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Students and Faculty Indivisible: Crafting a Higher Education Culture of Flourishing

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STUDENTS AND FACULTY INDIVISIBLE:
CRAFTING A HIGHER EDUCATION CULTURE OF FLOURISHING

by

Eileen Kogl Camfield

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Abstract

By Eileen Kogl Camfield

University of the Pacific
2015

This dissertation is comprised of three separate articles addressing related issues central to the culture and future of higher education. The questions that animate the investigations are: In what ways is writing self-efficacy forged in the learning relationships between student and instructor? In what ways, if any, do traditional assessment practices impact student development? In what ways, if any, does institutional culture shape faculty identity, and what is gained or lost in the process? These queries stem from concerns about possible disconnects between visions of higher education's potential and actual practices in the classroom. The dissertation uses grounded theory to explore the deep nature of student learning needs as articulated by the students themselves, seeks alignment between pedagogical and assessment protocols that foster writing expertise, and uses social reproduction theory and intersectionality to reveal the foundations of faculty identity development that can work across student development needs. Specific recommendations for meaningful reform are identified with an eye on cultivating a culture of collegiality and mutual trust where learning relationships can flourish.

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Chapter 1 -- The Challenge of Engaging Students in the Higher Purposes of Higher Education

Partly in response to the escalating costs of higher education in the United States, the spotlight has recently been focused on the question of how to measure a college education's "return on investment." To explore whether the point of a college education is to produce quantifiable results or personal and intellectual growth, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* published statements from nine higher-education leaders ("What Is College For?," 2013). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the consensus among these college presidents was that college must *both* prepare students for the workforce and for meaningful lives. It is clear that these leaders take that responsibility seriously, as evidenced in the kind of language they use to frame their ideals. They talked about "balance" (para. 5), "the development of intelligence in its multiple forms" (para. 7), "citizenship" (para. 11), and "transformation" (para. 18). Charles Lief, president of Naropa University, was quite eloquent:

With the goal of envisioning a just and sustainable world, an education for the 21st century must speak to all dimensions of a human being – intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, ethical, spiritual, and somatic. Valuing the mutually beneficial relationship between intellectual rigor and contemplative practice is both ethically sound and a good business decision for the academy. Such an education transforms ordinary knowledge into wisdom and cultivates compassion

and service to others and the Earth, preparing students to change the world for the better. (para.30)

Several of the presidents also observed that the particular community created on a college campus is a key facilitator of the kind of student development required for world renovation. Walter Kinbrough, president of Dillard University, spoke of "an environment that challenges and supports" (para. 12) students where "intellectual collisions" (para. 13) can take place and where "the whole student" (para. 14) can be nurtured. College was envisioned by some as an oasis, separate from the rest of the world but also preparing students for their lives beyond college. Carolyn Martin, president of Amherst College, sounded the call: "In an age of sound bites and indignation, college is for those who are brave enough to put at risk what they think they know in recognition of the responsibility we have to one another and to those still to come" (para. 10). Such grand rhetoric is noble and inspiring, but how does it translate into actual practice? What other ingredients are necessary to make these visions reality?

Student Engagement

The common denominator linking leaders' visions and student reality is the degree to which students are able to pursue these ideals in their own college experiences. Put another way, the higher the level of engagement students have in multiple levels of the college experience, the more likely it is they will live up to their institutions' ideals. So critical is this concept of student engagement, it has been studied for more than 40 years. Perry's (1970) cognitive development theory provided the initial conceptual foundation for engagement as a student's active relationship with learning. This theory has been refined and extended by others over the ensuing years. At root is the shared idea that as

college students encounter perspectives that diverge from their own, they must contend with this complexity by transcending rule-based ways of knowing and finding ways to legitimize self-determined knowledge (Baxter Magolda, 1992; Belenky et al, 1997; King & Kitchner, 1994). Astin (1984, 1993) defined engagement as a form of academic involvement that correlated with learning and retention, noting this connection even influences post-college outcomes.

Some have defined engagement as a civic concept, linking the purposes of college with community responsibility (Etzioni, 1995) or citizenship in a democracy (Hoppe, 2004). Others see it as the means by which students develop their personal identities and senses of purpose (Baxter Magolda, 2004; Chickering & Reisser, 1993). For this development to occur, some have argued that students must engage in a repeating cycle of experience, reflection and action (Kolb, 1984; Schön, 1987; Taggart & Wilson, 2005), and they must learn how to co-construct knowledge with others in their communities (Wenger, 1998).

Most scholars do not see engagement as discretely academic, social, or personal but instead recognize the synergy or reciprocity between all three. In particular, levels of intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy are predictors of meaningful cognitive engagement (Walker, Greene, & Mansell, 2006). Perry (1981) himself described the powerful learning that emerges when students connect new knowledge with personal meanings. Bean (2005) dubbed the student a "psychological actor" (p. 11) whose decision to engage in learning depends on interaction with others in the environment. Further, "student engagement is considered to be among the better predictors of learning and personal development" (Carini, Kuh, & Klein, 2006, p. 2). While the authentic connections

fostered by engaged learning facilitate self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2004), students with self-authored motivation also have "more interest, excitement, and confidence, which in turn is manifest both as enhanced performance, persistence, and creativity and as heightened vitality, self-esteem, and general well-being" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 69). The degree to which students find value and satisfaction in their engagement determines the extent and duration of that engagement and is connected to academic persistence (Milem & Berger, 1997).

While the phrase *student engagement* implies a kind of individual ownership of the college experience, institutions should not shirk their responsibilities for fostering that engagement. Of pertinence for my research is the potential impact and importance of positive relationships between faculty members and students: "Both substantive and social out-of-class contacts with faculty members appear to positively influence (though indirectly) what students get from their college experience, their views of the college environment (especially the quality of personal relations), and their satisfaction" (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006, p. 41). These faculty influences have a particularly positive impact on vulnerable student populations: first-generation college students (Amelink, 2005; Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004) and new students in their first year of college (Reason, Terenzini, & Domingo, 2006). Strong relationships with faculty are also positively related to African-American student persistence (Himelhoch, Nichols, Ball, & Black, 1997) and with Latino students' senses of belonging and worth (Dayton, Gonzalez-Vasquez, Martinez, & Plum, 2004).

Paradoxically, and of significant relevance for subsequent sections of this dissertation, there is one notable exception to the faculty-relationship rule. Kuh and Hu

(2001) reported that when students work with faculty outside of class to improve their written work, while this can positively impact students' academic skills, it can simultaneously negatively impact student satisfaction levels. They posit:

It is possible that many students—especially in the first year—interpret faculty feedback on their writing as overwhelmingly critical while faculty members may intend their critique as a challenge to achieve higher levels of performance. Good intentions notwithstanding, such feedback may come as a shock to many new students who earned relatively high grades in high school. (p. 328)

This kind of detrimental disconnect between faculty intention and student impact may be more common than is realized and will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

Additionally, much attention has been paid to the specific forms of pedagogy that do foster student engagement. These have been articulated in the literature as high impact educational practices (Kuh, 2008), engaging ideas (Bean, 1996), or simply what the best college teachers do (Bain, 2004). Unfortunately, "Engaged learning pedagogy is fundamentally different from much of the teaching and learning that occurs in higher education" (Swaner, 2007, p. 20), and where engaged pedagogies occur they often appear in isolation from the more traditional pedagogical approaches found on many campuses. These traditional pedagogical approaches view learning solely in cognitive terms and rely on top-down transmission of information, rather than acknowledging emotional components of the learning process.

However, over that past decade, neuroscientific research has reported the emotional components of learning are essential. We now know that emotional engagement can create more extensive neural networks (Byrnes, 2001) and that learning

proceeds better when learners have a positive attitude and feel emotionally secure (Jensen, 2005). Hardcastle (2003) goes so far as to suggest that emotion is the "'core' around which we structure our views of ourselves and the world" (p. 43). Thus, emotion is fundamental to all learning – or, as she puts it, "we use our emotions cognitively" (p. 43). Moreover, theories about mirror neurons (Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006) offer cognitive explanations for the importance of relationships between teachers and learners because students' minds mirror, on a neurological level, what their teachers model. Cognitive psychologists have explored the ways the basic human needs of autonomy, competence, and human relatedness enhance intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). These scholars exhort teachers to incorporate in their lessons "choice, acknowledgment of feelings, and opportunities for self-direction" (p. 70), key factors they identify that allow people a sense of autonomy. Moreover, they claim that "intrinsic motivation [is] more likely to flourish in contexts characterized by a sense of security and relatedness" (p. 71).

Sadly, “despite the fact that we faculty know what we ought to be doing, we aren’t doing it” (Bean, 2001, p. xvii). With all of the evidence of its value, why is engaged learning pedagogy not more systematically adopted across higher education? Moreover, because "no single intervention, particularly over the course of a semester, can be expected to have a dramatic impact on student outcomes" (Eyler & Giles, 1999, xvii), sustained inter-disciplinary efforts, intentionally designed to foster student engagement, will yield better results than those engendered by the occasional dedicated teacher. Therefore, discovering impediments to the widespread adoption of these practices must be a top priority if students are to connect with the college experience in ways that realize

the ideals articulated by many college presidents. As will be discussed in subsequent sections of this dissertation, increasing student engagement may require the kind of *systems thinking* described by Fullan (2006) that "integrates the disciplines, fusing them into a coherent body of theory and practice....link[ed] with [institutional] sustainability" (p. 115).

Theory to Practice

As the previous section documented, the importance of cultivating student engagement has been well-established, and many campus leaders have called for efforts to “foster enthusiasm for a coherent educational vision of engaged learning by promoting learning everywhere and with everyone” (Hodge, Baxter Magolda, & Haynes, 2009, p. 23). What needs further exploration is how any press for student engagement translates into student experiences and faculty practice. The challenge facing any efforts to mobilize a campus community to effect student engagement through transformed teaching can be highlighted by juxtaposing institutional survey responses from students with responses from faculty. There appears to be a disconnect between what students expect to get out of college and what college faculty think students should get out of college. When these are overlaid against the visions of higher education's potential articulated by the college presidents at the beginning of this chapter, a third layer of expectations comes into play. The apparent divergence between the expectations of these three groups of stakeholders illuminates directions for further study.

Student priorities. Given that subsequent chapters will address student learning at the University of the Pacific¹, where I am employed, framing that particular research here with aggregated student data from that same institution provides valuable context for

¹ IRB authorization acknowledges identification of institutional affiliation.

chapters two and three. Each fall, the national Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) survey is administered to incoming college freshmen. In 2013, one question invited students to review a list of seven reasons why one might decide to go to college and to indicate, using “very,” “somewhat,” or “not at all important,” the reasons that apply to their decision to attend college. An analysis of Pacific students’ responses provides some interesting insights. Below is a list of items marked "very" or "somewhat" important:

- to get a better job (89.2%);
- to get training for a specific career (83%);
- to learn about things that interest me (77.6%);
- to make more money (73%);
- to prepare myself for graduate or professional school (68.4%);
- to gain a general education and appreciation of ideas (59.2%);
- to become a more cultured person (38.5%).

Given that students could have marked *every* item as "very important," the fact that so many gave a great deal of weight to the idea of education as preparation for a career (and gave relatively less weight to the idea that a broad or general education matters) signifies the orientation of student values. Juxtaposing responses between students at my institution and students at comparison schools indicates a fair amount of similarity, in that all students appear to be concerned about income after graduation; however, students at my institution appear to be a bit more concerned about career quality and training than

their peers at other institutions.² They also appear to be somewhat less interested in a general education, appreciation of ideas, and matters of culture than their peers at comparable institutions.³ While the difference is not drastic, it also might be accounted for by the fact that a high proportion of Pacific students are low income and drawn from the very poor Central Valley of California (Kelley, 2014). Anxiety about the high cost of a Pacific education may make them very focused on getting jobs as a result of their time in college. In other words, these students represent the kind of vulnerable population that might most benefit from positive relationships with faculty members, but such students also might be less inclined to seek such relationships both because of their extrinsic motivation and the many demands on their time. National trends show high percentages of college students needing to work to afford tuition (Perna, 2010), and Pacific is no exception. According to the CIRP survey, nearly 80% of Pacific students report that there is a "very good" or "some" chance they will get a job to help pay for college; 23.7% say such work would likely be full-time. With student schedules needing to accommodate work, class-time is where personal connections with instructors might best be forged, increasing the urgency for research into why engaged learning pedagogy is not more systematically adopted across higher education

In comparing student survey data to the answers provided by the college presidents for what was essentially the same question (i.e., What is college for?), a disconnect appears to be emerging. Some presidents envision college as a vehicle for democratic renewal or social reform. Students seem to seek more individualistic,

² Pacific students rate these two items on average 4.425 percentage- points higher than students at comparable institutions.

