocated to them in the workload model alongside the limited time assigned to scholarship, once more indicating the interconnectedness of the three aspects of the job remit examined here. For Elaine scholarship was a near impossibility, leading to feelings of negativity:

*It's all about teaching. It's all about marking. There's **nothing** else you can do. Scholarship, forget about it. You can't even- I mean you're reading folks' essays and **that's** how you're learning stuff, yeah. That's your scholarship cause there's **no** way you've got a chance.*

Even for those in promoted posts, such as Daniel, no extra time was allocated:

What I do know is, even as a Senior University Teacher I've got the same very restricted time for scholarship, and that's the thing that feels like- sometimes it feels like a dead-end, because I will never get enough time to write enough high-quality publications to break out of the cul-de-sac.

Moreover, unlike R&T colleagues, no study leave was possible for those on the LT&S track. This again led to a perceived lack of parity for some, as articulated by SUT Kirsty:

In reality I think SUTs and UTs see - and particularly SUTs - I think see that their promotional chances, or their chances of sabbaticals, or their chances of study leave, totally non-existent compared with their research colleagues.

Somewhat paradoxically for academic staff whose job family track title is Learning, Teaching and Scholarship, some participants' understanding of 'scholarship' was not clear-cut. However this ambiguity, expressed in relation to both the institution and the individual, reflects the findings of earlier University of Glasgow-based research, that there is 'a wide range of interpretations of

what scholarship is/should be' (Naula, 2014:3), and 'confusion about the concept of scholarship and/or SoTL' (Mackenzie *et al.*, 2010:9). It also reflects the findings of wider context studies reiterating this same point (Fanghanel *et al.*, 2016; Pritchard, Mann and Matthew, 2006; Probert and Sachs, 2015).

For Andrew it was the University itself, and its related Colleges and Schools, that were unclear with regard to how scholarship should be interpreted and accomplished:

*It was never clear within this School what was scholarship and what was research [...] the School itself were trying to work out **their** identity in terms of what it meant to be a researcher and what scholarship meant.*

At the level of individual participants, definitions of scholarship and views on its essential focus varied. The purpose of scholarship was understood by some as a focus on teaching **process and practices**, clearly reflecting definitions of Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) as explored in Chapter 2: 'a form of research and scholarly based reflective teaching and learning practice' (Bennett *et al.*, 2016:219). Hence Megan's definition:

My understanding of scholarship is that you look at your teaching, you look at learning methods, and you do research around teaching and learning, you publish in teaching and learning.

However, all of the participants articulated a second definition, that a fundamental purpose of scholarship was to inform teaching **content** and that it was therefore intimately connected with disciplinary knowledge. Kirsty summed this up by describing herself as '*a tour guide*' for whom scholarship was a means of '*taking academic sources and re-interpreting those academic sources into some sort of practical context for the students*'. These two definitions were commonly understood to overlap in practice, as expressed by Daniel: '*it's more along the model of research-informed teaching, the idea that the scholarship that they undertake informs **how** and **what** they teach*'.

Only one UT, Gina, expressed no interest in undertaking SoTL in line with the first definition above, viewing it as a substandard form of research:

I have a very hazy sense of what it means. I think I have seen a definition, and I think at some level it might be of an inferior calibre [laughs]. I think it's not meant to be internationally renowned. Or perhaps it's something to do with- it's to inform your teaching. But I have a quite hazy definition of what it means, because I don't really respect the definition, whatever it is, of the term. So I'm not too interested in finding out exactly what it

means because it doesn't make a lot of sense to me either way.

Alternatively the majority indicated that, while they may engage in SoTL corresponding to the first definition, they did not wish to be limited to this, preferring to undertake work in their own disciplinary areas also. For example Megan, while acknowledging the value of SoTL activity, rejected a singular focus on it:

However, my big issue with that is sometimes that's not what a University Teacher wants to do. That sometimes they might have small research projects that are their actual specialism. And that should be counted as scholarship as well for a University Teacher, rather than this scholarship of teaching.

So, too, did Sandra:

*And while I am interested in, and want to keep abreast of, research in teaching and learning, I don't think that's where I'm going to make my- If I have a contribution to make, I don't think it's quite **there**.*

In fact Justine believed that academics who focused on SoTL over discipline would be viewed as inferior:

I think to put the emphasis on pedagogy would really be to say that within the subject area these people are second class. They're people who can teach, but they're only, as it were, by accident teaching in the subject area.

Moreover for some, their preference as (S)UTs would be to undertake and publish pure disciplinary research rather than educational research. For them, this wider interpretation of their scholarship remit was the true definition of an academic. In Justine's view, academics, including UTs, were '*not teachers first and teachers of the subject second. They're members of the subject first, and teachers of it as a corollary to that*'. Indeed for Dominic it was this function, the disciplinary research function, that actually rendered higher education 'higher':

And that's what higher education pretty much entirely should be about, for the most part. The teaching scholarship, and becoming a better teacher, employing new methods, all very very important, but always, always, secondary to your discipline expertise and your immersion in your subject.

It would seem that Malcolm and Zukas (2009:498) are correct in their assertion that, 'although disciplinary boundaries and identities are constantly shifting, contested and dissolving, discipline - as distinct from institution or activity - is a

crucial organising principle for academic work'. This may explain why all of my respondents defined their work as academics in relation to their named subject specialism or field.

Consequently, it may not be surprising that a number of participants expressed an aspiration to transfer to the disciplinary research-focused R&T track: Andrew had already done so; Gina was actively seeking it; Daniel, Elaine, Sandra and Justine had considered it. What is more surprising perhaps is the fact that this discussion of disciplinary research, undertaken despite its absence from their job remit, was an aspect of the (S)UT participants' work that clearly ignited the enthusiasm of many, simultaneously generating feelings of high self-esteem, couched in some of the positive emotive language explored in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above: '*It [getting a publisher for her PhD] made me feel like I might be a real, proper academic, or on the way to being one*' (Gina);

And I loved that project- It was fantastic. It was great. So that gave me a proper, real interest in research, you know, outwith the PhD. This was proper research for an organisation. It had to be spot on. So I really enjoyed that (Elaine).

However given the limitations of the job remit and the workload weightings examined above, some felt that it was impossible to be a genuine disciplinary specialist, resulting in feelings of low self-worth and alienation. For Megan:

*I don't see myself as being a specialist in **anything**. I'm very good at admin. I'm very good at organisation. But I don't have a reputation in the wider community, the academic community as a specialist in a particular field. [...] As a University Teacher you don't have that opportunity, to carry out that research.*

While for Dominic:

We have to stretch ourselves across different courses, often teaching outside of our specialisms. The danger of that [...] is you end up with no-essentially not belonging anywhere, in terms of a discipline.

The outcome at times, particularly in the context of an elite Russell Group university, was a sense of failing to embody the characteristics of a genuine academic. Justine conveyed this view with dark humour by contrasting my doctoral research with her own research endeavours in the area of scholarship:

Well, this is a research-led institution. You're engaged in research, you're doing the right job! [both laugh] So you're ok. You are an academic. Am I an academic? Research is broader than, than just publications, that's for sure. We recognise that. And the teaching is grounded in long, hard

research, and that remains the case. So, yes, academics- That's not a problem I think. The question is whether it's academics with a capital 'A' or a lower case 'a'?

These issues raised in relation to scholarship in the context of my own university mirror the debates existing in much recent literature on the topic and raise similar questions. Aitken and Tatebe's Universitas 21-commissioned research into the recognition of teaching excellence questions the growth of teaching-focused posts in research intensive universities, beginning with concerns centred on individual academics (2014:14):

To what extent does this trend formalise existing divisions between research and teaching? What is the value, and what are the drawbacks, of offering individuals the ability to focus on one aspect of academic life?

My participants' responses would indicate that divisions had indeed been exacerbated within my institution as a result of the differentiated academic tracks. In addition, while a small number embraced the singular focus on teaching, many felt professionally constrained by it, as is evident in the prevalence, across the 11 career narratives, of negative emotive language conveying limitation:

pigeonholed; closed off horizons; restricted; in a rut; de-skilled; a dead end; a cul-de-sac; a Catch 22; held back; stagnant; inertia; dead-end; blocked; undermined; stopped; trapped; no future; distanced; alienated; stymied; no way out; silo-ed; unable to do what I wanted to do.

Aitken and Tatebe (2014:15) also question the pressure to produce differentiated academic outputs in the form of SoTL *versus* disciplinary research:

What value does a coherent SoTL strategy add to research-intensive universities? [...] Does a greater emphasis on SoTL transfer research outputs from the disciplinary field to outputs on teaching and, if so, is there a 'cost' to this?

Probert and Sachs (2015:50) explain that one possible academic-centred and mainly positive motivation behind the increase in the number of teaching-focused academics has been 'to raise the status of teaching and develop teaching-focused career paths'. However they also acknowledge a possible university-centred, economically driven and rather cynical motivation, also raised by my participants above: 'to improve institutional research rankings by transferring research inactive staff to a teaching focused classification', a move that is 'generally viewed as a one-way street' (Probert and Sachs, 2015:50).

Contractual differentiation may therefore benefit the University financially and the individual academic in terms of role specialisation or expertise. However there are also costs to be borne in terms of UTs' sense of academic identity and their options for development and progression. The opportunities and criteria for UT career progression is the final key feature of the post that emerged as a sub-theme, both promotion within, and internal transfer between, LT&S and R&T, the two main academic tracks involving teaching.

Career progression

As already indicated in Chapter 2, career progression on the LT&S track was identified as an issue by the 2014 ELIR Outcome Report (Quality Assurance Agency (Scotland), 2014a). It was also flagged by internal University of Glasgow research that found that 'providing opportunities for career progression [for UTs] is difficult' (Gunn *et al.*, 2014:32). Clearly the focus in both reports was on the complex role management has to play in facilitating the promotion of those on the LT&S track by attempting to balance institutional priorities with individual aspirations, a source of 'dilemmas' and 'tensions' (Gunn *et al.*, 2014:32). This sub-section examines promotion and other forms of internal progression, namely contractual transfer from the LT&S track to the R&T track and *vice versa*. It concludes by assessing SUT participants' views on the route(s) to successful promotion.

(i) Promotion

The documented institutional difficulties regarding the career progression of UTs are reflected and illustrated in this study via individual views on promotion and participants' experiences of it. Nonetheless there was significant consensus among those who had achieved promotion (Daniel, Megan and Victor⁶), those who had been unsuccessful (Tom), those who had not yet attempted it (Sandra, Elaine, Dominic and Gina) and those who had ruled it out (Justine).

⁶ As outlined above, Kirsty had been transferred sideways from Senior Lecturer to Senior UT when her post was made permanent. She therefore had not been required to apply for promotion.

Firstly there was a belief that promotion for UTs was unclear with few examples or role models. This was articulated by Kirsty, *'Confusion and ambiguity, career development ambiguity'*, and by Megan, *'The problem with any promotion is the secrecy of it all, and what you're supposed to write on these forms. There are no exemplars, or there's very few exemplars'*.

Secondly there was a perception that promotion was very difficult and could in fact only be attained if UTs achieved R&T-type outcomes: a doctorate, *'I don't think I would have got it without'* (Daniel); external referees, *'If you're looking at promotion from Grade 8 to Grade 9, you'd better have a profile outside Glasgow, you'd better have referees outside Glasgow'* (Tom); and publications and grant capture,

One of the reasons I've been successful in my promotion is not so much about the University Teacher stuff I've done; it's more the things that I've done that are actually Lecturer-type things, around publications, around research grants (Daniel).