³ Pacific students rate these three items on average 7.25 percentage-points lower than students at comparable institutions.

extrinsic, and immediate pay-off (or return on investment) in the form of jobs and money. This is not to say these students feel incapable of responsibly operating in a community, rating the following as "a major strength" or as "somewhat strong" personal characteristics:

- the ability to get along with others of different races/cultures (83.4%);
- having tolerance for others with different beliefs (82.3%);
- being able to cooperate with diverse people (82%);
- the ability to see the world from someone else's perspective (74.4%);
- the ability to discuss and negotiate controversial issues (67.5%);
- being open to having one's own views challenged (62.8%).

However, given these community-oriented traits and the fact that 93.6% have performed volunteer work, only 33.2% believe it is essential or very important to become a community leader. Three-fourths (72.2%) think it is essential or very important to help others who are in difficulty, but only 39.9% see influencing social values as essential or very important. In short, students seem to perceive their spheres of influence as quite small. This worldview contrasts with the declaration from president of St. Mary's College of Maryland that "higher education...is the engine of American civilization's national purpose" ("What Is College For?," 2013, para. 27). If students are essential to the fulfillment of this vision for higher education – and it would seem logical to assume that they would be – then the “engine of American’s civilization’s national purpose” appears to be rather underpowered.

Faculty priorities. Since students do not appear to be fully engaged in pursuing higher education’s nobler purposes, it seems that colleges must add horsepower to the

engine. To do so they must help students expand their visions of what they can aspire to and are capable of by creating inclusive environments where students feel empowered. Because the relationship between faculty and students can have a powerful influence on student engagement (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006), and if institutions are to support faculty both in developing effective instructional and advising strategies and in building appropriate and meaningful relationships with students, college leaders must understand how faculty perceive their roles. Some of this information can be gleaned from the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) survey of full-time undergraduate faculty. This survey is repeated every three years, and the most recent data available from my university comes from 2011. At that time 100% of the faculty who responded to questions about undergraduate teaching reported themselves strongly interested in the *academic* problems of students. The essential or very important goals they set for themselves as educators were as follows:

- to develop student abilities to think critically (98.8%);
- to evaluate the quality and reliability of information (97.5%);
- to help master knowledge in a discipline (96.3%);
- to develop the ability to write effectively (93.8%);
- to be prepared for employment (86.3%).

All of these top-ranked goals can be characterized as exclusively intellectual in the sense that they are skill-focused. Noticeably absent is attention to the "whole person" so essential to the college experience, at least according to the president of Dillard University ("What Is College For?," 2013, para. 14). Such concerns are not absent from the HERI survey data, but faculty commitment to non-curricular dimensions of education

figures less prominently when compared with their allegiance to academic pursuits.

True, more than seventy percent (73.8%) of faculty respondents believe enhancing student self-understanding is essential or very important, and many see their role as helping students develop moral character (67%) or personal values (65.4%). Yet, only 52.6% believe it is essential or very important to cultivate students' commitment to community service or to contribute to students' emotional development (50.7%). Such valuing is not surprising given the fact that 91.3% of faculty also believe that the intellectual development of students is the highest or a high institutional priority, whereas only 30.4% believe providing resources for faculty to engage in community-based teaching or research is the highest or a high institutional priority. Faculty, it appears, are simply conforming to the institutional culture in which they are immersed. At best, these narrowly academic priorities will facilitate the acquisition of students' narrow and careerist goals. At worst, they will winnow out those students most at risk, who need supportive relationships in order to survive in college.

Faculty practice. How do faculty priorities and beliefs about the college experience translate into classroom practice? At the University of the Pacific, 100% of the faculty participating in the HERI survey reported that they perceive teaching as personally essential or very important. However, an analysis of responses to other questions highlights the reality that how faculty actualize their commitment to teaching varies widely even within one institution. Many faculty report using high impact practices (Kuh, 2008) that are conducive to student engagement, such as class discussion (82.6%), small group or cooperative learning (71.3%), and using real-life problems as a foundation for learning (63.8%). Fewer employ community service (3.8%), or reflective

writing (11.3%), or student-selected topics (18.8%), or experiential learning (22.6%) as a part of coursework. A number still rely on traditional teaching methods (e.g., 41.3% report using extensive lecturing). Even more use traditional assessment methods; most use some form of exam to measure student understanding and report using competency-based (as opposed to process-based) grading. Of the teaching practices identified on the HERI survey as "student-centered pedagogy," Pacific faculty were similar to faculty at comparison institutions, scoring higher in four of the nine categories and lower in only one category.⁴ That said, there is a gender skew that could impact student experience. On average, half of the female faculty report using student-centered pedagogy; whereas just under one-third of male faculty report using student-centered pedagogy. This is on par with national norms, although Pacific's female faculty outpace their female counterparts at other universities in several categories. However, in some areas where women employ more student-centered pedagogy than female faculty at comparison schools, men use *less* than male faculty at comparison schools.⁵ Thus, whether students predominantly have male or female professors might affect their learning and engagement experiences.

The real point here is the existence of mixed messages. On one hand, 85.1% of faculty state they believe that professors are institutionally rewarded for being good teachers. On the other hand, there is evidence that the range of pedagogical best practices

⁴ The spread on the four higher scores ranges from 3.35 percentage-points higher (on use of student evaluation of each others' work) to 5.65 percentage-points higher (on use of group projects) to 10.3 percentage-points higher (on use of student presentations) to 18.75 percentage-points higher (on use of cooperative learning). Virtually identical rankings exist on use of class discussion, experiential learning/field studies, student-selected topics for course content, and use of student inquiry to drive learning. The spread on the lower score is 3.5 percentage-points lower (on use of reflective writing).

⁵ On "use of student-selected topics for course content," women rank 8.2 percentage-points *higher* than female faculty at comparison schools; men rank 9.3 percentage points *lower* than male faculty at comparison schools. On "using student inquiry to drive learning," women rank 6.1 percentage-points *higher* than female faculty at comparison schools; men rank 6.15 percentage points *lower* than male faculty at comparison schools.

is underutilized. On one hand, faculty care about students' emotional well-being; while on the other, they believe they must focus primarily on student intellectual development. This represents a kind of dissonance that might make it difficult for a professor to be fully effective or reflective. It may also suggest the presence of a hidden culture that works at cross-purposes against overt or stated intentions. Faculty members' beliefs and actions may appear at odds because institutional acculturation may unconsciously influence behavior.

Perhaps the best way of ascertaining the impact of these dissonant pedagogical practices is to return to the student data from the 2013 CIRP survey. Over one-third (35.2%) of students in the sample under review reported they were frequently bored in class. Such boredom might be linked to the fact that many reported frequently or occasionally failing to complete required homework (51.6%), coming late to class (50.3%), and/or falling asleep in class (48.9%). Moreover, students appeared to feel disconnected from the faculty. Less than half of the surveyed students sought feedback from faculty on their academic work (49.3%), asked questions in class (49.1%), or asked advice from professors outside of class (31.2%). Most startling is the fact that, on the HERI survey, 98.8% of faculty reported that they believe it is easy for students to see their professors outside of class. They believed that they encourage students to ask questions in class 100% of the time and to seek feedback on academic work 97.6% of the time. These differences between student and faculty perceptions intimate that some faculty are not particularly aware of how students experience their classes. But, *why* are students not seeking faculty support? One explanation is that the students simply do not care that much about their academic work; however, such a claim is belied by the fact

that students seem to seek *each other* out at a very high rate. On the CIRP survey, 90.8% of students reported that they study with other students. This suggests learning relationships may, indeed, be being built, but faculty members are being excluded from them. The question remains: Why?

Surveys alone are too general to provide adequate answers to such questions, as in the previous example where it is impossible to know precisely what students mean when they say they “study together.” Therefore, subsequent chapters of this dissertation will explore the deep nature of student learning needs as articulated by students themselves, will seek alignment between pedagogical and assessment protocols that foster the kind of student development articulated in our leaders' visions, and will reveal the foundations of faculty identity development that work across student development needs.

Chapter Previews

The discontinuities revealed in the previous sections translate into one general research question: In what ways does institutional culture influence teaching practices and student engagement? Answering that question requires breaking it down into related, component parts and targeting the focus of inquiry. Because of my own background and position in the university, the writing classroom is the site where I have both responsibility and influence; therefore, it seems an apt venue for investigating parts of my research questions. However, findings should not be perceived as limited to writing classrooms but as potentially applying broadly to teaching and learning throughout higher education. That said, the first two articles in this dissertation are based on assessment projects performed in the course of my work as director of university writing programs and directly involve the same cohort of students whose CIRP survey data was shared in

the previous section. The third article explicitly extends beyond the confines of the Pacific population to speak about the more widespread experiences of the professoriate at different institutions.

In the first article (Chapter 2), I explore reasons why students might become disengaged from the learning process and what reconnects them. Given the link between student engagement and self-efficacy (Walker, Greene, & Mansell, 2006), I focus my research around the question: How is writing self-efficacy forged in the learning relationship between student and instructor? In the second article (Chapter 3), I examine the conflicts college teachers experience in responding to student writing while simultaneously navigating institutional demands for quantitative assessment data and student learning needs. The question that guides this section is: In what ways, if any, do traditional assessment protocols impact teaching practice and student development? Findings in these two articles may reveal the presence of unseen institutional forces that influence faculty practice and may unconsciously undermine the best pedagogical intentions. In the third article (Chapter 4), I uncover the sources and impact of these unseen institutional forces by answering: In what ways, if any, does institutional culture shape faculty identity, and what is gained or lost in the process?

In Chapter 5, I offer my conclusions, reflections and recommendations that result from grappling with these questions and examining the lived experiences of students and faculty. My hope is that sharing these findings with other educational leaders will help undergird collective efforts to create a flourishing academy where all constituents can thrive. To accomplish this, we must not only better align best practices with best

intentions, we must also focus faculty development efforts to allow for the recognition and avoidance of obstacles that may unconsciously impede progress.

In the next sections, I expand upon the brief discussion of each article given above by providing abstracts as a way of previewing the research that has shaped this dissertation. The sequence of the following sections begins with students and ends with faculty, but it is the relationship between students and faculty that is the focus of my overarching analysis. It is my contention that the purposes of higher education are heavily influenced by the cultures of institutions and that an understanding of culture requires careful consideration of the perspectives and experiences of stakeholders and of the ways in which their views align or diverge.

Chapter Two research question. In what ways is writing self-efficacy forged in the learning relationship between student and instructor?

Article abstract: Building on previous studies of college students' writing self-efficacy beliefs, this article presents the empirical foundation for a re-conceptualized understanding of the writing self-efficacy development process. One hundred and thirty one college freshmen enrolled in a remedial writing course were assessed holistically and studied using grounded theory methodology. This article identifies major theoretical categories that show the nature of students' initial pessimism about themselves as writers and senses of learned helplessness. It also reveals a subsequent shift toward optimism and self-efficacy triggered by a particular relationship formed with their instructors, the nature of which is the core of the new mediated-efficacy theory. Directions for college composition pedagogy are explored with particular attention paid to challenging some common assumptions.

Keywords: writing self-efficacy, college composition, pedagogy, and holistic assessment.

Chapter Three research question. In what ways, if any, do traditional assessment practices impact student development?

Article abstract. This article is a reflective piece discussing my role as director of University Writing Programs tasked with the responsibility of determining the success of a new composition course. Several conundrums emerged based on diverging results obtained from two different assessment approaches and as compared with instructor grades. Moreover, writing instructors behaved quite differently when acting as objective scorers than when grading their students' essays, even when using the same rubric for both. This article unpacks these diverging results and critiques not only the methods but the underlying, implicit premises behind commonly used assessment techniques. Further, this article shows that traditional positivistic assessment rubrics, designed to scrutinize a single writing performance, are unwieldy and limit student growth by constraining an instructor's ability to teach and grade for expertise. The article connects student learning with faculty development in describing how this constraint is felt by many writing teachers as a conflict between the intuitive and motivational dimensions of the grading process and the objective and rational detachment required of external evaluators. The article concludes with a call for new rubrics that privilege writing expertise, account for the difficulty of that development, and reflect developmentally appropriate benchmarks.

Keywords: writing assessment, college teaching, grading rubrics, writing expertise, faculty development

Chapter Four research question. In what ways, if any, does institutional culture shape faculty identity, and what is gained or lost in the process?

Article abstract. Many faculty enter the professoriate with high ideals. They have identity conceptions of themselves as potential change-agents, expanding human knowledge and contributing to the greater good. Over time, for many, this idealism fades and is replaced with job dissatisfaction and bitterness. This study uses social reproduction theory and intersectionality as frames to explore faculty identity development by examining the ways academic socialization into a competitive, hierarchical system privileges certain aspects of an individual's identity while imperiling others. In presenting data based on hour-long qualitative interviews with six mid-career university faculty members in the social sciences or humanities, the specific mechanisms that trigger this change are revealed. These lost or hidden dimensions may be the very source of not just personal gratification, but also academic renewal and pluralistic integration. Further, they may be the wellspring of better connections between pedagogical practice and student learning needs.

Keywords: *faculty identity, higher education, social reproduction theory, Bourdieu, intersectionality*

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Chapter Two -- Using Holistic Assessment to Create a Grounded Theory of First-Year College Writers' Self-Efficacy Development

Perhaps because of the seemingly magical act of making words appear on blank paper, the complexity of the writing task is often underestimated or misunderstood by student writers and college teachers alike. As a result, students can misinterpret their struggles as mere laziness (McLeod, 1987), and teachers can conflate “writing-like” activities (e.g., grammar worksheets) with “actual writing” and, thus, mistake their roles as being primarily “language cops” (Newkirk, 2009, p. 50). In truth, composition scholars are clear: Writing is a complex literacy task that develops slowly and often idiosyncratically (Carroll, 2002), and it involves embracing the contrary dispositions of open exploration and rigorous critique of ideas (Elbow, 1983). Bruning and Horn (2000) describe writing as “a tremendously complex problem-solving act involving memory, planning, text generation, and revision” (p. 26) that engenders unique motivational challenges.

Theoretical Context: Human Motivation and Self-Efficacy Theory

No one model has influenced the field of human motivation like Bandura's sociocognitive theory of self-efficacy (Pajares, 2003b). Bandura (1986, 1993, 1997) posited that the beliefs people hold about their capabilities can better predict their behavior than their actual abilities can. He explained this recursive phenomenon by demonstrating that a sense of self-efficacy influences the choices people make, the amount of effort they expend on a given task, their persistence in the face of adversity,

the way they intellectually conceptualize tasks, and the way they respond emotionally to challenges. He emphasizes that these beliefs are not innate but are derived from four external sources: mastery experiences (e.g., undertakings interpreted by the individual as successful), social comparison and modeling (e.g., perceptions of relative competence), feedback received from others (e.g., labeling), and physiological states (e.g., anxiety or calm). Thus, self-efficacy beliefs can be either positively or negatively influenced by an individual's social environment and can connect to the degree to which the individual has a sense of agency in the face of this environment (i.e., an internal or external locus of control).

Writing self-efficacy and student performance. In the years since Bandura (1986) developed the theory, subsequent research has shown that the educational importance of self-efficacy beliefs should not be underestimated. These beliefs can affect career choices and "are correlated with other motivation constructs and with students' academic performance and achievement (Pajares, 1996, 1997)" (Pajares, 2003b, p. 141). Notable, for this article, is the degree to which self-efficacy beliefs pertain to student writing performance. As one pioneer in this research field concluded:

If writing difficulties result not only from an inability to solve writing problems, but also from one's own decision that one is unable to solve them, then one important step in improving writing would be to strengthen individuals' self-efficacy expectations about their writing ability. (McCarthy, Meier, & Rinderer, 1985, p. 466)

Indeed, in the years since the concept was created, many studies have clearly linked writing self-efficacy beliefs to student achievement (Pajares, 2003b; Prat-Sala & Redford,

2012; Shell, Murphy, & Bruning, 1989), as well as linking self-efficacy beliefs to various teaching or assessment strategies.

Without going into exhaustive detail, the following scholars are worth noting for their work linking self-efficacy and teaching: Usher and Pajares (2006) describe the importance of classroom climates where teachers create *invitations* for developing self-efficacy. Burelson and Picard (n.d.) suggest teachers see themselves as affective agents or models who can help students navigate pathways through challenges. This might include using inquiry-based teaching to foster self-efficacy (Featonby, 2012) or using metacognition to develop aspects of self-efficacy, like student self-regulation (Harris, Graham, Friedlander, & Laud, 2013) or self-directed learning (Martinez & McGrath, 2013).

These kinds of teaching strategies are often linked to various learner-centered assessment techniques. Bembenuddy (2011) advocates starting with meaningful writing assignments, rather than requiring rote regurgitation, to cultivate self-efficacy. Others have explored ways of building self-efficacy during the writing process -- through writing conferences and peer review (Bayaktar, 2013; Hussein & Al-Ashri, 2013) or process portfolios (Nicolaidou, 2012). Once the drafting process is complete, summative assessment must be carefully designed so as not to unravel earlier self-efficacy gains. Pulfrey, Buchs, and Butera (2011) describe how grades lead students to create performance-avoidance goals, as opposed to the kind of autonomous motivation associated with self-efficacy. Alternately, Covill (2013) has demonstrated that when students assess their own writing, their writing beliefs and practices are shaped in desirable ways.

Other scholars have explored how affective dimensions of self-efficacy impact motivation. Most fully studied is the role writing anxiety plays in undermining student self-efficacy (Bruning & Horn, 2000; McLeod, 1987). Other examples are Pajares and Johnson (1994), who shows that self-efficacy beliefs can mediate the influence of variables such as writing apprehension on writing performance. Mascle (2013) examines writing anxiety as a barrier to the transfer of writing skills from one domain to another, and Driscoll and Wells (2012) call for the fostering of student dispositions, including self-efficacy beliefs, to overcome transfer barriers. Other researchers, like Bruning, Dempsey, Kauffman, McKim, & Zumbrunn (2012), have identified student reports of simply liking or enjoying writing as linked to self-efficacy.

One common denominator amongst all of this research is the degree to which scholars have relied on quantitative self-efficacy scales to measure student beliefs. This reliance is easily explained by the fact that the concept of self-efficacy was developed by a cognitive psychologist who was interested in data that could be replicated, generalized, and correlated. All along Bandura (2006) offered clear guidelines, which he codified in various iterations, as to how instruments should be designed, urging such scales be calibrated to students' developmental levels and learning contexts within a specific domain. Following these parameters, compositionists have developed various writing self-efficacy scales (McCarthy, Meier, & Rinderer, 1985; Pajares, 2007; Pajares, Harteley, & Valiante, 2001; Pajares & Valiante, 1999), usually brief questionnaires or surveys asking students to rate their confidence in their capabilities to use various writing skills. Such scales are easy to score and have been well-tested over the past 20 years as reliable and valid measures of self-efficacy. Thus, they have been used, sometimes in

modified form, by many subsequent researchers to correlate particular pedagogical interventions with writers' self-efficacy. Other scales have been developed to capture sub-components of self-efficacy, such as student beliefs and feelings about writing (Lavelle, 1993; Piazza & Siebert, 2008; White & Bruning, 2005).

However, the dominant ways writing self-efficacy beliefs have been studied are somewhat limited: Either they have focused too exclusively on student performance and too little on process, or they have only examined one dimension of student self-efficacy development. Certainly, showing connections between self-efficacy beliefs and writing performance is important. It is equally important to know *how* and *why* self-efficacy affects performance. But, often those researchers looking at specific pedagogical tools, i.e., self-assessment (Covill, 2013) or progress feedback (Duijnhouwer, Prins, & Stokking, 2010), narrowly analyze only one teaching technique, use scales to measure possible self-efficacy growth, and claim correlations. Herein lies the problem. It is hard to know from this kind of research what actually *causes* self-efficacy development. Although, there might be correlations between using a particular teaching strategy and efficacy gains, other (perhaps multiple) factors might be the actual source of those gains. Moreover, scales are reductionistic instruments, subsuming all of the writing process into a Likert-scaled list of close-ended parts that could prime and therefore limit student responses. Further, the scales themselves often have been constructed in an *a priori* fashion: Experts gather and list the writing attributes *they* believe are relevant but which might not adequately capture the full range of student experience. Even researchers who recognize these problems (e.g., Schmidt & Alexander, 2012) often try to construct a better scale rather than turning to other instruments or methodologies. It is a bit like

trying to build a better mousetrap when you might actually not want to be catching mice at all. Mice may be part of your pest problem, but other, perhaps even unseen or unimagined, menaces may also be threats. You might be better off trying to capture more of what is actually out there. Or, to depart from my metaphor, gather different kinds of data.

To be clear, my intention is not to discredit any of the previous research, but due to the ways that self-efficacy has been measured and due to the static nature of many of the research designs, the field has failed to reach a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the reciprocal and socially-situated nature of the development of writing self-efficacy, nor has the field made sufficient progress in determining how to best promote self-efficacy for writing in a way that is not reduced to a single-isolated strategy. The current study attempts to address these limitations.

Using Grounded Theory to Gather Different Kinds of Data

As mentioned previously, research into non-cognitive elements of student learning are hardly new. Even when self-efficacy theory was first posited, there was a demand for a more holistic understanding of

...how we can help students value their own abilities, how we can reward effort in suitable ways, and how we can clarify evaluation procedures and standards in order to show students that we are not judging them arbitrarily, but against a measure they can understand and internalize. (McLeod, 1987, p. 430)

Such understanding is rooted in student affect. Yet, affect is not easily quantified or predicted. Two students can react to the same kind of teacher feedback in radically different ways, depending, in part, on temperament and past experiences. Pajares (2003a)

published a jeremiad against trends in educational psychology that favored cognitive science, neuroscience, behavioral genetics and evolutionary psychology over the philosophical thinking "that will guide investigators toward the metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical questions and methods that will be at the heart of scientific advancement" (p. 180). He derided positivism, asserting

the discipline would be well served by placing more emphasis on ecologically grounded investigations and less emphasis on survey-type studies, giving greater value to sound qualitative efforts and less to decontextualized quantitative methods that serve little function other than to confuse lay readers and practitioners and to provide fodder for psychometricians in search of a problem (Robinson, 1993). (p. 179)

This comes from the very person who constructed one of the first writing self-efficacy evaluation scales! Thus, I turn to qualitative measures of student writing self-efficacy beliefs.

By no means are qualitative or mixed methods studies absent from the literature, but they, too, tend to focus narrowly on a single issue, like writing anxiety (Martinez, Kock, & Cass, 2011; Woodrow, 2011), or on a specific intervention, like writing conferences (Bayraktar, 2013). As Bruning and Horn (2000) put it, "Less is known about the patterns of beliefs that students hold about writing and how they develop" (p. 29). To capture a better understanding of these multidimensional patterns of beliefs, this study uses a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory's *a posteriori* methodology allows the researcher to remain unfettered by prior expectations or by frameworks that might obscure essential details or "may perpetuate ideals that could be refined, transcended or

discarded" (Charmaz, 1983, p. 111). The grounded theory approach "puts the focus on concepts that fit and are relevant" (Glaser, 2012, p. 28) to the actual process under investigation. In this case, my intention was to shift the focus from any particular pedagogical interventions and instead develop a meta-understanding of the multiple and synergistic sources of writing self-efficacy development. Other scholars have recognized grounded theory has particular value in composition studies because "it doesn't require us to simplify the complex acts of writing and teaching" (Migliaccio & Melzer, 2011, p. 79) and results in conclusions that have relevant applications to practice.