Thirdly there was a view that being an excellent teacher was insufficient for promotion purposes: *It doesn't look as though being good as a teacher here is enough to get you to Senior UT. And, if you look at the criteria, it's not* (Tom);

Honestly if you're the best teacher in the world That's what we do, we're University Teachers. Ok. You're the best teacher in the world. Is that going to get you promoted to Professor? [laughs] Of course it's not! (Dominic);

*Why spend the time doing **teaching** and earning money for the University, when in fact everybody knows that the only way you'll get a career around here is by actually enhancing your **research*** (Kirsty).

Indeed Tom had experienced this first-hand. Following his first failed promotion attempt (of two) he had sought feedback from a line manager: *'I was told in as many words, "Eh, you're just doing your job. So basically, don't think you're anything special"'*.

The result, for some, was career stasis. Tom concluded *'I won't make the mistake of applying for promotion again'*. Justine had decided that applying for promotion was simply beyond her reach: *'The University effectively has made it impossible for me to apply for promotion and for advancement'*. Even those

who had been successful expressed a sense of scepticism. Daniel for example spoke of systemic difficulties in achieving the **middle level** of promotion:

The fact that I'm promoted, I'm suddenly thinking, 'Right well, maybe the system works'. But I know enough about it and I've got enough experience from the past to continue to maintain that I don't think it works.

Megan, for her part, believed that promotion to **senior** level was impossible:

If you look at the Professor, through the Senior University Teacher to Professor route, it's unattainable, because basically what they've written for Professor is the same as a Professor on a research and teaching contract.

(ii) Internal transfer

Alternatively some (S)UTs had considered applying for an internal transfer to the R&T track (Daniel, Gina, Elaine and Sandra). However such a move was again considered both opaque and difficult. For example Gina knew very little about the process despite discussing it with her line manager, *'I'm not very clear about what it actually entails'*. Daniel explained his reasons for opting against it, stressing the extra effort involved: *'it takes a lot of motivation, a lot of additional energy to break out of the University Teacher role'*.

For Andrew, who had succeeded in transferring sideways to a Lecturer post, paradoxically via an application to the **Promotions** Committee, this had been possible because prior to the revision of the workload model he had been able to use the then 33 *per cent* scholarship allocation to do *'pure research'* activity alongside *'scholarly'* activity. Thus, as he explained, in his application for transfer,

I had a set of outputs that were probably scholarly and a set that were research, and I was able to kind of repackage them up and make my argument to go for the University Lecturer.

However, as he also pointed out, the longer-term impact was still uncertain given that his UT-type teaching and admin tasks had not yet been reduced in order to protect the increased research time that he was now entitled to: *'I don't actually know if I've won out, because- I got 500 hours, but all that's happened is I've got a workload that can't be worked out'*.

Moreover, stories of others' successful transfer to the R&T track could at times impact negatively on the self-esteem of those on the LT&S track, as recounted by Victor:

There was a staff meeting when somebody said, 'This guy has got promotion. He used to be a University Teacher. He's now a Lecturer'. Excuse me, that's not promotion! But that was said;

and by Gina, as outlined in her Chapter 4 case study:

My peer, my good friend and colleague, who also works in the subject, got a Lecturing post, which was wonderful for her, but compounded my sense that, 'I'd like-I would like that'.

Ironically, the career move that had been 'successfully' completed by the greatest number of participants (Victor, Daniel, Kirsty, Elaine and Justine) was transfer in the opposite direction, from the R&T track to the LT&S track. However, as assessed above in the sub-section examining participants' initial appointment to the UT post, this sideways move had invariably been imposed rather than chosen, this time with no requirement to apply via the Promotions Committee. It was therefore not considered a form of progression; rather it was classed as a trigger for deterioration in self-esteem by those who had experienced it alongside those who had not. For Victor *'it was like I'd been demoted'*. Tom, too, understood it as a form of negative management commentary on academics' performance: *'I don't know, but I think it would be, "You're failing at this, so let's move you to this"'*.

Thus the UT post came to be viewed by some as a *'dead end'* (Dominic) or a *'stopper on your career'* (Kirsty). Justine, having expressed much negative emotion in the course of our interview, ended with a rather dispassionate, but compelling, final judgement:

If there was someone who was pursuing a university career, and asked me whether or not they should be a University Lecturer or a University Teacher, I would say a University Lecturer. Because that keeps the career open; University Teacher would just put an end to the career.

(iii) Route(s) to successful promotion

Finally, in the view of those who had achieved it, the route to successful promotion was not the P&DR process; neither the forms nor the reviewers.

Victor highlighted the deficiencies of the form:

Take the P&DR form, I mean it's nothing- It's not appropriate! [...] Look, [laughs] income generation, well, you know, that's not what we're meant to do! How can we be measured [...] on activities that were not actually in our job description? (Victor).

Kirsty and Daniel, on the other hand, pointed up the issues around inadequately trained reviewers and inappropriate target setting: '*Back to my professionalism of line management, the P&DRs don't really know what they're doing*' (Kirsty);

It really doesn't help. I mean if you were to look back at the targets over the last few years from my P&DR, they didn't really take into account that I was a University Teacher. A lot of them were actually research or funding-orientated (Daniel).

Rather, Megan indicated that her success had derived in part from the support of her line manager and a disciplinary '*champion*' who had both offered invaluable information and advice. However she also recognised that much of her drive had come from within: '*I think you have to make your opportunities if you want to get on*'. Daniel, too, acknowledged his own role in his success, in his case alongside support from peers rather than from the system or management:

I think I've carved out my own career pathway with, at various points, some people offering really good advice, not so much through the P&DR process, but over the cup of coffee and really good informal mentoring.

In Victor's case, as examined in detail in Chapter 4, he had decided to respond to a bad P&DR experience by applying for promotion with independent defiance - and a successful outcome:

So to me that really consolidated and proved- you know, it was good for me, in that sense. [sighs] It's been like a battle I think in some ways [...] it has been a long battle, but I think I'm winning it, personally.

Consequently, in the view of the SUTs who had gained promotion, it was support from peers or line managers, alongside personal initiative and a certain amount of defiant self-belief that had enabled them to succeed. On the other hand those who had failed often felt blocked by line managers or University-level management structures. Indeed, over and above the three case study seminal

moments of change analysed in Chapter 4, the ultimate direction of each participant's plot dynamic (see Table 5.1 above: progressive, stable, static, stagnant, regressive or in flux), and the enduring emotional response to the career narrative told, were both very much dependent on the interplay between their interactions with others and their sense of self. Clearly then, professional relationships were central, not only to UTs' career progression, but also to their academic identity construction more widely. These, then, constitute the final key theme for analysis.

5.2.4 Professional relationships

The significance of this theme of relationships is illustrated by Kleres (2011:189). In his theory of narratives as fundamentally emotional and emotions as fundamentally narrative, he highlights the pivotal role that human interactions play:

emotional experience is then rather constituted by the situational circumstances, events and conditions as they matter for the emoting subject. To analyze emotions narratively we thus need to ask who acts how to whom and what happens.

In order to probe further my participants' career stories, their emotional responses to the narration of those stories and their impact on their UT identity construction, three areas of 'who acts how to whom', or workplace interactions with others, featured prominently: those with students; peers; and managers.

Students

As was already demonstrated by earlier exploration of positive emotive language use and its discernible link to certain aspects of teaching and scholarship, the (S)UTs' professional relationships with students were a consistent source of high self-esteem and job satisfaction. All 11 participants expressed the immense enjoyment they derived from this form of interaction. For example, Justine stressed, '*I've had some wonderful students, and I mean, one of the great joys, always, for a University Teacher is the students*'. For Victor his central focus was on students and guiding them to the next stage of their careers:

It's about the next generation of people coming through the University, who become the postgraduates [...]. So to me it's about students and their

experiences. It's about sharing, I think'.

Indeed for Tom his interactions with students were central to his love for his post as a UT:

There's a great deal of it that I enjoy enormously. There are times every single week - in fact I'm not exaggerating - every single week there are times when I stop and I either think, or occasionally I even actually say to students, 'I'm getting paid for this?', you know!

In addition, these relationships gave them an explicit sense of pride and status. For example, Justine was gratified by students' reactions to some of her courses: *'I meet students [...] for whom the courses have been really really important'*. For Victor, student feedback allowed him to conclude with pride, *'I know the worth. I know what I'm doing'*. According to Tom, *'Any reputation I have here is to some extent more among students than among staff'*.

Peers

Tom's reference to his possibly poorer reputation *'among staff'* than students does however highlight the potential for less positivity in another key professional relationship for UTs: that with peers. This perception reflects Aitken and Tatebe's (2014:14) questioning of the extent to which the creation of teaching-focused posts in elite universities *'formalise[d] existing divisions between research and teaching'*. Gunn *et al.* (2014:13) also spoke of the creation of *'two separate cultures'* within the University of Glasgow following the creation of the LT&S track.

Clearly Lecturer peers could be, and were, viewed as supportive of UT colleagues: Justine spoke of her *'very strongly collegial view of university education'*; Victor was *'consoled'* by the positive comments from colleagues regarding his teaching at the point of being pressurised to accept a UT post; while Megan praised the official, and Daniel the unofficial, mentoring that they had received from R&T colleagues in their efforts to gain promotion. Dominic, too, expressed his conviction that *'I don't feel like I'm treated as a second class citizen...'*. However he immediately undermined this seeming certainty by adding, *'for the most part- no doubt I am'*, thereby implying that a rift may indeed exist between the two main academic tracks.

Further, more explicit, comments on tensions between LT&S and R&T staff were also made. Megan spoke of '*this community of them and us*', while for Daniel, '*we've ended up with a very fragmented, and a not very collegiate organisation*', with academics falling into segregated groupings:

I think the University Teacher feels like a worker drone. You know, it's that sense of they're the drones who will- So they'll stand up in front of students, they'll do all the assessment, they'll do all of that. And then we have this other, you know, you've got the Alphas, the Lecturers who have this time- And I'm not saying that Lecturers aren't under pressure, we're all under pressure. But I do think, given that they have at least 500 hours protected, there is that sense that they're two different species.

This division was sometimes expressed as Lecturer disrespect for UTs, exemplified by Megan's description of '*this attitude that the research-active staff are slightly more important than the University Teacher staff who are there just to teach the students*'. However it was also conveyed as operating in the opposite direction, as UT resentment or irritation towards Lecturer colleagues. For example, despite understanding the systemic pressures placed on Lecturers to fulfil onerous REF requirements, as outlined above in the subsection exploring scholarship, some participants portrayed R&T colleagues as more absent and individualistic, while LT&S academics were depicted as more present and student-focused. This could, it was claimed, have an adverse impact on both students and UT colleagues. Tom alluded to student views that some Lecturers placed their research endeavours above their teaching commitments:

*the number of students who say that they really get the impression that some of the Lecturers come in and they do their lectures and they do their tutorials, but it's not really what matters. You know, their **real** interest is elsewhere.*

Elaine depicted the Lecturer post as a fundamentally self-orientated position:

*I think the Lecturer's job's a more selfish job... if I'm being completely honest, cause it's all about **you**, right. It's all about you cause it's all about publications, right, so it's all about you. Whereas I think the University Teacher's job's all about the **students**, about helping them.*

Given Lecturers' right to research leave, the potential outcome in Tom's view was subject instability and an increased burden on the UT staff left to manage subject areas and teach students:

You need people who know what is going on, and that are not suddenly going to disappear for one semester or two semesters and suddenly you leave people- It feels like being left in the lurch.