In this case, to capture exactly "what is going on" (Glaser, 2012, p. 28) for our first-year college writers, I used a quantitative learning inventory to obtain general information about elements of student writing self-efficacy growth over the course of our semester-long course. However, my main focus was on subsequent analysis of pre-and-post student-written narratives, which not only ultimately confirmed the results of the learning inventory but also lent a richness and texture to my understanding. By allowing students to write freely, more authentic themes could be uncovered than might otherwise be formed using researcher-generated interview questions. Ultimately, these open-ended narratives revealed components of learned helplessness that students brought into their freshmen composition course and subsequently demonstrated how students experienced gains in writing self-efficacy. Writing instructors must understand the dimensions of this learned helplessness before they can begin to select appropriate pedagogical strategies for facilitating student empowerment.

Research Context and Background

To better align with core principles for transforming remedial education ("Core Principles," 2012), in 2013 my university piloted a revised approach to our developmental writing program. Previously, students whose SAT scores indicated they were under-prepared in reading and writing were required to take a sequence of remedial courses before taking our interdisciplinary first-year seminar, which also serves as the college-level writing requirement for all incoming students. Instead, in 2013 we enrolled those freshmen who appeared to be *somewhat* under-prepared in reading and writing (SAT-writing score between 450 and 500) in special sections of the first-year seminar course and provided a weekly supplemental 100-minute studio aimed at delivering intensive writing instruction, practice, and feedback for those students who would have previously been required to take an additional, separate writing class. To remain consistent with the tenants of grounded theory (Glaser, 1992), beyond this "developmental writer" designation, we did not assume the relevance of any particular demographic data as we examined the student pool. Nevertheless, because we deliberately sought to create conditions where student writing self-efficacy could flourish, several things are notable about how the ten sections of the Seminar Plus Studio were designed and supported.

Course structure. First, we were intentional in our structural design. To build a sense of community, demonstrate the value we placed on writing, maintain clear lines of communication, and make sure all students received individualized attention, we kept class sizes small (at 15 students), required the same seminar instructor also serve as

studio instructor, and kept the same cohort of students together in both seminar and studio. In essence, writing studios were simply extensions of regular class time.

Instructor selection and learning objectives. To further engender student self-efficacy, we tried to optimize faculty self-efficacy. The connection between the two has been well-documented in the literature: Students develop more self-efficacy from teachers who are also self-efficacious (Bandura, 1993; McLeod, 1995). Therefore, we selected instructors who had a wealth of past teaching experience and demonstrated confidence in their ability. Eight of the nine instructors had taught the seminar course previously; three instructors had explicit training and experience teaching developmental writing. Because we wanted each instructor to teach from his or her strengths, the class itself was a curricular hybrid. The seminar course component shared a common syllabus, course reader, and writing requirements (4,000 words of formal essays, plus 2,000 words of additional writing). However, the specific content and pedagogical strategies for the studios varied by instructor. For example, some of us wrote along with our students and embedded ourselves as fellow writers in the class; others did not. Some of us used technology (e.g., on-line blogging); others did not. Some of us delivered more top-down instruction while others encouraged students to derive writing rules from their own rhetorical practice.

The pedagogical context for this study diverges from most previous research in that we were not seeking to test any particular teaching tool; we wanted to draw on our own self-efficacy as instructors to optimize conditions where student self-efficacy could flourish. Had we been testing a new teaching strategy, we might have felt less confident. Thus, as our individual teaching styles and preferences were honored, we were more apt

to feel efficacious. Given the self-efficacy gains all students demonstrated across all sections, our approach seems to not only have been effective but suggests that self-efficacy development is less about any particular teaching tool and more about other, larger factors.

There were various general course components we did agree on: We agreed that the studio work would be ungraded, would be directly linked to the formal writing assignments required in the course, and would be peer reviewed. We agreed that grammar and mechanics would primarily be taught rhetorically, embedded in specific writing contexts (Micciche, 2013). We agreed our focus would be on helping students develop a strong purpose for their argumentative essays, craft appropriate support for those arguments, and discover strategies for optimizing coherence. Moreover, the instructors embraced increasing student writing self-efficacy as the single most important learning outcome for the studio portion of the course. While we were also concerned about student performance, we were aware that it is often unrealistic to expect to see measurable gains in writing ability over the course of just one semester (Carroll, 2002). Therefore, one of the things we were curious about was the degree to which students' senses of overall self-efficacy as writers, independent of writing *abilities*, was detectable in a semester. Also, our belief was that by cultivating writing self-efficacy, students would reap long-term benefits over the course of their college careers because the recursive effect of writing self-efficacy might cause them to take more writing classes in the future, or, at least, would prevent them from shying away from future writing demands.

Instructor training and support. To support those goals, instructors attended four formal workshops over the course of the semester. The first provided an overview of Bandura's self-efficacy theory as it pertains to college student writers. The second featured ways of responding to student writing to optimize self-efficacy development. The third examined ways of crafting writing assignment as mastery experiences. The fourth focused on ways peer review response groups could be used for modeling. Additionally, there were two informal meetings where faculty had the opportunity to reflexively touch base with one another, swap ideas, and share triumphs and tribulations. As director of writing programs, I served as facilitator for all of these workshops and meetings, which meant there was a single resource person everyone had access to as well as a network of peer support.

Assessment Strategies and Results

Because we wanted to understand self-efficacy development holistically, we used multiple measures to document student growth. I designed a learning inventory that students completed at the end of the semester; in addition, students wrote pre-and-post self-assessment narratives. I evaluated the inventory statistically; whereas the writing self-assessment narratives were scored by a team using both a rubric and open coding techniques. The hope was that these multiple approaches would capture a complete picture of the lived experience (the actual nature and process) of student writing self-efficacy development and would help inform future pedagogical practice.

The learning inventory: Like some of the self-efficacy scales mentioned earlier, our inventory asked students to consider specific writing skills (e.g., concepts related to the writing process, focus, support, coherence, correctness, and style) that were drawn

from the grading rubric that had been used throughout the semester. However, our inventory also included more detailed items or questions not found on most self-efficacy scales. Again, our purpose was not to simply measure gains but to figure out how such gains came about. Because we wanted to uncover possible gaps between the abstract *understanding* of a writing concept and the internalized ability to *apply* that idea, we asked students to self-evaluate each of those in separate categories. Further, the inventory asked students to indicate the degree to which they felt they had made gains in various affective dimensions of the writing process. In another section, we identified those components of instruction most linked with the pillars self-efficacy development (e.g., models of effective writing, a supportive classroom climate, peer feedback) and writing learning (e.g., formal instruction, regular writing practice, instructor feedback and conferencing), then asked students to identify both *how often* they encountered each of these over the course of the semester and *how important* they felt each was to their learning. Finally, we asked four questions about whether aspects of the studio structure were important for their learning.

The inventory results [see Appendix A] were overwhelmingly positive and somewhat surprising. Some highlights include: Of the student responses received ($n=132$), 90% of students reported “somewhat” or “a lot” more understanding of writing elements than at the start of the semester, and nearly 92% reported “somewhat” or “a lot” more belief in their abilities to apply those concepts in their own writing. These results indicate that students perceived that instructors were delivering appropriate content effectively. In terms of the students' affective experiences of the course ($n=131$), 92% agreed they were stronger as writers, 87% were more confident writers, 77% had

developed their voices as writers, and 57% enjoyed writing more than they did at the beginning of the semester. Admittedly, it would be wonderful had all students reported they enjoyed writing more at the end of the semester, but given the number who reported in their narratives *hating* writing at the start of the semester, the fact so many reported enjoying it by semester's end, with 34% feeling neutral, attests to our progress.

Regarding structural components of the course, 91% of students reported "having the same group of students for both my writing studio and discussion section" and 97% believed "having the same instructor for both my writing studio and discussion section" were somewhat or extremely important for their learning. These items indicate something important about the relationships forged in the class, a theme that will be further explored later in this article.

What was surprising about these results had to do with our expectations. We expected that we would be able to run some correlation studies, linking self-reported self-efficacy development with course grades. Knowing that writing skills take a long time to develop, we did not expect to see huge gains in grades over the course of a single semester, but we did expect some students would be stronger writers than others. We hypothesized that, perhaps, those students with the highest levels of self-efficacy or with the greatest gains in self-efficacy would also be the top performers in the class. However, such high numbers of students (92%), with both higher and lower grades, reporting significant self-efficacy gains suggests that self-efficacy development might be independent from grade performance.

Some limitations of the inventory data could have to do with the fact that results represent student self-reported information. While Ross's (2006) work on self-reporting

suggests our procedures may have been both reliable and valid, had we been seeking information about student *learning*, it would have been essential to confirm student self-reports with direct evidence. However, our intention was to measure *self-efficacy development*. Given that self-efficacy itself is an internal construct, it seemed valid to use student self-reports. A more legitimate critique might reside in claims of researcher effect influencing student response. We were certainly not just hoping, but actively working to create student self-efficacy gains – the very results we discovered. Moreover, students completed the assessment measures – both the inventory and the narrative samples – while they were still enrolled in the class. We did assure them that their answers on the survey were anonymous and the writing samples were ungraded, but there could have been an element of students giving us what they thought we wanted to hear. This is why the qualitative data is, perhaps, the more interesting because while students may have been, in part, giving us what we wanted to hear, the fact that *they knew* what we wanted to hear is in itself significant. Also, it is likely much harder to fake an open-ended narrative that asks for personal reflection on one's abilities and for specific details to support those claims than it is to circle a high number on a survey. However, we make no grand claims that our findings are generalizable beyond our sample population. That said, we also believe we offer valuable insights into dimensions of first-year college student experience and effective teaching practice that facilitated self-efficacy development.

Pre-and-post writing narratives. While we were certainly interested in the student responses on the learning inventory, the survey primarily provided us with general, foundational themes. It did not allow us to capture the rich flavor of student

experience. We could see that they believed they had made writing self-efficacy gains, but we could not tell what those gains actually meant. Therefore, we were even more curious about what students had to say about themselves as writers in two open-ended writing assignments. In those, themes were not set by researcher pre-determined categories; they were unlimited, identified and developed by the students. At the very first studio meeting of the semester, students were asked to write for 50-minutes describing their strengths and weaknesses as writers, drawing on personal experiences to illustrate their points. This sample served as a narrative pre-test, informing us about the levels of writing self-efficacy our students had upon entering the class. At the end of the semester, we repeated this identical writing exercise with the added instruction that they should think about their strengths and weaknesses in light of what they had experienced over the course of the semester.

We evaluated and coded these pre-and-post narrative tests three ways. First, we developed a scoring rubric to identify levels of five components of writing self-efficacy. [See Appendix B.] Because the students in our population were badged “remedial writers,” we suspected some may have had experiences in their high school classes that were debilitating or destructive to their sense of writing self-efficacy. Consequently, we included evidence of *negative* self-efficacy, as well as positive levels of empowerment and self-efficacy, in the range of possible rubric scores. The instructor team spent several hours ensuring inter-rater reliability using anchor papers to norm our scores with the rubric. This took time because most instructors were accustomed to using rubrics to evaluate student writing ability but not self-efficacy. We had to recognize that a student with a high self-efficacy score would demonstrate strong evidence of an overall belief in

his/her ability to write, of having had mastery experiences, of utilizing positive modeling, of reduced writing anxiety and increased positive affect, and of positive social agency. Once the team achieved clarity on what markers we were looking for and achieved consistency in our ratings, we scored sets of the student narratives.

Secondly, based on those scores, instructors were asked to identify five students from their groups who had made the most gains in writing self-efficacy. For example, this could have included a student who scored a -5 on the pretest and a 15 on the post-test, or some range within those parameters. For those “top 5 gainers,” instructors wrote one-paragraph qualitative summaries of the key student-identified elements that characterized her or his growth over the semester. These summaries, along with the students’ original work, were all turned over to me for a third phase of across-section comprehensive coding using the constant comparative method to conceptualize from the data (Glaser, 2001). While I was specifically looking for the characteristics of writing self-efficacy with which these students began and ended the semester, I was also searching for the core categories that emerged as the key elements of the process. Once I established these core categories by noting the frequency with which students referred to specific experiences (shared in upcoming sections), I reported back to the instructor team for member checking. Upon receiving confirmation of validity, I proceeded to write my findings. In my report, I quote the students’ own language to honor their agency; however, my specific selections are also emblematic of larger themes. Pseudonyms are used throughout both to protect student identity and to also allow readers to track how individual student responses changed between the pre-and -post narratives.