Thus, in the case of my participants, it would seem that both Aitken and Tatebe (2014) and Gunn et al. (2014) were at least partially correct in their concerns regarding the creation of fractures among academic staff specifically caused by differentiated remits.

Managers

Of greater potential impact on the professional identity construction of my (S)UT participants were their dealings with managers. There were however notable differences between the depictions of their relationships with line or middle managers and those with senior or University-level managers and leaders.

(i) Line managers

Middle or line management operated at close proximity to participants, negotiating job tasks and targets and overseeing annual P&DRs and applications for promotion on a person-to-person basis. When it worked well, UTs felt supported in their professional endeavours, resulting in feelings of high self-esteem and a desire to progress. Daniel, Elaine and Gina all referred to the support offered by line managers in encouraging them to transfer to the R&T track, or go elsewhere if that proved impossible:

My line manager at the moment is really helpful, really positive, really supportive. I think he feels - as do a couple of other senior colleagues - that I should be aspiring to switch tracks (Daniel);

I have been in discussions with the Head of School about the transition, and in fact it's down on my P&DR for that, that I'll be making that transition (Elaine); '[there are] attempts to encourage me in the right direction towards a Research and Teaching contract' and 'I've been told by my Head of School to look for jobs elsewhere, if I want an R&T contract' (Gina). Similarly, Andrew described the continuing support he received after making the transfer: 'I have a boss who's very supportive and [...] kind of looks out for me. So, there's a little bit of mentoring going on'. However, what was striking about these expressions of positive line management support was the focus on moving UTs away from the LT&S track and towards the R&T track. As Gina pointed out, it 'begs the question of why you're employing people on these contracts if you can't

maintain them and you know they're not going to want to stick around'. Daniel reiterated this view:

But what does that tell us about the University Teacher track? You know. It tells us that it's flawed I think. It's flawed because it closes off the kind of ambition and the flexibility that we need for the future.

In other cases UTs had experienced inconsistent line management support. For example, at the time of our interviews Megan and Victor felt well-supported as a result of their promoted positions and a strong sense of backing from line managers. However this had been noticeably absent in the past when they had faced negative experiences with line managers which had caused them frustration and self-doubt while, in both their cases, simultaneously triggering reactions of self-confidence-bolstering defiance:

I was very unsupported, I felt, by senior staff in the School. [...] However, this is character-building, and I feel I really came out of my shell then, that I'd been quite a low level member of staff in the School, and I think it was good that I realised I wasn't going to get help, that I would have to do this by myself (Megan);

I also had a - this is very significant - a bad P&DR, Progress and Development, that's right, P&DR, so much so, that the reviewer apologised to me afterwards. [...] I think it's strengthened me as an individual, and my self-belief (Victor).

However for others, negative interaction between UT and middle management had the potential to damage self-confidence, block aspirations and be prejudicial to future career trajectories. As already described above in relation to career progression, Tom's attempt to gain line manager feedback following a failed promotion application had in fact contributed to his decision not to apply again, in particular because of the level of negative emotion and personal animosity he had felt subjected to:

And the bit that really got me, was - and this was in a one-to-one with this more senior colleague [...] - who at one point said, 'So your students love you then?' And I thought, 'That's inappropriate. It sounds scathing and contemptuous'. [...] So, not a positive experience, that feedback session!

Nonetheless for Tom, his intrinsic passion for teaching sustained his self-assurance and positivity: *'The balance sheet is infinitely more positive than not'*. Justine, on the other hand, exhibited less resilience. She had undergone a similarly negative exchange with a line manager in the turning point research seminar experience outlined in Chapter 4. This was then compounded by further

remarks that she found personally wounding: *‘And what he turned round and told me was that actually I wasn’t pulling my weight’*; *‘one other person in this School [...] was held as a comparison to me to show how poorly I’d performed by comparison’*. The result was an irreversible sense of belittlement:

I feel as if I have no future, and that’s been made plain to me. And I suspect that the new Head would like me to go as soon as possible.

As indicated in Chapter 4, Justine did ultimately leave her academic posts.

(ii) University managers/leaders

By contrast with the emotional and highly personal depiction of interactions with line managers and their direct impact on individual career trajectories, (S)UT views regarding University-level management and institutional structures were expressed in rather more political, group-orientated, and almost exclusively negative, terms. They focused on a number of elements underpinning the LT&S track, many of which were raised by the 2014 study undertaken by Gunn *et al.* and have been explored and illustrated above through the various sub-themes relating to features of the UT post.

It was believed by all 11 participants that the existence of a differentiated teaching-focused track and alternative academic job title had led to the entrenchment of an already institutionally endorsed hierarchy between research and teaching. The majority of participants also felt very strongly that the revised workload model worked against UTs, especially with regard to the reduced proportion of hours allocated to scholarship and concomitant increased number of teaching contact hours. In addition those who embraced teaching most enthusiastically, such as Megan, Victor or Tom, stressed that the University failed to ‘celebrate’ teaching adequately, despite claims to the contrary made in University publications and through the introduction of a number of initiatives as outlined in Chapter 2. With regard to scholarship, there was a view that the University had not established a clear definition that UTs should adhere to. At the same time, there was a fear for some that SoTL was being promoted at the expense of disciplinary specialism. The majority also believed that career progression was problematic, judging the P&DR process unsatisfactory for UTs, with at times inappropriate targets and ill-informed reviewers. In addition there

was a perception that the LT&S promotion criteria were unclear and/or unattainable, particularly at the higher levels. Finally there was a widespread sense that the UT post and LT&S track limited academic ambition and creativity and curtailed autonomy. In Daniel's view, '*We've ended up with these tracks that now actually trammel us. They actually hold us back*'. Or as Sandra put it,

I think universities are really poor at people. They're really poor in making people feel good about what they're doing and supporting them to take next steps. And, what they do a very good job at is criticising, and blocking, inspiration and ideas and initiative, and enthusiasm.

The importance of positive communication between (S)UTs' interpersonal relationships with senior management and their intrapersonal sense of self was clearly made by SUT Kirsty. In her opinion the lines of communication were damaged and damaging: '*there's a disillusionment of a University hierarchy that is not listening to the people on the ground, particularly the UTs and SUTs*'. Thus, in the struggle between University structures and academic identity, or 'academic manager' and 'managed academic' (Winter, 2009), institutionally-dictated contractual 'obligation' was, at times, felt to overtake intrinsic values-based 'oughtness' and blue skies 'possibility' (Calvert, Lewis and Spindler, 2011).

And yet, clearly, most (S)UTs do manage this 'struggle' and succeed in forging some sense of professional identity that allows them to remain in their teaching-focused posts, to function, and even to thrive, consistent with Hall's definition of identity (2004:3) as 'that particular set of traits, beliefs, and allegiances that, in short- or long-term ways, gives one a consistent personality and mode of social being'. Moreover, as Trowler, Saunders and Bamber stress (2012:258), 'the word "struggle" obscures the reality that academics are not victims of gladiatorial combat, but party to reshaping their work scenarios'. The focus in the section that follows is on discernible types of UT identity constructed by my participants in the narration of their career journeys, and re-constructed here by me, a fellow UT. In so doing we return to a more holistic approach engaging once again with whole narratives alongside their thematic content.

5.3 UT identity typologies

According to Taylor (2008:29), as outlined towards the end of Chapter 4, ‘roles give rise to context-specific opportunities to express, and even to develop, personal identity’. From the foregoing thematic analysis of various UT ‘role(s)’ three main UT narrative identity typologies can be identified, mirroring the plot dynamics outlined in Chapter 4 and in sub-section 5.1.2 above:

regressive/stagnant for three participants (Justine, Sandra and Gina); progressive for three participants (Victor, Megan and Daniel); and stable/static for four participants (Kirsty, Tom, Elaine and Dominic). In the case of the final participant, the newly transferred Lecturer Andrew, a typology is difficult to determine given that he was uncertain of his new role and his future trajectory at the time of our interview; I have therefore categorised his narrative as being ‘in flux’. In his own words:

I’ve just started this journey [...] and so it’s a hat that I haven’t really completely pulled down yet [...], so I’m kind of a little bit confused about who I am and what I’m doing.

The three typologies that can be delineated are mainly categorised by their overarching sense of direction from participant-selected career story start point to end point. However it should be noted from the outset that there is overlap between the typologies, with some aspects of each one featuring in every (S)UT career narrative recounted. This reflects Pals’ view (2006:178) that life story narration, with its focus on causal connections as building blocks for identity construction, ‘allows for many different and potentially contradictory self-defining narratives to coexist within a person’s life story’. Thus identities, and by extension the identity typologies outlined below, fall into patterns that are simultaneously coherent **and** complex and ‘serve to highlight the transformation of self, in either growth-promoting or growth-limiting directions’ (Pals, 2006:180).

5.3.1 Regressive/stagnant

Only one participant’s career narrative, Justine’s, could be depicted as fully regressive. This was visible in the Chapter 4 case study analysing the start point,

seminal turning point and end point of her academic career narrative. Her initial outlook is one of positivity and hope, albeit somewhat self-deprecating:

I took [subjects], and to my astonishment got a First. Stayed on to do my PhD; I got a University scholarship to do a PhD in [subject]. And absolutely loved doing it. [...] I had a year's Lectureship, replacement for a colleague who had research leave, while I was doing my PhD. And I loved teaching.

Thereafter a move from positive to negative occurs following a number of negative incidents in a form of 'contamination sequence' (Pals, 2006:181) conveyed through the language of involuntary stasis and lack of agency: *stopped; trapped; can't do anything; lost all energy and all spirit; no future; distanced; alienated; stymied; peripheral; marginalised; nothing here for me; caught; no way out; silo-ed.*

A lack of agency was similarly expressed in stagnant UT narratives. For example, Sandra feared that academic autonomy, the one characteristic that in her view defined academic identity, may be in decline:

I think one thing I do think about what academics are is that in some sense - and this may be something that is sliding - that academics are independent as opposed to being managed.

Gina's career narrative also ended with a sense of agency wanting; she hoped to transition to an R&T contract but had no control over when, or if, this might happen. In the meantime she was obliged to continue with her heavy teaching load while struggling to complete the research that she viewed as core to her identity. These views echo that of Ball (2003:221), that teacher agency has been damaged by the wide-scale adoption of performativity in UK education, as was examined in more depth in Chapter 2:

There are other 'costs', as indicated already - personal and psychological. A kind of values schizophrenia is experienced by individual teachers where commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance. Here there is a potential 'splitting' between the teachers own judgements about 'good practice' and students 'needs' and the rigours of performance.

Thus, those participants with regressive or stagnant plotlines suffered as a result of their inability or unwillingness to be either fully compliant or fully in control, leading to a sense of estrangement, termed 'alienation of self' by Ball (2003:222) and defined as 'the displacement of individual qualities, mechanisms

of introjection, by responsiveness, external contingencies, the requirements of performativity'. A damaged sense of professional self can, and did, result.

In more extreme regressive cases, such as Justine's, this culminated in utter hopelessness and ultimate retreat: *'I don't think, I don't think there's anything else here for me'*. In stagnant, as opposed to regressive, UT narratives the outcome was less extreme, with those involved still managing to function in terms of present and future fulfilment of expected roles. However there was nonetheless a clear sense of movement towards a 'narrowing of self' (Pals, 2006:182). For Sandra this manifested itself as worry and bewilderment and a UT career narrative marked by uncertain options for future growth: *'I don't have a clear sense of it, is really the more honest basic answer. I don't have a sense of what to make of it all at this point'*. For Gina, a positive to negative movement was illustrated by the degeneration of feelings of excitement and elation about embarking on an academic career, into ones of disappointment and frustration as the realisation of the limited research time available to UTs dawned:

Teaching wasn't my primary motivation for going into academia. So, em... Yeah, as much as I like it, it's just not really what I foresaw. And although sometimes expectations can be false, and the reality of the situation can be different, I know that the reality of the situation is exactly what I anticipated for other people.

Although she retained some expectation of transfer to a research-focused Lecturer post, and was holding place until then, that expectation had been waning over time, such that a sense of stagnation had emerged: *'I was given quite a lot of assurances that didn't come good about this time last year, and I've spent the year with them not coming good'*.

In summary, the regressive or stagnant UT identity typology is characterised by missing connections, or non-cohesion, between the various 'domains of experience' (Fraser, 2004:191) that contribute to identity construction and maintenance (see Figure 5.1 below):

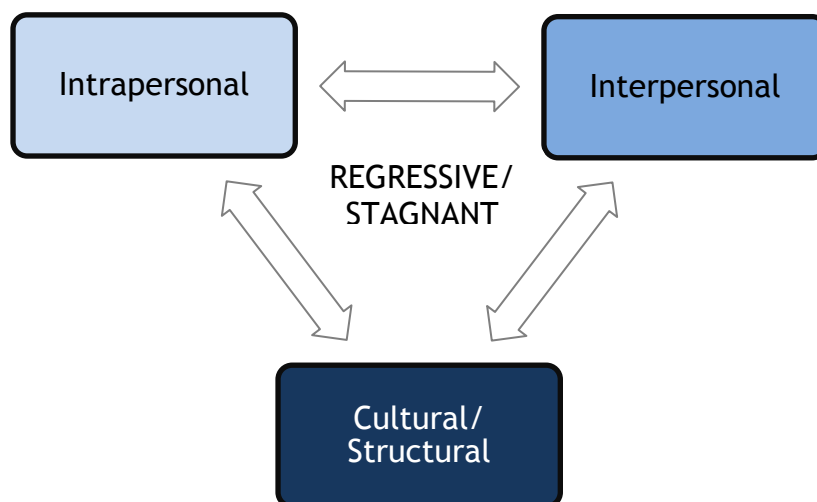


Figure 5.1:
Regressive/stagnant identity typology and domains of experience

The connections are lacking between intrapersonal core values and beliefs and interpersonal professional relationships; and between both the intrapersonal and interpersonal and the cultural and structural priorities of the University and the wider HE sector. Lack of agency and the narrowing, or indeed the closing off, of professional horizons inevitably follows. Alsop (2006:183), in her narrative study of student teachers' identity formation, provides a highly relevant definition of such stories: 'when tensions were too great for the students and there was little mentorship or support for negotiating the dissonance, students couldn't translate these "noisy" contradictions into identity growth'.

5.3.2 Progressive

There is also, however, a much more positive typology, characterised by the transformation of UTs into what Ball (2003:218) terms 'triumphant' selves, through a self-directed 're-making' that 'can be enhancing and empowering for some'. For Ball this can be achieved authentically when based on an individual's personal values and free choice; although, somewhat paradoxically, only if these values and free choice are also in keeping with the institution's strategic targets. For example, despite his belief that '*there doesn't seem to be much emphasis on the quality of teaching*' within the University, Victor created a strong sense of professional autonomy through his passion for, and skill in, teaching: '*My teaching still comes first*'. In so doing he assisted the University in

its student satisfaction targets. For her part, Megan relished the various administrative roles she took on in her role as UT and then SUT, thereby supporting the current HE efficiency agenda:

On the other hand, there are things in the University that you can do that doesn't have to relate to your subject. [...] There's other ways - and I like that, what you call service, bit. I'm quite happy to have a big chunk of that in my work role.

Finally Daniel felt able to pursue his love of research, despite its not being a key component of his SUT job remit, precisely because it is an activity that is highly valued by elite universities in the context of a globally competitive HE sector.

Thus, from starting positions of relative negativity, with Megan and Victor having felt unsupported by line managers, and Victor and Daniel having been forced sideways into the UT role, all three had obtained promotion and had succeeded in creating a positive career narrative endpoint with scope for further progression within the institution and/or at a more personal level, for example through SoTL and/or disciplinary publications, grant capture, senior administrative roles and the mentoring of others to achieve similar successes. This negative to positive upward trajectory is defined by Pals (2006:181) as a 'redemption sequence', in which individuals create their own 'springboard effect' leading to the 'transformation of self' (2006:189). Similarly, Alsup (2006:183) contends that 'tension between subjectivities can actually provide the site or impetus for important identity development - a type of transcendence - to take place'. In the case of Megan, Victor and Daniel this was characterised by a sense of professional and personal growth, driven from within, achieved against the odds, without the abandonment of personal values and beliefs, and ultimately recognised via promotion and other forms of institutional or sectoral reward. Here there is clearly no absence of cohesion between the intrapersonal, interpersonal and cultural/structural dimensions of their UT identity construction (see Figure 5.2 below):

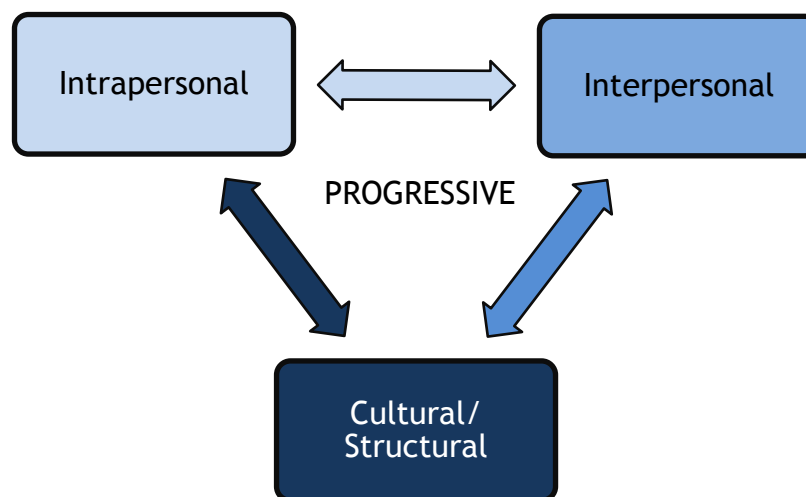


Figure 5.2:
Progressive identity typology and domains of experience

5.3.3 Stable/static

Nonetheless Ball (2003:218) also warns that professional identity ‘remaking’ ‘has to be set over and against the potential for “inauthenticity”’, whereby teachers, such as UTs, may feel forced to adopt behaviours that, while being institutional or contextual priorities, are not necessarily in keeping with their personal belief systems or professional goals. This is a dominant component of regressive plotlines such as that of Justine, who felt forced to undertake a ‘murderous’ teaching and administration load in order to meet the requirements of the University. It is also true of some elements of progressive narratives; for example Megan had realised that SoTL-related work would be useful to her career, even if it was not the type of research that she personally would prefer to undertake. Similarly, this sense of inauthenticity and lack of agency characterises certain aspects of a third UT identity typology, that of more stable or static career narratives. Dominic, for example, acknowledged the obligation as a UT to be a teaching ‘*Jack of all trades*’, even if that sometimes left him feeling rootless and out of touch with his original disciplinary specialism.

However, as is the case for progressive UT narratives, but unlike regressive or stagnant ones, this sense of inauthenticity is **not** dominant in the stable/static typology, into which Kirsty, Tom, Dominic and Elaine fall. The main features here are more akin to Pals’ (2006:185-186) ‘positive to positive’ or ‘negative to

negative' trajectories, whereby a 'static self-system' emerges characterised by 'compartmentalization of self' with no resolution and limited potential for growth. I would add that for those (S)UTs who embodied this identity typology both positive to positive and negative to negative trajectories co-existed, thereby strengthening the sense of non-resolution.

SUT Kirsty was positive to positive about her teaching skills throughout her narrative. She was similarly negative to negative about management structures. In the final analysis, given the proximity of retirement, her outlook was comfortably stable, albeit with no real prospects for advancement:

Now at my age [...] was I bothered? No, not really. You know, and was I in out of the traffic? Yeah, perhaps. Yeah, earning money and doing a job I enjoy, with no real potential and no real desire to, to do anything more at that stage.

Similarly Tom was positive about the teaching focus of his role as a UT from the outset, *'I feel mostly very positive about the work that I'm doing'*, right through to the end, *'that's the fun and that's why I'm here - and that's why being a UT is good'*. He was, nonetheless, also consistently negative regarding University structures such as the student information management system and the promotions process. Consequently he felt that the *status quo* was his most likely future: *'So there are times when it's not entertaining, but there are enough times when it is to make it worthwhile'*. Dominic, too, was solidly positive regarding teaching; but solidly negative regarding his research achievements. Near the start of our interview he stated, *'I'm a success as a teacher, but I'm far less clearly a success as a researcher, as an academic in other respects'*. He reiterated this same point later in the interview:

I enjoy the teaching aspect of it, and that is- would always- no matter what choices I've made earlier on- it will always be a great strength of mine. And I've never - no matter how hard I've tried - been a particularly brilliant academic, from the research point of view.

He consequently felt that his UT career narrative could be described in two conflicting and unresolved ways: *'The best summary I can offer is that strange tension between a narrative of failure and a narrative of success'*. Finally, Elaine was positive throughout regarding her passion for both teaching and research. However she was steadfastly negative with regard to what she perceived as the excessive workload of UTs, particularly administration, which made it near impossible to manage either teaching or research as well as she

would like. She therefore ended her career narrative by raising the possibility, again without resolution, of transferring to the R&T track:

So, what can you do? What can you do? So even though the opportunity may be there to do it, and it might make me happier if I can do more research - Although I'm joyous most of the time! - It would, you know, there's difficulties in making that transition.

Ultimately, stable/static narratives appear to be characterised by cohesion between the intrapersonal and interpersonal domains, with a clear sense of professional self and effective relationships between that self and most peers or line managers. However this cohesion co-exists alongside a disconnect between those intrapersonal/interpersonal domains and the cultural/structural dimension, in this case University management and HE sector exigencies (see Figure 5.3 below):

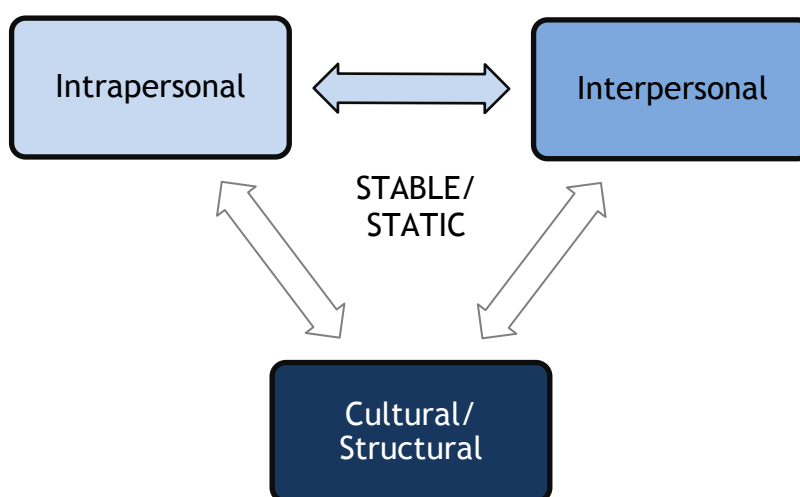


Figure 5.3:
Stable/static identity typology and domains of experience

5.4 The complexity of UT identity

While the three progressive SUT career narratives, of Victor, Megan and Daniel, and the single regressive UT narrative, of Justine, seem firmly to fit within their specific identity typology - albeit with occasional episodes characteristic of the other typologies - it is notable that for the remaining six narratives there is discernible crossover between more than one typology. SUT Kirsty's stable, 'no real desire to do anything more' narrative could simultaneously be viewed more negatively as stagnant given the limitations of her teaching-focused post, for

example barring her from certain leadership roles, in her view reserved for R&T staff. Similarly Tom's static, '*relatively happy UT*' narrative could be considered more negatively as regressive, given the fact that he ultimately viewed promotion as a '*mistake*' that he would not make again. Both Gina and Sandra's UT narratives, identified as stagnant, could also be interpreted more neutrally as static or temporarily immobile, with the potential to become progressive should they succeed in becoming more officially research-active. Finally, the narratives of UTs Dominic and Elaine, both categorised as static given their lack of resolution, also exhibited the potential to become progressive. For Dominic this would require enhanced intrapersonal self-belief in his teaching-focused career as one of '*success*' rather than '*failure*', closely tied to enhanced belief in the cultural, in the sense of organisational, recognition of such a role. For Elaine a subjective, or intrapersonal, decision regarding which academic job track best suited her academic values system would seem necessary, coupled with a revised connection with the cultural and structural domains of the University and the wider HE sector.