Theme One: Perceived Barriers to Effective Writing and Elements of Negative Self-Efficacy

Almost all of the students had good working vocabularies for elements of effective writing. They seemed to know what they were supposed to do (e.g., have a clear thesis statement), meaning their struggles were not for a lack of conceptual awareness but had to do with an inability to *apply* these concepts in their own writing. Further, it was sometimes hard to distinguish between cause and effect because of the recursive nature of how self-efficacy develops: Something that may in itself be a product of negative self-efficacy becomes, in turn, a driver for further decreased self-efficacy. That said, the four categories identified here – disengagement, fear of judgment, conflation, and collapse -- came from those things students described as their “weaknesses” as writers, and, as they mainly come from the writing students did on the first day of class, they refer to their high school experiences. Such information is useful because sometimes college teachers fall into a *tabula rasa* trap: Instructors don’t know what educational contexts our freshmen have come from, and even the students themselves, seeking a fresh start, can be eager to jettison the past. But, this past can affect the present and impede teaching effectiveness.

Disengagement: “Boring topics about books you didn’t like.” Many students described struggling with the “weird” topics their teachers provided on which they were required to write. Jennifer recalled:

Growing up I always had this fascinating dream of becoming a writer. I loved writing for pure fun and creating stories; however, something changed once I entered high school. Having a teacher assign you a boring topic about a book you

did not even like reading crushed every last hope I ever had for becoming a writer.

These were essay assignments over which students had no control. Students perceived them as limiting their creativity and range of expression. Mario reported, “My teacher knew ahead of time what my answers were supposed to be.” There was no hope for engagement – “I almost couldn’t care less about [high school essay prompts].” Writing was done to please someone else in order to fulfill an extrinsic agenda. It was seen as “regurgitation,” not exploration, “not fun.”

Fear of Judgment: “A long scary rollercoaster.” Compounding the problem of rigid and narrow essay topics was the student sense that their writing was going to be harshly judged. Jennifer lamented, “I feel I have just been beaten down with everything I have ever written.” Many had the sense that they were being set up to fail and that their teachers took pleasure in inflicting that failure. Tara described, “Writing felt like going on a long scary rollercoaster with the Grinch anxiously waiting on the other side to judge me.” She saw herself as out-of-control and headed into certain doom. Others feared different, but equally harsh, external agents, like the Advanced Placement system’s strict scoring rubric. Harris recalled,

As I wrote my essay I was enthusiastic and full of energy...but after I received my essay back, I had an imposing 2 on the top of my paper (on a scale of 9).

Once I saw this I realized that my writing must have sucked really badly and that I was going to struggle in English and writing for all throughout high school.

For the students, such judgment seemed impossible to predict or control. Regardless of who or what was doing the actual judging, many felt what Jennifer observed, “There has

been no positive feedback for a long time.” Mei-lee explained, “My last English teacher was a huge stickler for grammar, which has always been my struggle. I got docked many a point in her class because of my grammar.” Mario described being “weighted down by a red pen of death.” Sara commented, “Every time I received a paper back from editing, it would always look like someone had accidentally splattered ink on my paper.” Her adverb choice indicates that this kind of feedback felt random and casual; for her, editing is accidental and messy.

Conflation: “My handwriting is horrible, so I’m a bad writer.” Likely because of a sense that everything was open for arbitrary attack, students reported that they were often unable to discriminate parts from a whole. To them, “grammar” was the same thing as “writing.” Consequently, there was sometimes confusion or conflation of writing elements: Mario saw content as the same as style; handwriting and page formatting were as significant as thesis. In essence, writing was a single daunting monolith.

Collapse: “I have faith in myself at first, but soon accept defeat.” Because students perceived writing as an overwhelming monolith, most exhibited a lack of coping strategies for dealing with the natural setbacks that are part of the writing process. Jorge called it “hitting a brick wall.” From the specific, “In my head an idea will be there and I can put it on paper easily but revising it is a whole other story,” they leapt to the general: “Writing is just something I can say I am not that good at.” They had little awareness of techniques that could be mastered that might help. Instead, students described many states of being stuck: “If I don’t get stuck at the very beginning, once I start I still don’t know what to write.” Or, “I recall feeling stuck trying to reevaluate an essay and make it

into a final draft.” Being stuck led to a lack of resilience. Maggie reported, “The moment I hit a writer’s block. I disintegrate in my seat, doubt myself and almost feel obligated to accept defeat and failure.” Less dramatic, but still poignant was “I have the intellectual thinking, I just can’t seem to formulate it on paper very well” Or, “At times it is difficult to prove my point, I run out of ideas.” Or, “My mind is going faster than my fingers.”

Part of the reason for these underdeveloped coping skills may stem from an inability to self-assess one’s work. Mark wrote, “I wonder if this essay will come up to pass the college level requirements, or if I am just being a nervous nelly. I don’t really know what my writing strengths and weaknesses are.” After receiving a low grade on an essay in high school, Harris reported: “I just didn’t understand how I scored so low when I had the confidence and gave specific examples of what [the teacher] wanted.”

Some students knew they were grappling with old patterns that needed to be unlearned or modified in the new college context: “It has become a habit for me to restate what the author has already said.” Others recognized that specific kinds of writing were particularly vexing. For example, many talked about the anxiety they feel when asked to perform on-demand, timed writing. Such anxiety could be compounded by a tendency to compare oneself unfavorably with others. Maggie said, “During the SAT exams, I belittled my writing abilities because the scurrying of others’ pens made me nervous that my essay was not as good. I have faith in myself at first, but soon accept defeat.”

Core Categories: Pessimism and Learned Helplessness

These four areas where students located the sources of their writing weaknesses – a lack of control and intrinsic motivation, fear of judgment, writing element conflation,

and poor coping strategies -- proved to be both features of low self-efficacy and a breeding ground for some troubling thought patterns and emotions associated with writing. One might expect students who had had these sorts of experiences to express high levels of writing anxiety. This certainly was the case, resulting for some in a kind of obsessive over-concern. Maggie described: "I spent days and nights trying to perfect my final essay in even the smallest of ways." Tara explained, "When I write freely and with a topic I am passionate about, I can write confidently for hours, not feeling anxiety of (*sic*) what my teacher will think about my work and what grade I will get," implying that when conditions are otherwise her stress is high.

Alongside the anxiety were also high levels of negative emotion and demoralization. Kim, one of the students who exhibited the lowest levels of writing self-efficacy on the pre-test, wrote:

I have *never* been a very strong writer. English has *always* been the one class that I *hate* to go to *every single day*. The *only* strength I have as a writer is I get to the point. Which in many cases is *not a strength* at all. If I don't get stuck at the beginning, once I start I still don't know what to write. Although most of the time I have an idea in my head, I am *never* able to articulate it well on paper if at all. All throughout school I was *always* too short for length requirements whether it was a paper or a speech. *Neither of which I can execute*. [italics inserted for emphasis]

Most distressing about this example is the fact that these 116 words represent her entire output for the allotted 50-minutes. The concern is not that she lacked having much to say so much as the fact that *these* were the details she was able to share. Cognitive

psychologist Martin Seligman (2002) describes pessimists as those who believe that the results of negative events are permanent, that one experience of failure permeates all aspects of that experience, and that they themselves are to blame for failure. At the same time, pessimists exhibit a lack of agency to affect change. They believed that control resides in someone else's hands, and those hands are never going to reach out in friendship. Using this lens, it is easy to see that Kim has developed a pessimistic view of herself as a writer. She uses categorical terms (e.g., *never*, *always*), indicating her sense of permanence. Her negative writing experiences have also permeated to the extent that she hates going to English class very single day. She additionally undermines the one strength she thinks she might have and then blames herself for this state of affairs. Seligman's research has shown that pessimists are much more prone to giving up in the face of adversity, and pessimism can be linked to an even more severe state of learned helplessness, where people feel there is nothing they can do to control future outcomes. In her discussion of the affective domain of the writing process, McLeod (1987) pointed out that "some students who fail continually on a task learn to be helpless at that task and to see failure as inevitable on similar tasks – in many cases giving up before they have even begun" (p. 431). Therefore, as indicated in Kim's case, if an absence of student writing self-efficacy is actually a form of learned helplessness, then it may be particularly challenging to help such students become more effective writers because they are not just *unmotivated*, they may be *antimotivated*, believing themselves completely incapable of change.

Other students exhibited similar features of pessimistic thinking and learned helplessness. Luis believed an essay could be categorically doomed from the start: "I

believe that if I have a bad time with the topic, and my introduction doesn't attract the readers, then it would continue with the rest of the paper." He also attributes his failures to his own personal shortcomings: "I tend to be a lazy writer and just want to jump into the easy parts to get it over with." Certainly, people can be lazy writers, but another way of framing his difficulties might be to suggest that he is not motivated to work through set-backs. Such a lack of motivation might be explained by the fact that many of the students equated their worth as writers with the grades they received on their essays. Mei-lee joyfully began her reflection with "I wanted to be a writer when I grew up...writing makes me happy." But, this pleasure turned to pain. She explained:

Speaking two languages...I would write in a way that made sense to me, but in the English world, it didn't... I didn't know I was doing it wrong, until I received my first essay back with red marks all over it. I was shocked because I thought I did well on the essay... I was able to answer the prompt and expand my ideas, but with all the tenses and errors everywhere, it was just a barely passing writing.

Thus, her agency became externalized and she allowed her worth to be determined by the teacher.

In general, the language students used, or did not use, to describe themselves as writers at the beginning of the semester indicates an overwhelming sense of isolation. They perceived themselves as working alone in a hostile environment where the dreaded red pen lurks. They felt like sitting ducks – often aware of the elements of good writing but perplexed as to how to employ those elements in their own work, knowing they will be negatively branded for failing to live up to the instructor's expectations. This is not to say all students had given up. Some believed "I am trying and that's all that matters."

And, “I will get there someday!” Harris asserted, “I consider my enthusiasm in my writing one of my key strengths....I believe in my ideas.” The trick for writing instructors is to help all students develop this kind of enthusiasm and confidence. To accomplish this, future research might explore further the potential relationship between learned helplessness and low self-efficacy.

Theme Two: Perceived Facilitators of Effective Writing and Elements of Increased Self-Efficacy

Judging from the results of the learning inventory, by the end of the semester students saw significant gains in writing self-efficacy. Their post-test narratives revealed three key areas where that self-efficacy flourished: increased coping skills, personal agency, and critical distance.

Increased coping skills: “What helped me most was going in and talking.”

By semester’s end students had developed much stronger coping skills linked to a stronger sense of connection in a learning community. Many identified one-on-one conferences with their professors as transformative. Kim, who exhibited the least writing self-efficacy at the start of the semester, ended it asserting “I feel more comfortable about writing now and loved being able to come in and get help on several drafts to get the essay shaped into a strong piece that would get a good grade.” True, she is still concerned about her grade, but that comes last in the series; her feelings of comfort, love, and ability to receive help come first. Quite a contrast to the pessimism and negative emotions she expressed previously! Despite the fact that on the learning inventory some students felt peer review was not particularly important, many others wrote about the support systems they forged with both professor and peers. Valerie observed: “Peer reviews help me a lot. They have helped me understand that it’s not always going to be

perfect at first, but with revision it can almost get there. There is always room for improvement.” Chris admitted that he “used to just slap facts into my papers and thought that I was done.” He credited peer-editing workshops for the fact that, with a larger sense of audience, he now is “delving deeper into the topics I’ve chosen.” Jorge noted:

On the first essay I did not use my resources as I should have...I only met with [my professor] once, and for my second essay I visited her three times, and it showed in my paper. Also, I feel peer evaluation did help a little bit, just talking about your paper with another student, especially when you read it aloud to each other. So, I believe a strength I developed from this class is to use your resources as much as possible.

Many students discovered these sorts of resources and identified their utility in two dimensions: They came to see writing as a sum of manageable parts and became more accurate in self-assessment. Instead of globalized “bad writer” self-labeling, in recognizing that there were concrete things they could do to improve, they also developed more accurate understandings of their weaknesses as writers. Jorge actually identified this in his post-test assessment: “Another strength would be that I realized what my weaknesses are.” Eduardo noted: “In order to get better you have to realize where you are behind first. For me, realizing my two greatest weaknesses has helped me tremendously.” Although, he also admitted “It’s very hard to find those weaknesses and discover your strengths, but when you do, everything seems to fall into place.”