This academic 'line-walking' between Fraser's four domains of experience (2004) - others, cultures, structures and, most crucially, self - reveals the essential complexity of UT identity. Moreover, it can, and did, cause some discomfort to all participants at certain points. For some it could not be managed; for others it was managed with varying degrees of success. However a practical approach appears to be a fundamental prerequisite for achieving a sense of professional identity that offers scope for development and progression. It allows for the creation of a profile characterised by compromise: flexibility alongside prescription; 'agency' within 'structure' (Skelton, 2012:26). Thus, like Bennett *et al.*'s group ethnography of SoTL academics working in an academic support centre (2016:217), the academic identity of (S)UTs in this study is formed through 'negotiation'. However, here, this comprises more than their findings regarding a negotiation between 'roles' such as 'the teacher, the disciplinarian, and the educational researcher' (Bennett *et al.*, 2016:217); it is also about successfully managing the connections between the various dimensions of their experience, and about their success in transforming negatives into positives in ways that enable a primarily authentic sense of professional identity to be forged.

In the final analysis this central concept of UT identity as complex would seem inevitable given that identity itself is about more than the performance of roles or functions. As Delanty stresses (2008), academic roles have become increasingly important in the now rapidly evolving HE sector, as evaluated in Chapter 2. Clearly this fresh focus on such roles has resulted in closer scrutiny of academic identity in recent HE research studies. However, as he also makes clear (2008:133), ‘the identities of academics, in their professional and personal roles, like identities more generally, are expressions of individualized life projects rather than products of specific roles’. Thus academic identity is about human ‘being’, although in my view alongside, rather than in place of, the realisation of professional roles or responsibilities.

The narrative approach adopted in this study, and examined in detail in Chapter 3, reinforces such an interpretation of academic identity. The (S)UT professional identity narratives, (re-)constructed and examined thematically in this chapter and holistically in the preceding one, are clearly manifestations of particular instances of human ‘being’, and simultaneously outcomes of specific features of this teaching-focused academic post. Ultimately, in the view of SUT Daniel, successful, progressive academic identity could only be fostered through human ‘talk’, interaction such as our narrative interview, that recognised UTs as ‘people’ not simply as ‘designations’. In this way, he believed that UTs’ agency could be encouraged and their skills both recognised and developed in a continuously responsive manner throughout their careers:

Does it matter to talk about it? Is it worthwhile? And absolutely it is, because these are - and it reinforces one of my previous points- these are people, you know, we’re talking about people. And when you talk about designations it becomes a very cold exercise. Whereas I think what we should be doing is recognising that these are people. They’re employees with diverse skillsets, and we should just be maximising that, rather than closing it off.

While academic roles have expanded in tandem with the expansion of the HE sector more generally, these roles have become progressively more disaggregated and prescribed, exemplified by the creation within the University of Glasgow of the UT post alongside the pre-existing Lecturer post. The career narratives explored in this study demonstrate how this contractual disaggregation has impacted on UTs in two main areas. Firstly, it has shaped the

construction of UTs' academic 'identity', defined by Barnett and Di Napoli (2008:202) as 'a function of structure [...] a position in networks'. Here the links are clear to Delanty's idea (2008) of the place of 'roles' alongside the importance of three of Fraser's 'domains of experience' (2004): others, cultures and structures. Secondly, it has influenced UTs' intrapersonal sense of self in terms of their use of 'voice', considered by Barnett and Di Napoli (2008:202) to be 'more a matter of agency [...] the way in which an individual seizes or does not the opportunities that those networks open up'. It seems, from my participants' career narratives, that the potential strength of UTs' 'voice' very much depends on their sense of the positioning of their 'identity' within the institution. However, it has become clear from these same narratives that issues regarding this positioning within the University of Glasgow have also impeded the professional progress of a number of UTs.

5.5 Summary

Through their, often emotionally charged, narration of their (S)UT career stories, concerns were raised by the participants in this study around the status attached to the post and other features such as the mode of appointment, job title, workload, relative weightings of teaching and scholarship, the nature of scholarship and possible progression routes. It emerged that intrapersonal self-esteem and interpersonal professional relationships were key to successful UT identity construction as long as cohesion could be created between them and the wider cultural or structural dimensions of the university and the HE sector. The complexity of academic identity and its inherent correlation with agency or voice were illustrated through the identification of a number of, often overlapping, UT identity typologies. Indications on how best to maximise the potential for UT identity growth simultaneously emerged. However does this mean that UTs can live 'happily ever after'...?

Chapter 6

‘Happily ever after’...? Conclusions and implications

In this concluding chapter I review my key findings, concerning both my narrative-inspired research approach and my research topic of UT identity, and the related implications for fellow researchers and stakeholders. In addition, I acknowledge the limitations of the study. I then revisit and update the University’s UT story and my own UT story at this provisional end-point, before concluding with a reflection on options for future research.

6.1 ‘The moral of the story’: key findings and implications

As outlined in my opening chapter, I set out in this study ‘both to review and to extend the debate surrounding the University of Glasgow’s University Teacher post’ introduced in 2002. I sought to do so through an interpretivist study of this role in relation to academic identity, using a pragmatic hybrid narrative approach as my conceptual framework. I have therefore brought together a review of public discourses of the evolving UK HE sector, research-intensive universities such my own, and changing definitions of academic roles and identities, with private career stories elicited from those of us inhabiting this post. In so doing, I hope to offer new understandings of the teaching-focused UT role with a view to benefiting fellow researchers interested in this topic and this approach, individual academics, the institution and the wider sector. These new understandings fall into two main categories: firstly, those stemming from the reflexive use of narrative research; and secondly, those concerning UT identity construction and maintenance.

6.1.1 The place of narratives

In terms of participant reactions to the interpretive methodology and the eliciting of their career narratives, a small number voiced uncertainty. Daniel and Dominic raised the point that each narrative recounted was unique to the individual concerned, in other words about human ‘being’, and may therefore not serve thematic analysis well. In Daniel’s view, *‘I think you need to be*

careful about extrapolating too much from individual people's career journeys'. However, the focus of this study is as much on holistic 'narrative analysis' of single stories as it is on thematic 'analysis of narratives' across several stories (Squire *et al.*, 2014:7). Moreover, as outlined in Chapter 3, I also seek to reap a fundamental advantage of narrative research: its ability to 'thicken', rather than to 'confirm', participants' views of their shared context (Bruner, 1987). Sandra and Daniel expressed a different reservation: that the approach may be limited by its inevitable focus on a specific narration at a specific moment; indeed Sandra pointed out that *'it could be a different story'* since *'there are other ways of telling it as well'*. And yet, this view in fact supports a key finding of this study: that academic identity is complex and characterised by unity and multiplicity, stability and growth, self and society (McAdams, Josselson and Lieblich, 2006). It is therefore at one and the same time relatively coherent and inherently unfixed and unfixable. In addition, and again as outlined in Chapter 3, narrative research explicitly acknowledges the subjective and socially constituted nature of the stories it generates, and researchers' similarly subjective and socially constituted interpretations of those stories. However, the narrative approach simultaneously recognises that these interpretations can nonetheless be considered valid and trustworthy on condition that, as in this case, they are presented as reflexively and transparently as possible.

Despite this small number of reservations, it is noteworthy that all 11 participants expressed a range of very positive reactions to the narrative methodology. In terms of the research process, it was referred to as effective: *'it works!'* (Tom); *'it was very good'* (Megan); *'it worked very well'* (Justine); *'the method I think is pretty good'* (Dominic). It was perceived as natural and spontaneous: *'it's got a freshness to it'* (Dominic); *'it felt a little like sailing off into uncharted territory to just tell the story'* (Sandra). It was also felt to be non-intimidating and supportive: *'it's nice to have somebody listen sympathetically'* (Victor); *'it gives folks a little time, puts them at ease'* (Justine). In terms of the actual narratives elicited by the research process, they were viewed as granting participants access to their own emotions: *'it is quite a visceral thing'* (Sandra); *'there's always a kind of emotional quality to that I find, when you're self-disclosing'* (Dominic). They were also considered to be of cognitive value, offering participants unexpected insight into their professional

identity construction and/or future trajectories. This view was sometimes conveyed in single words, for example: *'informative'*, *'useful'* or *'constructive'*. Alternatively, it was expanded upon in more detail: *'it helped me reflect'* (Victor); *'it was thinking, well, what has come from this?'* (Megan); *'just by talking, and thinking about it for the first time- either it's stuff you didn't know before about yourself, or that you haven't thought about for a while'* (Dominic);

It's forced me to formulate my internal niggles and objections in a slightly more coherent- in a narrative. Yes, framing it in a narrative just, really just confirms it in my own mind [laughs] what I feel (Gina).

In the final analysis the majority believed that the narrative approach was of longer-term value to them personally in terms of cultivating an understanding of where they had come from professionally and where they might go next; in the words of SUT Kirsty, *'talking about it helps'*. There was also a view that it could benefit the institution too, as suggested by Daniel towards the end of Chapter 5: *'Does it matter to talk about it? Is it worthwhile? And absolutely it is'*.

6.1.2 Implications for researchers

Implications clearly arise here for other researchers undertaking interpretive research of participants' narratives. It is essential that such an approach only be used following thorough and explicitly articulated consideration of the best methods for eliciting and then analysing narratives, and of the ethical issues regarding the relative positioning of participants and researcher.

In terms of the elicitation of narratives, the career path response sheet (see Appendix 2) proved to be a very useful tool. It gave participants the opportunity to reflect on the topic under investigation and to note key points prior to the interview, and simultaneously provided an interesting additional data set as a point of comparison. It also gave the interviews a natural and non-threatening starting point with minimal interviewer intervention - *'Can you talk me through your response sheet in your own words'* - thereby facilitating the production of a non-scripted narrative response. Following this initial narrating stage, the loosely structured interview framework, with developing prompt questions rather than fixed ordered questions, proved highly effective in terms of allowing

participants to open up and take the topic in directions of their choosing. It also enabled the adoption of a 'connected knowing' interviewing approach (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990:4), with the prompt questions evolving as the series of interviews progressed and key themes began to emerge.

In terms of qualitative data analysis, the use of *NVivo* software was very useful in assessing the prevalence of certain key themes across all 11 interview transcripts and in facilitating the identification of a number of sub-themes. It also allowed highly relevant quotations to be retrieved with ease. In short, it facilitated content-based 'analysis of narratives'. However, it lacked the sophistication necessary for 'narrative analysis' focused on the identification of overarching plotlines or genres and the detailed linguistic and discursive examination of seminal narrative episodes. Other researchers should therefore think carefully about its use-value for their particular research question before embarking on the purchase of, and training in, such software.

In brief, these methods could easily be translated to other topics of investigation within the social sciences, especially those involving an insider-researcher investigating her/his own work setting. The intimacy of the approach befits researcher proximity to participants, while its looseness seeks to overcome the potential for excessive researcher influence. One central issue, however, is the need to take all necessary steps to protect participant anonymity. Another is the level of care required to ensure that participants are able to verify all transcripts, while the researcher retains interpretive control over the data generated. As stressed in Chapter 3 (sub-section 3.2.4), an ethical balance must be struck between the rights of participants to tell their stories as they wish, to perform their 'act of self-construction', and those of narrative researchers to listen to them searchingly (Ochberg, 1996:98).

Ultimately, the pragmatic hybrid narrative approach adopted in this study constituted an appropriate way of generating and interpreting the meanings the (S)UT participants attributed to their academic career development thus far and moving forward - their ongoing identity construction - and how these fitted within the wider context of the University and the UK HE sector. This echoes Elliott's justification of narrative research (2005:131): 'the narrative approach

allows for a more active, processual view of identity that shifts over time and is more context dependent'. This leads us to the second main group of findings around UT identity itself.

6.1.3 UT identity: context-dependent complexity

Through the exploratory, interpretive narrative approach considered above, this study has generated a number of findings in relation to 'being' a University Teacher in a 'research-led' university such as the University of Glasgow.

In the first instance, the evolution of academic functions or roles - specifically, for the purposes of this study, research, scholarship and teaching - and the relationship between those roles, have become increasingly important. As detailed in Chapter 2, in an era of dwindling public funding of HE the primacy of research has developed due to the significant levels of income and reputation it now generates, particularly in highly competitive elite universities focused on climbing the HE ranking tables. This has resulted in moves to differentiate academic functions, such as the creation of teaching-focused academic posts like the UT, in order to free up the time of research-focused staff to produce publications and funded research and thereby maximise revenue. This development has led to a perceived deterioration in the value attached to teaching alongside parallel moves to counterbalance this deterioration, particularly in an era of fee-paying students, through the promotion of the scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) (Macfarlane 2011b).

However academic identity is more intricate than this. It is not solely about the roles and remits allocated or afforded to academics; it is also about their sense of positioning within the culture and structure of the university in which they work. In that sense, and as outlined by McLean and Price (2016), academic identity is a combination of, and a negotiation between, the sociological and the psychological, the social and the individual. In my university a majority of the (S)UTs interviewed felt a keen sense of lower status in comparison to their research-focused colleagues. This sense was borne out by staffing information regarding the stark imbalance in the number of promoted posts on the LT&S *versus* the R&T academic track, alongside the dominance of research in official

documentation such as the University's mission statements and strategy documents. And yet, some SUTs had succeeded in creating progressive career trajectories. The key to this sense of professional agency and positive academic identity construction was being accorded their own 'voice(s)' by the system, managers and peers, or developing their own 'voice(s)' in the face of opposition (Barnett and Di Napoli, 2008). UT Sandra expressed the favourable outcomes of such agency in striking terms: *'The gold that people bring, is their enthusiasm, their ideas, their ability to move things forward and to see things differently'*. It therefore became evident that interconnection between all dimensions of academic experience - the system, the institution, professional relationships and intrapersonal agency - was a prerequisite for successful UT identity construction.

Thus, UT identity, like human identity, is complex. Like Alsup (2006:192), I believe that the effort to achieve 'rich, multifaceted' and successful academic identity 'requires the acceptance of ambiguity, multiple subjectivities, shifting contexts, and uncomfortable tension among ideological perspectives'. Enforced limitation, for example a required focus on a single function such as teaching, or a single research focus such as SoTL, is therefore potentially damaging to individual academics, and for some in this study like Justine, actually so. It is also potentially damaging to HE more widely. Daniel articulates these possible losses very clearly:

If you say to a University Teacher, 'You will never be required to do a publication'. Well, ok, so they'll just never do it. Or if you say to Lecturers, 'Well, you focus on research, don't worry so much about teaching'. Well, they become de-skilled on that side.

Clearly, the *Dearing Report's* prediction, outlined in Chapter 2, that individual academics would be 'developing and managing **their own** career portfolios, combining teaching, research, scholarship, and public service as appropriate, at different periods in their lives' (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997:Paragraph 14.12, emphasis added in bold) has not fully materialised. As some of my UT participants' narratives indicated, the envisaged academic control over roles and remits has failed to materialise in certain HEIs, such as my own, thereby impacting on academic agency and identity. Trowler, Saunders and Bamber's assertion (2012:258) regarding the enduring authority of HE cultures and structures seems more accurate, that 21st century academics are

‘responding to imperatives to reshape their practices - sometimes in complicity, sometimes in collusion, often with resistance’.

6.1.4 Implications for stakeholders

These key findings around UT identity have raised the concerns of a specific group of (S)UTs, thereby possibly impacting on the attitudes and future actions of all those implicated: other academics, both those on the LT&S track and peers on the R&T track; and University of Glasgow leaders and managers.

Firstly, there is a message here for individual academics such as teaching-focused UTs, reiterating Trahar’s underlining (2008:262) of the informative and transformative power of ‘the individual voice’. Although their ability to assume a role-related academic ‘identity’ is largely determined by the changing strategic priorities of the university and the wider sector - the interpersonal, cultural and structural domains (Fraser, 2004) - UTs do have a certain level of control over the intrapersonal domain, their beliefs and values, and their academic voice or sense of agency, choosing which language to speak in given contexts. Thus, those with more successful narratives had managed to write their own lyrics and ‘sing’; while those who felt rejected or constrained had allowed themselves to fall ‘mute’ (Barnett and Di Napoli, 2008:199). It is clearly necessary, therefore, for UTs to make more informed decisions regarding the extent to which we become active implementers or passive compliers regarding policies prioritised by the institution, and to bear in mind the impact of our choices on those around us, students, peers and managers alike.

There is also, and perhaps more importantly, a message here for leadership and management in elite research-led universities, supporting Griffith and Macleod’s claim (2008:137) outlined in Chapter 1, that the ‘little stories’ can help define ‘the bigger picture’. Following Barnett and Di Napoli’s (2008) line of argument, I believe that University leadership should create opportunities for academic staff to explore new identities and voices, within and between the LT&S and/or R&T tracks, while University management should oversee their fair and well-judged distribution. Clearly the three SUT participants in this study whose career narratives followed a progressive plotline had managed to find a strong position

within the University's structure and an equally strong way of maximising the opportunities it afforded them, albeit in sometimes inauthentic as well as authentic ways. However, others with regressive or stagnant plotlines had struggled to find any place and, in some respects, had felt their voices silenced as a result. Careful consideration and a flexible approach are therefore required regarding the allocation of staff to the two main academic tracks, as well as the ongoing development of those staff. In that sense, the University of Glasgow and its leaders would need to think carefully about the kind of academic identity they wish to foster. SUT Daniel clearly indicated his preference for a less firmly segregated model: *'I think the only way forward, the sustainable future, is one where we don't think about it in those- twin tracks, but rather it's about the individual qualities'*.

The findings and related implications outlined above trigger options for further research. However, before considering these in more detail, it is important to delineate their framework by engaging with some of the limitations of this study in relation both to the approach adopted and the content explored.

6.2 'The tales not told': limitations of the study

Given the claims made for the reflexivity and transparency of the narrative approach adopted, it is important to engage with potential criticisms of how this research study was conducted, with whom and by whom, while also considering the aspects of content not (yet) explored.

In terms of **how** this study was conducted, a single interview with each participant took place over a relatively short timescale: a six-month period mid-2014 to early-2015. Clearly then, these findings represent a snapshot of how the (S)UTs involved felt about their academic career journeys at a particular point in time. However, as acknowledged in sub-section 6.1.1 above, this is true of all narratives; the stories told on one day may well be told differently on another, and yet they still have a level of validity as long as this is acknowledged and understood. As McAdams and Logan stress (2006:106, emphasis added in bold), **'we believe that people find meaning and purpose in their lives through the construction, internalization, and constant revision of life narratives'**.

Next, in terms of **with** whom, or who took part in the study, it clearly involved a limited group of 11 participants with a very specific professional profile. While this may preclude the wider applicability of the conclusions reached, it does not prevent those conclusions from being meaningful within a narrower context. Indeed Squire *et al.* (2014:113) suggest that ‘narratives have specific effects in specific circumstances with specific audiences’. Moreover, the small and narrow pool of participants was highly appropriate to the focus of a study seeking qualitative insight rather than the charting of quantitative fact. Again Squire *et al.* convey this aspect clearly (2014:113): ‘Rather than being a generalizing, simplifying endeavour, narrative research has emerged as a project dedicated to understanding stories’ particularities in depth, across many different fields of meaning’. Such a narrow focus also leaves options for further research with other types of participants, as will be explored in the final section of this study.

Thereafter, in terms of **by** whom, or the characteristics of the researcher, two potential limitations arise: notably that I was both a **lone** researcher and an **insider** researcher. Firstly, as a lone researcher it was not possible to triangulate thematic coding of interviews in consultation with others, and therefore my interpretations may be more easily contested. However some validation was sought for them through discussion with supervisors and colleagues. In addition, I endeavoured to enhance the credibility of those interpretations by providing detailed information in the form of participant profiles and frequent illustrative interview quotations throughout the study. Secondly, as an insider researcher, critics may suggest that I am too close to the subject to be able to explore it objectively. However, this closeness is fully acknowledged from the outset. Furthermore, objectivity is not the rationale behind narrative inquiry; rather, subjectivity is its focus. It is apparent from participants’ reflections that the fact that I shared the same post as them fostered a sense of empathy, encouraged ease of interaction between us and led to an enhanced level of self-disclosure, thereby affording me better access to their subjective identity-construction process. As Josselson indicates (1995:30) an ‘empathic stance’ is often the counterpart of a ‘paradigm for discovery’.

Finally, in terms of the aspects of content **not** explored, it must be conceded that, in the period since the interviews were carried out, a number of changes

have taken place in relation to the UT ‘story’ at the level of the University of Glasgow, and also of myself as an individual UT. These recent developments do not, however, render the findings of this study obsolete; the findings remain a vivid, emotive illustration of UT views at a given point in time. Moreover, these recent developments can be evaluated briefly here, with a view to informing more comprehensive and considered investigation of their impact in future.

6.3 ‘Extra, extra, read all about it’: UT story updates

6.3.1 The *Glasgow* UT story

It is important to note that the University has already given some consideration to various issues relating to the UT post and LT&S track in the period since the interviews for this study were conducted. As assessed in Chapters 2 and 5, the University had been made aware of concerns relating to the post and the track via the areas for development identified in the 2014 ELIR *Outcome Report* (QAA, 2014a) and the work of Gunn *et al.* (2014), both published just as this research project began. Gunn *et al.* (2014:38) specifically recommended the establishment of ‘a short-life Working Group to revisit promotions criteria relating to teaching in both the T&S and R&T tracks’. The University acted upon this recommendation the following year, as reported in its ELIR *Follow-up Report* (University of Glasgow, 2015d:6):

A short-life working group has been established with the specific objectives to: [...] specifically for the Learning and Teaching promotions track, develop a coherent promotions pathway and propose revisions to the Performance and Development Review process that will support the career development of staff more effectively.