Conversely, some students realized they had falsely inflated senses of their writing abilities. Paradoxically their process deflation signaled increased self-efficacy. Luis discovered:

I had thought I had a thesis in my earlier papers but learned that I didn't, and without a thesis my paper wasn't complete. I have started to practice more on my thesis and am kind of starting to enjoy it because it's not as hard as I thought it was.

Mario reflected: "[N]ow I actually know what a thesis is made of; however, I realize I can be arrogant in the respect that I can find flaws in others and am oblivious to my own mistakes, which I can see needs to stop."

Accurately understanding one's weaknesses meant it became possible to find solutions. Elizabeth recognized:

I found that writing and reading over multiple drafts helps me get rid of this [tendency to restate an author's main ideas]... It's also hard for me to begin an essay...but lo and behold, there is a solution to this problem as well...an outline can help me map out my ideas better...[or I can give] up on doing it on my own and ask for help.

Eduardo had a similar experience: "It was hard for me to try and come up with a solution for fixing this weakness [not sticking to his main ideas and going off on tangents]."

However, he realized the essence of the problem had to do with failing to communicate effectively to his readers, so "to make this weakness better I would ask some peers of mine to read the essay and ask if anything was confusing." Thus, they each had created tool kits of strategies they could use to fix their specific writing problems. When Mei-lee got tutoring, she reported that she "saw that I was improving and becoming a better writer....If you set your mind to it and just practice, then everything will be fine."

Personal agency: “I have turned weakness into strength.” This sense of having resources at one’s disposal signaled a new sense of agency and empowerment. Alongside specific writing content (e.g., teaching what a thesis statement is), two specific pedagogical strategies seemed to have had the most impact. One was allowing students to generate their own essay topics or have essay topics emerge from class discussion. Again and again, for those students whose instructors allowed this, I saw comments like: “In high school they forced you to write in a specific way and write about what they wanted you to write, but here you have the freedom to write about what you want...I really enjoyed that.” Or,

[W]riting about things that I like to write and in a style that I like really changes the game, and I find it much more fun than before, and when I have more fun, I end up caring what I put into it and actually put an effort toward the supporting authors, evidence, and making a good focus (*sic*) on an issue.

Kim, with extremely low levels of writing self-efficacy at the semester’s start, concluded with “The biggest part of this class for me was that I don’t hate writing as much as I want to say I do, but when it is a topic I care about, I become very passionate.” She went on to describe how when she feels her own ideas are controlling the paper, she feels less anxiety about things like length requirements.

The second most impactful pedagogical strategy was the power of positive feedback that allowed students to view writing as a process where they could be active participants. As Valerie put it,

As long as I knew [*sic*] practicing and revising, I feel I will learn to have better confidence in my writing... I have benefitted from having a teacher that doesn’t

tell me everything that is wrong with my paper and instead tells me what is good about it [and] where I can improve.

Eduardo summed it up with:

My professor has helped me realize my actual potential writing skill and has pointed out my good writing and not just pointed out the bad part. It has helped me extremely because being confident while I write helps me have fun with my essay rather than worrying about if my writing sucks.

Or, as Tara said: “When you have better guidance, you get a better attitude; when you get a better attitude, an individual’s full potential can really come out.” Jennifer clarified a key distinction: “Sure getting an A on a paper is rewarding, but it’s not as meaningful as someone saying ‘I really enjoyed that paper; Good job!’” Seeing grades as less important signals a significant shift in motivation and self-regulation.

Critical distance: “You can complicate, extend and disagree with an author’s idea.” Along with engaging students in the writing process, this new sense of agency seemed to simultaneously provide students with some critical distance. They no longer felt like pawns being pushed around by prescribed length requirements, the rules of grammar, or the obligatory use of required readings. They felt they could own these things and turn them to their own advantages. Nowhere was this more striking than in their attitudes about the course reading. Students came to see that reading carefully gave them something to say in their essays. Elizabeth observed:

In the beginning when I had to use authors [in my essays], I noticed that I did not analyze their ideas as far as I could. But I discovered...that you can complicate,

extend, and disagree with an author's idea. When I understood these three concepts, I was better able to draw out creative analysis [in my essays].

Or, as Kim bluntly put it, "At first I felt that putting in authors was just a pain in the ass, but after writing the first two essays, I realized that it could actually help me make a better paper if I used them in the correct way and context."

To be able to have these kinds of epiphanies, students' must not only see themselves as writers, but they must see themselves in relationships with other writers. I mentioned previously the number of students who described positive experiences with peer reviewers. Jennifer took this a step further and saw the authors of the course readings as models for her own writing:

We have read so many authors this semester, and analyzing their work and the style they write with has helped me figure out the type of author that I want to be. All of the authors have helped me shape my voice and tone, my sentence structure, and ultimately helped me become more credible in my opinions by backing myself up with sources from the readings.

Core Categories: Optimism and Self-Efficacy

While no students ended the semester reporting they had become master writers, what was striking were the number who came to recognize writing as a process, and this resulted in more patient, realistic, and hopeful goals. Jorge observed,

How do I feel about myself as a writer now that I have taken [this] class? Well, I certainly feel more confident about how I write. I still feel as if I am not a great writer, but that takes time, and that is what I realized in [this] class.

This movement from achievement goals (i.e., getting the paper finished, getting a good grade) to process goals signals a shift from the helplessness of pessimism to the self-efficacy of optimism. According to Seligman (2002, 2006) optimists see adversity as fleeting, context-dependent, and manageable. They are, thus, able to see themselves as capable of persevering through challenges and, by doing so, acquire self-efficacy (Pajares, 2001). I cannot begin to quote all of the student lines reflecting their insights into the writing process. Two stood out. Maggie summed up the whole idea:

My weaknesses are not so much things that devalue my writing, but they are more works in progress. They are fixable. I can just keep working on how I revise essays, especially my own. My strengths and weaknesses do not define me as a writer; they just shape me into the student I am today.

Perhaps Tara was most poetic: “Now I feel like writing is taking a canoe ride down a lake, it may be a long ride, but at the end it’s breathtaking.”

In addition to seeing writing as a process, other students stopped seeing their struggles as unique and alienating. Harris realized “There are still some areas where I can improve my writing. Not as bad as it sounds, these are places where not just me, but where a lot of people seem to struggle.” They expressed less anxiety, even if it was just “I don’t really dread writing anymore.” Many articulated increased self-efficacy as having discovered their “voices” as writers. Others commented on feeling “freer.” Some talked about “enjoyment,” “passion,” and “pride” in their writing.

While it was not our primary intention here, powerful future research might investigate the impact of an even more deliberately designed “optimistic classroom” that teaches students how to refrain from categorical thinking and to reframe writing problems

as manageable. Additionally, program administrators need to understand how to help faculty develop the skills and efficacy to foster such a positive classroom climate.

Mediated-Efficacy Theory

Core category analysis, involving the constant comparison of incidents in the data (Glaser, 1992), revealed contrasting portraits of students at the start and end of the semester, demonstrating key features of their lived experience in the transition from pessimism and learned helplessness to optimism and increased writing self-efficacy. Many students started the semester with a lack of intrinsic motivation, judgment-induced anxiety, writing element conflation, and a lack of coping strategies. They ended with increased coping skills, personal agency, and critical distance.

The primary purpose of this paper was to generate a theory about that self-efficacy development. However, what the data led me to conclude is that the very premise under which I began this analysis may be flawed. The very notion of *self*-efficacy relies on a conceptualization of independence and individuality that contradicts what the students themselves report. In their experience, they actually felt *more* independent, in one sense of the word, when they had *less* self-efficacy. Unfortunately, this independence was also characterized by excruciating isolation. Their subsequent gains in confidence and agency were associated with their senses of being embedded in a caring community with other writers and receptive readers. Essential to that sense of community is the writing instructor who allows it into being.

Clearly, some of the ways such caring communities are built involve simply avoiding those practices associated with learned helplessness. Writing teachers should eschew enforcing rigid and arbitrary requirements, put away the red pen, and resist

presenting writing as a kind of cuneiform-covered monolith for which only they have the master code. However, this study demonstrates that effective writing instruction is about more than avoiding bad practices. It entails actively developing a teaching environment that sees the value in whatever students bring into the classroom. I have already discussed the two pedagogical techniques that the students identified as important: student-generated or non-directive essay topics and positive instructor feedback. In addition to those, there were two other elements that were also essential. Harking back to the learning inventory [Table 1], 83% of students described “frequently” encountering a positive classroom climate. That was the highest single-answer on the entire inventory, tied only with 83% of students reporting “having the same instructor for both my writing studio and discussion section” as “extremely important.” Therefore, of all of the deliberate measures we took to cultivate student writing self-efficacy, these four stand out – encouraging student-generated essay topics, providing positive feedback, optimizing a positive classroom climate, and scheduling the same instructor for seminar and studio. The studios provided much more than just 100-minutes of additional instruction time. They allowed us to create a space where the students felt their teachers were on their side. Or, as Jennifer put it, “My teacher wanted me to succeed. She looked out for me and was available to help me.”

Therefore, rather than generate a new theory about self-efficacy development, this study suggests a need to re-conceptualize the construct and explore how *mediated-efficacy* functions to motivate student writers. This is not to dismiss the realities of the fact that as students develop writing self-efficacy, they also develop a more internalized locus of control, becoming more self-regulated and task-oriented (Pajares, 2003). But,

such emerging personal agency arises in tandem with forging stronger, not weaker, ties with other people. Self-efficacy theory identifies the importance of modeling and positive feedback (Bandura, 1986) but seems to suggest these are crutches that might be discarded once an individual achieves sufficient confidence to operate independently. In the context of this study, that premise is initially appealing, and one might posit that the remedial writing classroom must provide that kind of shelter. However, such a teleological view of writing self-efficacy is patently false

Becoming a writer is inherently an emerging process (Newkirk, 2009). Self-efficacy depends on the nature of that emergence, which is colored by the relationship between writer and audience. Every writing task represents a new context in which, to some extent, efficacy must be newly forged. For students receiving grades on their writing, there is no more important audience member than the teacher. To help student writers find their agency, teachers must accept that role for what it should be – neither an opportunity to wield the "red pen of death" nor something to pretend does not exist. Teachers have power over their students and must use that power to mediate a process where students dismantle learned helplessness, dispute pessimism and develop their optimism. Teachers must enter into the reciprocal relationship in which mediated-efficacy is formed.

To a certain extent this requires re-conceptualizing not just how writing is taught in college but also how instructors view themselves as writing teachers. Notably, our success this past fall in the first-year seminar class came from our ability to balance conflicting role-demands effectively. We broke down hierarchies between ourselves and our students while at the same time drawing on our writing expertise. We were

simultaneously reading coaches, fellow writers, and in-house consultants while ungraded studio work was polished into formal essays. We tried to provide constructive, non-judgmental feedback while also knowing we ultimately had to evaluate the quality of that work. Getting that balance just right is the hallmark of a teacher whose students develop mediated-efficacy. Fruitful future research should investigate the nature of that balance.

Mediated-Efficacy in the Disciplines

What does this mean for writing instruction in the disciplines? In my work as pedagogy coordinator for our first-year seminar course and as director of writing programs, I often hear other professors lament that students do not know how to write. There is the expectation that writing consists of a discrete set of skills that easily transfers from one course to the next: Freshman composition should have taken care of imparting those skills. Scholars have well-established that such a notion of transfer is a myth (Carroll, 2002; Newkirk, 2009). What has not been explored is the corollary myth that *writing self-efficacy* automatically transfers from one class to another. In reality, there is the sense that as students move out of our carefully crafted composition seminar environments into the university at large, their fledgling self-efficacy is at the mercy of other professors -- professors who might believe their role is to weed out unqualified students. However, there is a contrasting perspective that argues

...the aim of education must transcend the development of academic competence.