Changes to the UT post and aspects of the LT&S track were also clearly called for by the majority of participants in this study; Daniel asserted, ‘*I think the time is ripe for a review*’. The focus here, however, was mainly on whether the job title was appropriate. Megan explained, ‘*My opinion is the University made a mistake calling us University Teachers. We should have been Lecturers, and Lecturer (research-active), and that wouldn’t have distinguished anyone then*’. This view was echoed by Justine: ‘*There’s no real governing need to have the different nomenclature*’. Indeed Elaine and Dominic actually foresaw, in part at

least, what would eventually come to pass: *'You never know, they might abolish the whole UT thing in the future'* (Elaine); and

I would actually recommend ditching the position altogether, as we've talked about before- So then- in which case the issue of names becomes neither here nor there. So, for non-vocational subjects, everyone's just a Lecturer and you're on different contracts (Dominic).

The University does appear to have listened, to some extent, since the working group has led to the development of a series of structural changes to the LT&S track with implementation beginning during the 2016-17 academic session.

These changes have comprised the renaming of the job title from University Teacher to Lecturer from 1 January 2017, the revision of the LT&S promotion criteria from 2016-17 and the introduction of an updated online P&DR system (for all University staff) from the end of the 2016-17 session, mapped onto the new promotion criteria.

The LT&S track promotion criteria and related P&DR review fields which, as some participants such as Victor pointed out, were previously inappropriately identical to the R&T track promotion criteria, are now differentiated and better aligned with the defined strands of the UT job remit. Moreover scholarship is more clearly defined than it had been before, with the promotion guidelines for the LT&S track (University of Glasgow, 2016c:1) now stipulating that,

the normal expectation of candidates applying for promotion on the LT&S track would be that their output is increasingly characterised by scholarship, i.e. work that relates to the study and practice of learning and teaching within an HE setting.

Claims have also been made for the improved status attached to teaching, for example in the commitments made in the University's *Learning and Teaching Strategy 2015-20* (University of Glasgow, 2015a:2): 'The profile of Teaching will be such that it achieves parity of esteem in our research-intensive environment'. This may in fact have been achieved to a degree via the reversion to the original 'Lecturer' job title, unexpectedly announced to LT&S staff by letter in December 2016 (University of Glasgow, 2016d), mirroring an identical decision, outlined in Chapter 2, taken in 2007 by the University of Bradford where the UT job title had originated. The University of Glasgow change was explained in this letter (2016d:1) as resulting from discussions and debates regarding 'the career

trajectory and positioning within the wider University of those staff following this track' and 'the relevancy of the nomenclature of University Teacher and Senior University Teacher'. This reference to 'positioning' would indicate an institutional awareness of the perceived lack of parity between the R&T and LT&S tracks.

These recent changes to the LT&S track aspired to clarify the remit and to improve the staff satisfaction levels of UTs. However issues remain. The revised focus on SoTL is not the type of research that the majority of (S)UT participants in this study wished to undertake; rather, disciplinary research was the preferred focus for their scholarship activity. Such a subject-specialist focus is permitted by the revised LT&S promotion guidelines, but greatly mitigated (University of Glasgow, 2016c:1):

Outputs can also include, but should not be exclusively characterised by, subject-specific / disciplinary-specific research that is not related to learning and teaching. Where subject-specific / disciplinary-specific research is included, applicants must demonstrate how this relates to and is used to inform their teaching, in keeping with the research-led ethos of the University.

In addition there is no mention of revising the unequal weightings of scholarship and teaching in the workload model in any of the recent updates, again mentioned as a concern for the majority of participants in this study. Finally, there is no echoing of Bradford's purpose in changing the job title back to Lecturer - 'to build in flexibility for academic staff, enabling them to reflect the aspirations of individuals and their department' (University and College Union, University of Bradford, 2007:3) - despite the fact that personal values and personal choice over professional priorities was a source of positive self-esteem and professional identity for participants.

Most significantly, perhaps, the contractual differentiation between teaching-focused and research-focused academics persists within the University of Glasgow. In fact it is becoming increasingly embedded in the UK HE sector more generally, as a brief survey of current academic vacancies quickly reveals (jobs.ac.uk, 2017; Times Higher Education, 2017). And yet human, and by extension academic, identity is not binary. In Macfarlane's view (2011a:60) moves to segregate it 'run[s] the risk of undermining the holistic nature of

professional identity'. These views are echoed by Peseta and Loads (2016:200) who refer to 'at least two directions' for academic identities and related research: firstly, a 'disaggregation of academic work as a global inescapability leading to fragmentation and anxiety'; and secondly, a 'search for ways of holding teaching, research and service together in some kind of coherent whole'. While I agree that academic identity should not be viewed in dualistic terms, neither do I view it as a holistic, in the sense of a unitary, entity. In fact I believe that the stories elicited from the UT participants in this study have revealed an additional direction for academic identity, reflecting Josselson's belief (1995:33) that, 'narrative approaches also force us to supersede dichotomies' [...] the self is inherently dialogic'. The majority of UTs interviewed expressed a wish to circumvent division and limitation within their academic careers, as fabricated by a system of continued differentiated tracks that engenders rigidity rather than flexibility. In Andrew's view, having been a UT and then a Lecturer, the differentiated academic tracks should not exist: *'There should just be a job, and within the job you might have slightly different remits depending on where you're at or where your interests lie'*. In the words of Dominic, such division can only be to the detriment of all involved, students, academics and universities: *'It's not going to be the best thing for anybody. It's not, it's not right'*.

The irony, in my view, is that the LT&S track was created in an effort to make the University of Glasgow more efficient and to maximise revenue by focusing separately on the goals of research income and teaching income. However its continued existence may in fact exacerbate a number of existing divisions and dissatisfaction among academic staff, as well as students, and have unintended negative consequences that in fact undermine these goals on various levels. Firstly, teaching staff risk becoming less focused on subject expertise because of the lack of time available for disciplinary research, the required focus on SoTL and the absence of quality publication requirements. This could ostensibly result in a dip in student experience. Simultaneously, research staff risk becoming less focused on teaching, especially UG teaching, because of REF and grant capture pressures. This again could ostensibly result in a dip in student experience. All academic staff may therefore end up channelled into a single primary function and thereby become less challenged in terms of skills development. At the same

time collegiality among academic staff may be damaged. There is, after all, no 'Glasgow Academic' to match the 'Birmingham Academic' (University of Birmingham, 2010) referenced in Chapter 2. Ironically, however, there is a singular 'Glasgow Professional' for University Services staff, described as 'a philosophy...an ethos...an identity' (University of Glasgow, 2017c:1). Consequently, as Malcolm and Zukas (2009) point out, the system may in fact be working against itself:

The inauthenticity demanded by managerialist fabrications may be patently clear and, indeed, experienced as a violation of the 'academic self' (Ruth 2008, 104). To this extent, the actor-network of managing academic work is not only unsuccessful but actively endangers the productivity which it seeks to promote (503)

6.3.2 My UT story

In the context of the (S)UT career narratives elicited and analysed in this doctoral dissertation, alongside the changed and changing context of the LT&S track within the University of Glasgow outlined above, my own UT story has, not surprisingly, moved on from the tale recounted in Chapter 1.

Now employed as a 'Lecturer', and on the cusp of completing this doctoral journey, I feel empowered and in some respects transformed: more like a 'proper' academic; better equipped as a researcher; and more capable as a teacher of UG students, and also of PG students moving forward. However misgivings persist: my sense of lower status within the University in relation to both peers and some managers; my fears regarding the potential damage that the two-track system inflicts on collegiality; my concerns regarding the limited time allocated for research and the institutional push towards SoTL for LT&S academics, which may in fact render this doctoral study pointless in terms of career progression; and my resulting reservations regarding any future application for promotion - that I currently feel I most likely will **not** make.

I am therefore uncertain as to which UT identity typology is a best fit for me. Is it the stable/static typology, characterised by lack of resolution and limited potential for growth? Certainly the intrapersonal and interpersonal connection between myself and students feels strong; however that with peers and

managers feels less secure. Moreover, I sense a form of disconnect with the wider cultural and structural domains regarding some of the priorities of the University and HE more widely and my desire, or ability, to achieve them. Could I risk embodying a regressive/stagnant typology if I opt to self-limit or retreat? Or could a progressive typology apply, if I succeed in finding my own voice and ‘walking the line’ in such a way that strong connections can be established between all domains of experience? I may, for example, succeed in embracing the teaching focus of my post and/or find a niche support role while undertaking self-selected research activity, leading potentially to enhanced personal job satisfaction and institutional approbation.

Clearly my academic identity, like those of my participants is complex. Clearly, too, while we have some agency over its construction, the University has much influence over the direction it can, and may, take. My story, and the stories of others implicated, are not over.

6.4 ‘So the story is told and here it begins’: options for further research

Given this evolving context of academic staffing within my university and within HE more widely, and the potential of narrative approaches, various possibilities for further research arise. Bruner (1987:114) stresses that ‘a life is not “how it was” but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and retold’, and that ‘any story one may tell about anything is better understood by considering other possible ways in which it can be told’. Narratives are never complete; neither, therefore, is narrative research. Nor, indeed, is any social sciences research, embedded as it is in continuously shifting, and therefore continuously searchable, social contexts.

Consequently I would, in the first instance, be very interested in carrying out additional research within the context of the University of Glasgow itself. This could take various forms, for example assessing the impact of the most recent updates to the UT post on LT&S staff within the University by interviewing the participants from this study regarding their views on the changes, in so doing adding a more longitudinal strand to the initial work undertaken here. It would also be fascinating to gather the career narratives of R&T staff, or to conduct

more semi-structured interviews with them, regarding their perspectives on the system of academic job tracks within the University. Given the suggested potential negative impact of the differentiated academic tracks on student satisfaction it may also be useful to survey students regarding their level of general awareness and more detailed understanding of different academic posts. In addition, it would be informative to interview University of Glasgow leaders and managers regarding their views on the LT&S track, especially in relation to job descriptions, the workload weightings and the new promotion criteria, as well as their outlook on the role they themselves have in terms of the distribution of academic posts to tracks, the allocation of individual academics to those tracks and the desired core characteristics of a Glasgow academic. Finally, it would be interesting to undertake a comparative study with other UK or overseas universities, with similar and contrasting institutional profiles, by conducting narrative interviews with academics on a teaching-focused academic track.

And so these stories are told, and here they now begin...

Appendix 1: Confirmation of ethical approval and extension



CSS Oct 2013

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Staff Research Ethics Application

Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application

Application Details

Application Number: 400130058

Applicant's Name Jane Cavani

Project Title Academic identity and teaching-only posts: faculty 'stories' in a Russell Group university

Application Status **Approved**

Start Date of Approval (d.m.yr) 13/01/2014

(blank if Changes Required/ Rejected)

End Date of Approval (d.m.yr) 30/12/2015

Only if the applicant has been given **approval** can they proceed with their data collection with effect from the date of approval.

Recommendations (where Changes are Required)

- **Where changes are required all applicants must respond** in the relevant boxes to the recommendations of the Committee and upload this as the **Resubmission Document** online to explain the changes you have made to the application. All resubmitted application documents should then be uploaded.
- **(If application is Rejected a full new application must be submitted via the online system. Where recommendations are provided, they should be responded to and this document uploaded as part of the new application. A new reference number will be generated.**

(Shaded areas will expand as text is added)

MAJOR RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE

APPLICANT RESPONSE TO MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

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MINOR RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE

APPLICANT RESPONSE TO MINOR RECOMMENDATIONS

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University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences
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The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

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E-mail: Terri.Hume@glasgow.ac.uk

Page 1 of 2

REVIEWER COMMENTS

APPLICANT RESPONSE TO REVIEWER COMMENTS

(OTHER THAN SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS)

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Please retain this notification for future reference. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact Terri Hume, Ethics Administrator.

End of Notification.



University
of Glasgow

College of Social
Sciences

College Research Ethics

Request for Amendments - Reviewer Feedback

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Application Details

Staff Research Ethics Application Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application

Application Number: 400130058

Applicant's Name: Jane Cavani

Project Title: 'Academic identity and teaching only posts: faculty 'stories' in a Russell Group university

Original Date of Application Approval: 13/01/2014

End Date of Application Approval: 31/07/2018

Date of Amendments Approved: 16/08/2017

Outcome: Amendments Approved

Reviewer Comments

Please retain this notification for future reference. If you have any enquiries, please email socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.

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The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

E-mail: socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Narrative interview framework

Academic identity and teaching-only posts: faculty 'stories' in a Russell Group university

I plan to conduct a series of semi-structured qualitative narrative interviews. Each interview will be initiated via the use of a particular 'constructivist elicitation tool' (Burnard, 2000): a 'career path response sheet', derived from Odena and Welch (2012). In all cases the aim will be to elicit each participant's storied account of her/his professional identity construction and management in relation to his current role as a 'teaching-only' University Teacher or Senior University Teacher. I am thereby seeking to create a deeper, reflective account of academics' perceptions of their changing academic identity in relation to this specific professional context.

Each of the participants will be asked to take part in a maximum of two face-to-face audio-recorded interviews (normally approximately 60 minutes for each interview) with the researcher at a mutually convenient time and location. For participant convenience it is hoped to hold these interviews after the end of Semester 2 teaching, in the period between the Easter break and the end of the Semester 2 exam diet (mid-April to June 2014) or in the resit examination period (late August-September 2014) when most academic staff will still be on campus but not teaching any scheduled classes. Researcher field notes will also be kept, recording general impressions and noting any minor methodological alterations (for example, amended/additional prompt questions) that may appear necessary if the methodology/methods do not appear to be eliciting rich enough qualitative data to address the topic under investigation. In all cases the participants will be afforded the opportunity to verify completed grids/response sheets/interview transcripts before any use is made of them in the study. They will also be given the option to contribute additional written material post-interview(s) if they wish, thereby creating the possibility of gathering both spontaneous and more considered narrative data.

The data will then be analysed qualitatively via a range of analytic lenses: (i) structural (form/plot/genre); (ii) dialogic (performance/discourse); (iii) thematic (content). (Riessman, 1993; Chase, 1995; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Andrews et al., 2004; Elliott, 2005; Riessman, 2008).

See below for more detail on the interview process and content.

Interview 1

Each participant will complete a career path response sheet in advance of the interview.

In the interview proper s/he will talk through this document in her/his own words, focusing in particular on any seminal moment(s) of change in relation to academic career journey or other moments of influence, with a view to assessing how those moment(s) may have impacted on/altered her/his sense of academic identity and drawing out how the current post of University Teacher/Senior University Teacher was reached and is perceived.

If necessary, narrative prompt questions may be used as may arise from the flow and direction of the interview, such as:

- How have you arrived at your current post as a University Teacher/Senior University Teacher?
Could you talk me through your professional/academic journey, focusing in particular on any seminal moment(s) of change in relation to the title and nature of your post, with a view to drawing out how those moment(s) may have impacted on/altered your sense of academic identity.

- What do you perceive to have been the moments of influence that led to the various changes / moves?
Why do you believe/feel those changes occurred? (by design or by decree?)
How do you understand the changes / moves in academic post in relation to wider contexts?
- How have the changes impacted on your sense of academic identity at each moment?
In particular what is your perception of your current academic identity (in your view / the eyes of others)?
- Could you sum up your professional journey / those 'moves' in one thought or phrase?
- Where might the story end?
- Do you have anything else to add?

Interview 2

A second interview may be conducted if deemed necessary / of interest following Interview 1. This will be based on a series of narrative questions aiming to probe any points of interest emerging from the initial narrative analysis of draft Interview 1 transcripts, for example inconsistencies, points glossed over or not fully explained, emerging themes or generic/structural features. Clearly the exact formulation of these questions cannot emerge until Interview 1 is at least partially transcribed and analysed.

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Academic Career Path response sheet

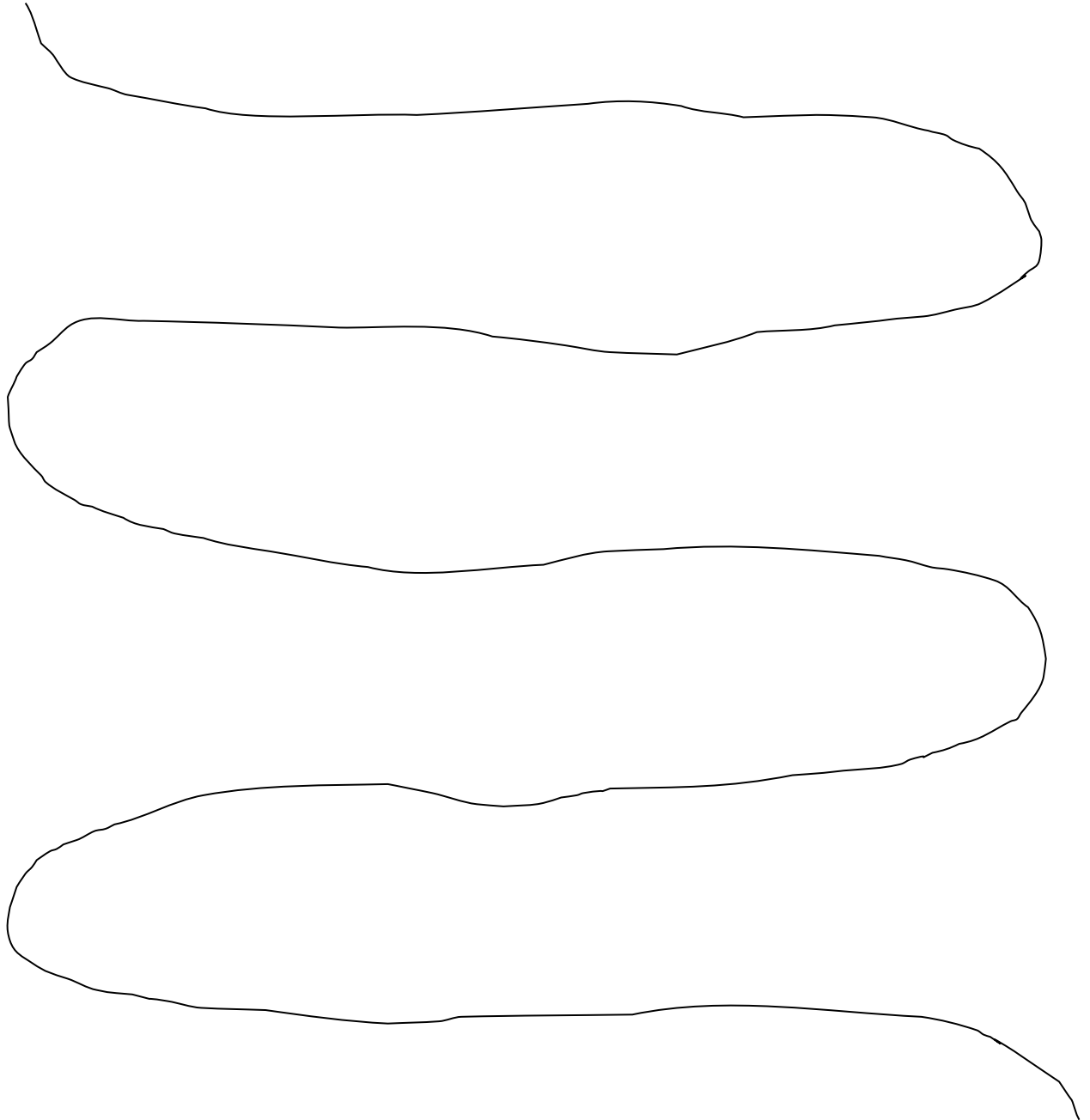
Current post and University School: _____

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Thinking back over your academic career 'journey' towards your current post, please reflect on any specific experiences or critical incidents that you feel have influenced or precipitated changes in your academic post/position. Briefly describe each experience in your own words at each 'bend' in the 'path' below.



Appendix 3: Plain language statement



Plain Language Statement

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Do ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take the time you need to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Many thanks for reading this.

Study Title:

Academic identity and teaching-only posts: faculty 'stories' in a Russell Group university

Researcher Details:

Jane Cavani, Student ID 8542181; EdD Doctorate in Education (Research), University of Glasgow, School of Education; Supervisors: Dr Oscar Odena and Dr Nicki Hedge.

Ethical Approval:

This study has been reviewed and permission for it granted by the Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow's College of Social Sciences.

What is the purpose of the study?

In 2001 a specific type of teaching-only post (University Teacher / Senior University Teacher) was created within the University of Glasgow. The primary aim of this doctoral dissertation-level study is to investigate the impact of the creation of this post on academic identity formation in a Russell Group university context via the elicitation of critically reflective narratives or professional 'stories' from willing members of academic staff currently employed in this role.

I hope to complete the associated empirical research by September 2014. The planned doctoral dissertation submission date is September 2015.

Why have I been chosen?

You, and up to nine other academic colleagues, have been chosen to participate in this study since you are a member of academic staff who is currently employed as either a University Teacher or a Senior University Teacher. I am keen to elicit your story regarding how you came to this post and how it may have shaped, or continue to shape, your sense of academic identity.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time and/or to withdraw data previously supplied, without giving any reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part you will be asked to participate in a maximum of two one-to-one audio-recorded interviews with the researcher at a mutually convenient time and location. The interview framework and themes will be outlined to you in advance. Each interview should normally last no more than 60 minutes. You will be given the opportunity to verify interview transcripts. You will also be given the opportunity to provide additional written narrative material if you wish, although this is in no way compulsory.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential, subject to legal limitations such as freedom of information claims. In the research study you will be identified by a code or pseudonym only, and any information about you that would render you easily recognised will be removed.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

I will use the results to inform my doctoral dissertation. The final anonymised full transcripts will only be seen by my doctoral supervisors within the School of Education at the University of Glasgow and by the External Examiner for the programme if s/he requests to see them. All participant data (audio recordings, computer files and hard copy documents relating to the interviews) will be permanently destroyed on successful completion of the doctoral dissertation. All quotations included in the doctoral dissertation will be anonymised and any names of persons, groups or institutions referred to in the text that would render you easily recognised will be removed and/or changed to ensure anonymity.

Contacts for Further Information

If you would like to ask any more questions about the research study, or would like to receive a copy once completed, please contact me by email at j.cavani.1@research.gla.ac.uk

If you have any concerns regarding the way that this research project is being carried out, then you can contact either of my supervisors, Dr Oscar Odena at Oscar.Odena@glasgow.ac.uk or Dr Nicki Hedge at Nicki.Hedge@glasgow.ac.uk.

Alternatively you may contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Valentina Bold at Valentina.Bold@glasgow.ac.uk

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