Schools have the added responsibility of preparing fully functioning and caring individuals capable of pursuing their hopes and aspirations. To do so, they must be armed with optimism, self-regard, and regard for others, and they must be shielded from doubts about the authenticity of their accomplishments. Teachers

can aid their students by helping them develop the habits of excellence in scholarship while nurturing the character traits necessary to maintain that excellence throughout their adult lives. (Pajares, 2001a, p. 34)

What might it take to widely cultivate this perspective in higher education and particularly cultivate it for writing instruction in the disciplines?

Even those professors who accept that they must teach writing in upper division classes sometimes express anxiety because they feel they do not have the appropriate special knowledge of composition to teach writing effectively. This study reveals that what might be pedagogically more important is entering into a relationship with student writers that positions the instructor as a mediator between what it is the writer wants to say and the academic audience being communicated with. Specific writing skills become the tools of that mediation. Useful yes, but not unlike the utility of knowing how to use a hammer – only truly valuable when used to build something. Mediated-efficacy requires a balance between helping students wield tools on their own and creating the context in which they believe they have something worthwhile to construct.

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APPENDIX A: LEARNING INVENTORY RESULTS

Learning Inventory Results					
For each of the following elements of the common rubric, please indicate the degree to which you now UNDERSTAND the concept compared to the beginning of the semester. (n=132)					
	A lot more	Somewhat more	No difference	Somewhat less	A lot less
The writing process (e.g., prewriting to composing to editing):	50.0% (66)	41.7% (55)	8.3% (11)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Focus: A controlling idea that shapes the development of an argument:	48.5% (64)	46.2% (61)	5.3% (7)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Support: Use of evidence and reasoning to explain and defend an argument:	56.8% (75)	35.6% (47)	7.6% (10)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Coherence: The arrangement of all the parts of an argument:	46.2% (61)	40.2% (53)	13.6% (18)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Correctness: The rules and conventions of English and academic writing:	42.4% (56)	47.0% (62)	10.6% (14)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Style: Appropriate language for topic, purpose, and audience:	42.4% (56)	43.9% (58)	13.6% (18)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
For each of the following writing elements, please indicate the degree to which you believe you are now able to APPLY the concept in your own writing compared to the beginning of the semester. (n=132)					
	A lot more	Somewhat more	No difference	Somewhat less	A lot less
The writing process (e.g., prewriting to composing to editing):	52.3% (69)	43.9% (58)	3.0% (4)	0.8% (1)	0.0% (0)
Focus: A controlling idea that shapes the development of an argument:	47.7% (63)	47.0% (62)	5.3% (7)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Support: Use of evidence and reasoning to explain and defend an argument:	55.3% (73)	34.8% (46)	9.8% (13)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Coherence: The arrangement of all the parts of an argument:	49.2% (65)	41.7% (55)	9.1% (12)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Correctness: The rules and conventions of English and academic writing:	41.7% (55)	48.5% (64)	9.8% (13)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Style: Appropriate language for topic, purpose, and audience:	43.2% (57)	44.7% (59)	12.1% (16)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (n=131)					
	A lot more	Somewhat more	No difference	Somewhat less	A lot less
I am a STRONGER writer than I was at the beginning of the semester:	38.2% (50)	53.4% (70)	6.9% (9)	1.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
I am a more CONFIDENT writer than I was at the beginning of the semester:	37.4% (49)	49.6% (65)	10.7% (14)	2.3% (3)	0.0% (0)
I have developed my VOICE as a writer over the semester.	9.0% (38)	48.1% (63)	21.4% (28)	1.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
I ENJOY writing more than I did at the beginning of the semester.	25.2% (33)	32.1% (42)	33.6% (44)	7.6% (10)	1.5% (2)

How often did you encounter each of the following in PACS this semester? (n=131)				
	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Formal instruction (e.g., lectures and worksheets) about writing components:	66.4% (87)	29.8% (39)	3.8% (5)	0.0% (0)
Models of writing (strong or weak) provided by your professor:	54.2% (71)	42.0% (55)	3.8% (5)	0.0% (0)
The regular practice of writing:	68.7% (90)	29.0% (38)	2.3% (3)	0.0% (0)
Peer feedback on your writing:	55.0% (72)	40.5% (53)	3.8% (5)	0.8% (1)
Written feedback on your writing received from your professor:	73.3% (96)	22.9% (30)	3.1% (4)	0.8% (1)
A positive classroom climate:	83.2% (109)	15.3% (20)	1.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
One-on-one conferencing with your professor:	50.4% (66)	31.3% (41)	13.7% (18)	4.6% (6)

How important were each of the following for your learning in this class? (n=131)					
	Extremely	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all	N/A
Formal instruction (e.g., lectures and worksheets) about writing components:	46.6% (61)	45.0% (59)	8.4% (11)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Models of writing (strong or weak) provided by your professor:	60.3% (79)	32.8% (43)	6.9% (9)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
The regular practice of writing:	58.8% (77)	34.4% (45)	6.1% (8)	0.0% (0)	0.8% (1)
The feedback you received on your writing from your peers:	55.7% (73)	33.6% (44)	9.9% (13)	0.8% (1)	0.0% (0)
The written feedback you received on your writing from your professor:	76.3% (100)	19.1% (25)	3.8% (5)	0.0% (0)	0.8% (1)
A positive classroom climate:	64.1% (84)	28.2% (37)	6.1% (8)	0.8% (1)	0.8% (1)
One-on-one conferencing with your professor:	54.2% (71)	35.9% (47)	9.2% (12)	0.8% (1)	0.0% (0)

How important do you think each of the following were to your learning in PACS? (n=131)					
	Extremely	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all	N/A
The two extra hours of writing studios per week:	31.3% (41)	48.1% (63)	17.6% (23)	3.1% (4)	0.0% (0)
Holding the studio in a lab with access to computers:	40.5% (53)	32.1% (42)	17.6% (23)	9.9% (13)	0.0% (0)
Having the same instructor for both my writing studio and discussion section:	83.2% (109)	13.7% (18)	1.5% (2)	1.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
Having the same group of students for both my writing studio and discussion section:	64.1% (84)	26.7% (35)	4.6% (6)	4.6% (6)	0.0% (0)

APPENDIX B: WRITING SELF-EFFICACY SCORING RUBRIC

Writing Self-Efficacy Scoring Rubric					
<p>This semester, students wrote for 50 minutes during the first and last writing studios, describing their strengths and weaknesses as writers and providing some personal experiences to support their claims. In reviewing these 'pre' and 'post' writing diagnostics, please score each sample using the following scale.</p>					
<p>Evidence of Efficacy: The student is able to identify elements of effective writing AND <i>demonstrates belief in his/her ability to use these elements successfully</i>. While the student identifies writing problems, he/she may offer possible solutions to these problems. The student is aware of writing as a process and is able to prioritize specific future tasks. The student may comment on effective (or new) management of time to effectively fulfill an assignment.</p>					
-1	0	1	2	3	
negative evidence	lack of evidence	very weak evidence	moderate evidence	strong evidence	
<p>Evidence of Mastery Experiences: The student describes having had successful writing experiences at any level or point in the process (i.e., student does not have to have “mastered” all of writing to have had mastery experiences).</p>					
-1	0	1	2	3	
negative evidence	lack of evidence	very weak evidence	moderate evidence	strong evidence	
<p>Evidence of Use of Positive Modeling: The student refers to course readings and/or other writing as aspirational models used when approaching her/his own work. The student might also talk about the utility of peer and/or instructor feedback. The student might refer to his/her own successful previous writing as models as well.</p>					
-1	0	1	2	3	
negative evidence	lack of evidence	very weak evidence	moderate evidence	strong evidence	
<p>Evidence of Reduced Anxiety and/or Increased Positive Affect: The student uses positive or affirming adjectives to describe her/himself as a writer. Student may even express confidence and/or enjoyment of writing. Problems are accurately attributed but seen as specific and manageable (e.g., “I need to work on coming up with strong thesis statements.”), as opposed to global and catastrophic (e.g., “I am stupid.”).</p>					
-1	0	1	2	3	
negative evidence	lack of evidence	very weak evidence	moderate evidence	strong evidence	
<p>Evidence of Empowerment or Positive Social Agency: The student takes responsibility for his/her own writing, as opposed to blaming other factors for poor outcomes. The student may express willingness to “keep trying” and attributes success to improved writing ability rather than luck or external forces. The student may express “ownership” of the writing topics (e.g., “I write to express my ideas.”), rather than just writing to please the teacher. The student may describe proactively seeking feedback from readers and/or actively utilizing available writing support systems.</p>					
-1	0	1	2	3	
negative evidence	lack of evidence	very weak evidence	moderate evidence	strong evidence	
<p>Student ID or Name: _____ Score Pre-Diagnostic _____ /15 Score Post-Diagnostic _____ /15</p>					

Chapter Three -- Off the Gold Standard: The Case for Assessing College Writing Expertise, or Why Traditional Rubrics Fail First-Year-Writers and Teachers

United States history buffs may remember reading about the great gold standard economic debates of the 19th century. The dispute went something like this: Proponents sided with tradition and with the direct association of worth with tangible assets. Opponents argued that gold was unwieldy and unequally privileged nations with large gold deposits. Worse, they believed, the gold standard limited economic growth and constrained the government's ability to stabilize the economy. Today a different sort of gold standard debate flourishes around the issue of writing assessment. While this debate is less in the national spotlight than the one in 1873, the political implications are potentially as powerful. What this article will show is that traditional positivistic assessment rubrics, designed to scrutinize a single writing performance, are unwieldy and limit student growth by constraining an instructor's ability to teach and grade for expertise. Such practice privileges those students with the educational advantage conveyed by high social capital – these students will perform well because they have received more basic skill instruction and practice. The historical allegory I draw is apt. Just as the United States moved away from the gold standard, so, too, must writing assessment practitioners develop metrics that align with what we should really value. A secondary challenge emerges for writing program administrators who must convince constituents outside of the composition classroom that such metrics have value.

Problem and Research Context

In the academic year 2013-2014, my university deployed a new strategy for supporting incoming developmental writers. Beginning in the fall of 2013, students whose writing-SAT (SAT-w) scores were between 450- 500 were enrolled in a course known as Seminar Plus Studio (SPS), an interdisciplinary seminar course that included a weekly supplemental 100-minute studio aimed at delivering extra writing instruction, practice, and feedback. Instructors for these sections were hand-picked based on their extensive experience and reputations for excellence as writing teachers. As director of writing programs, my challenge was to determine whether our curricular change was successful and how students benefitted from Seminar Plus Studio (SPS). Initially, this sounds like a simple enough assessment project, but where it led has forced me to conclude that many of the practices currently considered by some as the gold standard for evaluating student writing may be inadequate and perhaps even counter-productive to student development as writers. Negotiating demands for both quantifiable data and for authentic measures of student growth ultimately has caused me to speculate on ways to measure student progress in new ways that honor both assessment needs.

Fully aware that direct evidence of writing improvement is hard to procure after a single semester, I conducted two concurrent assessment projects. The first examined skill development, and the second explored student growth in writing self-efficacy. What follows is a recounting of my intentions, my findings, and my questions. Although I interrogate my choices through the lenses of composition, assessment, and expertise-development theories, I ultimately seek a synergy between the theories as a foundation for changing how much of college writing assessment is done. In this, I align my

methodology with the kind of deep reflective practice developed by Schön (1983, 1987) that creates new knowledge and understanding. Throughout this article, I use the pronoun "we" because I seek to engage readers in a conversation that begins here.

Background: Writing Assessment on the Gold Standard

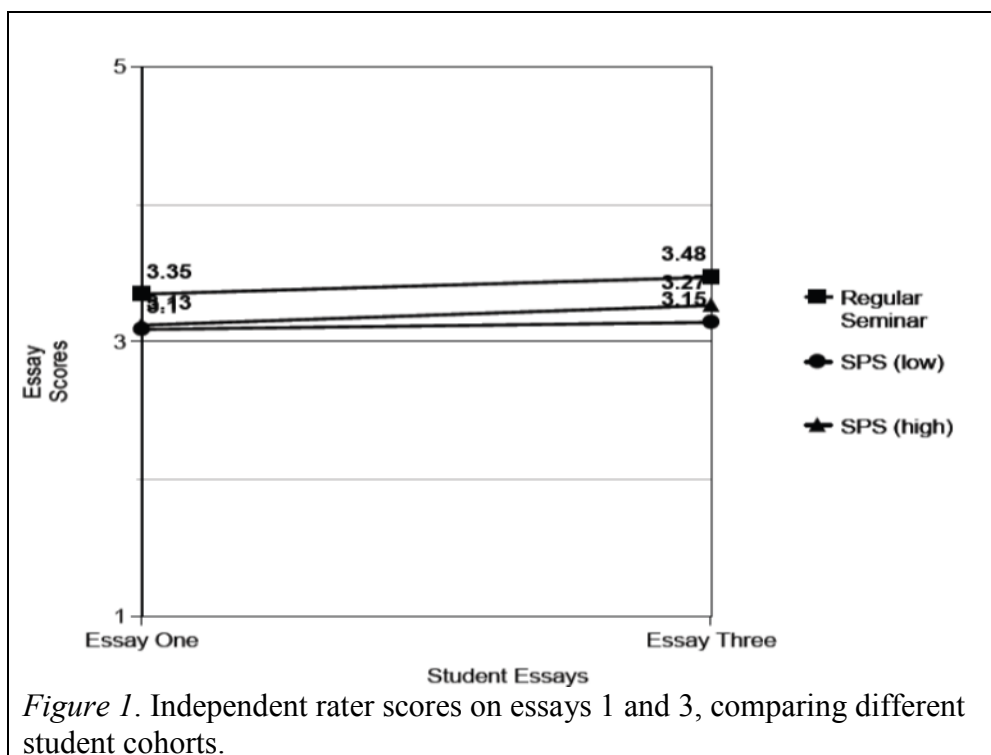
Emerging in the era of scientific positivism, the traditional rubric designed to evaluate student writing was developed to optimize agreement between a team of evaluators (Diederich, French, & Carlton, 1961). Such agreement was considered the cornerstone of validity, leading to results that could be predicted and reproduced in varying testing situations. Diederich (1966) explained “such uniformity is necessary...to find out how much improvement in writing comes about in each year of [a] program” (p. 437). The traditional rubric developed at that time distilled the writing task into five components: ideas, form, flavor, mechanics, and wording. Use of this traditional rubric was considered essential to prevent evaluators from “responding to different qualities in the papers” or differing “in the weights they attached to these qualities” (p. 443). The developers insisted that, in using this assessment tool, independent scorers must follow specific protocols for ensuring inter-rater reliability, practicing with the rubric until scoring agreement is predictably reached. This desire for standardization lives on, not just in the many versions of the aforementioned writing rubric that have proliferated in the ensuing years, but also through more recent attempts to standardize writing assessment using computer-assisted test scoring, like that used in the popular Collegiate Learning Assessment for writing (Council for Aid to Education, 2011). The academic community is assured that computer-assisted scoring of student writing is as accurate,

more valid, faster, and cheaper than human scoring (Attali & Burnstein, 2006; Mayes, 2014).

Given this promise, it should be no surprise that the first form of assessment I performed to evaluate the effectiveness of our new course followed a gold standard positivist model. In consultation with the university's director of assessment to determine optimal sizes, I obtained writing samples from a total of 45 students. Thirty were selected from the available population of 130 freshmen developmental writers enrolled in the SPS course, and another 15 served as a kind of control group and came from the regular seminar sections (that is, those sections that did not include the supplemental writing studio). Because my primary interest focused on how the developmental writers fared in the SPS, the cohort of regular students functioned only as a point of comparison and was not intended to be statistically representational. Within the SPS group, after obtaining students' SAT-w scores, I identified two cohorts of upper-band students (with scores between 480-500) and lower-band students (with scores between 450-470); from each of those two sub-groups I randomly selected 15 participants. This 30-student sample consisted of 23% of the students assigned to the SPS course and, as such, was representational of the overall population of students in the developmental group.

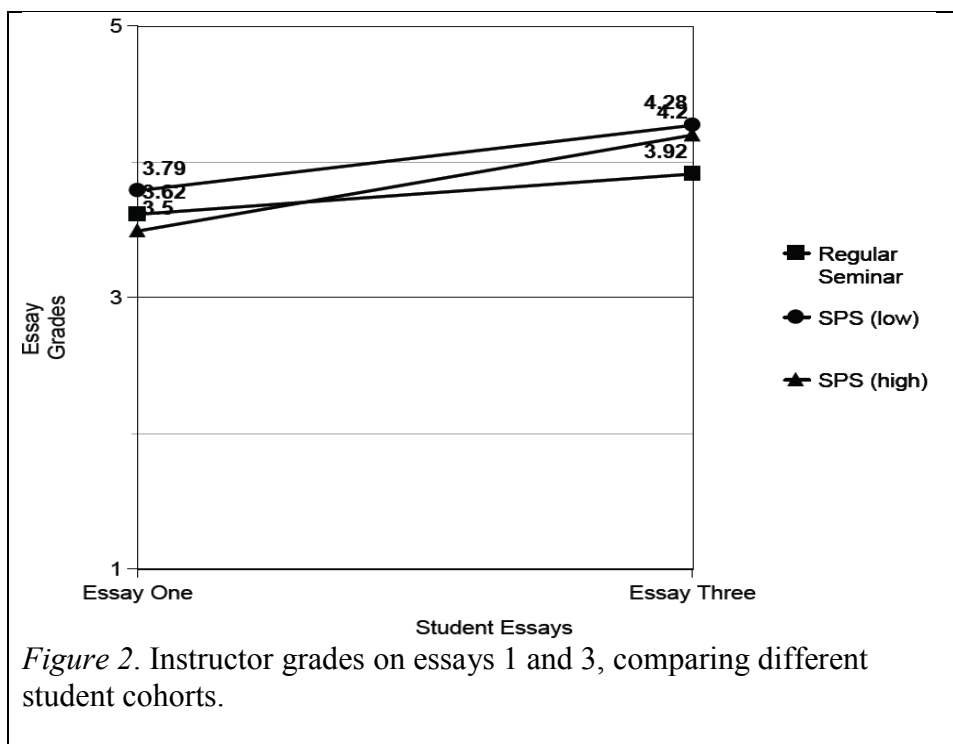
The first and final essays of the semester were obtained from the 45 students and were assessed following protocols in which student-author identification was blinded from nine independent raters (IRs) who used a traditional rubric (See Appendix A) to holistically assign a numeric score, between 1 and 5, for each essay. While these raters were instructors of the freshman seminar course, no one was reading his/her own

students' essays. This meant these scorers were already deeply familiar with the assessment tool; however, efforts were still made to ensure inter-rater reliability using anchor papers at the start of the scoring process and repeated at the mid-day break to correct for any scoring drift. Typically, using this procedure, inter-rater reliability can approach .90 (Diederich, 1966). Each essay was initially read by two people, and in the case of more than a half-point difference in scores, was read by a third tie-breaker. In short, the gold standard was followed in every glittering detail. Unfortunately, results of this initial assessment were somewhat disappointing. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, improvement in writing performance was extremely modest across all cohorts of students, meaning this assessment approach did not tell me very much about what students gained from the course.



True, I could see that the SPS students (circle-point and triangle-point lines) on average performed at the "C" level on their essays and that it was not quite as strong a performance as that produced by students in the regular sections of the course (square-point line). At best I could claim our intervention was a success because most students passed the class, but it was a tepid success because overall writing improvement was so very modest. This was not so surprising because composition literature is clear that one semester is really too short a period of time to expect to see significant gains in writing performance (Carroll, 2002). Still I was left with the dilemma of not really understanding what impact, if any, our studio intervention had on developmental writers. Hence, I had little I could report to the upper-administration as to whether our pilot was a success.

Further complicating matters, after I obtained instructor grades on these same essays and compared them to the IR scores (Fig. 1), I noticed some puzzling discrepancies. Instructors and IRs used the same rubric, but not only were instructor grades higher than IR scores, as can be seen in Figure 2, the improvement slopes over the course of the semester are steeper, especially for those students enrolled in SPS (circle-point and triangle-point lines).



The general divergence between IR scores and instructor grades leads to two very different conclusions about the impact of the course as a remediation intervention. Comparing effect size from the two data sets, according to the independent raters, the lower band of SPS students experienced a trivial effect from having taken the course (Cohen's $d = 0.08$), and the higher band of students experienced a small effect (Cohen's $d = 0.21$). However, based on the instructor grades of these same essays, the lower band of SPS students appear to have experienced a medium-large effect from having taken the course (Cohen's $d = 0.78$), and the higher band of students experienced a large effect (Cohen's $d = 1.32$).

Challenging the Gold Standard

Two possible explanations for this divergence came to mind. One could be grade inflation; however, given that grades were assigned by expert teachers, it seemed possible

there was another more likely explanation. A second explanation relates to the rubric itself: When I debriefed the raters after the IR assessment, they talked about the difficulty of using the rubric for this type of scoring, a topic that will be discussed more fully later. Their difficulty, coupled with the modest amount of information I could gain from this assessment method, made me question the general value of the traditional rubric. Further inquiry revealed three categories of problems pertaining to accuracy, to validity, and to practice.

Problems of accuracy. Huot (1990) argued that a firm theoretical base for independent writing assessment is lacking and asserted that in searching for consistency, traditional rubric designers latch onto that which is most easily quantified, neglecting other more nebulous but potentially important dimensions of the writing process. Furthermore, independent raters themselves prove not to be as objective as one might think. Various tests of rater perceptions of writing quality reveal that these perceptions are easily manipulated by simple changes of writing style or organization. For example, raters assign disproportionately lower scores to essays that violate expectations in the fluent reading process, even when the content is identical to higher-rated more conventionally organized essays. Huot also reported that IRs can be primed to respond more favorably to essays purported to be written by honors students than when the same essays are purported to be written by remedial students. Beyond this, "Little is known about the way raters arrive at their decisions" (p. 258). Nor is computer scoring any more accurate. Even fans of artificial intelligence scoring systems admit:

For assessing the content of essays, human readers have the advantage of common sense and reasoning ability. Humans are able to recognize essay

development through irony, rhetoric, creativity, logical development, cause and effect, and narrative. A human would know that a sentence such as 'Queen Isabella sailed 1,492 ships to Columbus, Ohio' is simply wrong. And humans can't easily be tricked, as when some years ago MIT researcher Les Perelman wrote an essay that was essentially gibberish but received a high score from a computer. (Mayes, 2014, pp. 7-8)

The gains in speed, reliability and cost offered by an objective standard disappear if the meaning and purpose for which people write disappears.

Problems of validity. Another category of challenge levied against positivistic traditional rubrics is even more fundamental and rests on re-conceptualizations of validity. Because Diederich, French, and Carlton (1961) defined writing assessment problems only in terms of inconsistent scoring, they defined validity narrowly, seeking only inter-rater reliability. Later, other scholars, notably Wiggins (1994), questioned how the use of rubrics impacted teaching and learning. He wrote:

The fact is that almost all writing assessments I have seen use rubrics that stress compliance with rules about writing as opposed to the real purpose of writing, namely, the power and insight of the words... [They] over-emphasize formal, format, or superficial-trait characteristics. (p. 132)

The implications of this insight resonated deeply as I attempted to understand what our students gained from the SPS course this past fall. I found myself asking if by using the gold standard I missed something crucial and if instructors were noting something important about the writing process that the IRs could not see.

Subsequent sections of this article will explore precisely what gold standard assessment protocols missed, what instructors saw, and what can be done to better align assessment practices with the kind of learning students should accomplish. Before going there, I want to address a common argument levied against the validity of using instructor grades for assessment purposes. For the positivist psychometricians, there is a widespread impression that instructors are not only too subjective, but too prone to inflate grades. Let us consider this argument. Diederich (1966) wrote that, in comparison with objective test scores, teachers' grades are imprecise because they “represent a more sympathetic view of each student’s output in relation to his background and circumstances...[They] may also be affected by the student’s appearance, politeness, attention in class....docility, and the like” (p. 447). Johnson (2003) made the case that along with providing incoherent and inconsistent feedback, inflated grades threaten the academic enterprise by devaluing intellectual work. To his mind impartial and clearly delineated outcomes are preferable because they provide a consistently high standard to which students can be held. In essence he embodies the force behind the traditional writing rubric supporters. Johnson draws a clear distinction between the preferred “science, and the scientific method of observation of natural phenomena, and objective consideration of evidence” that he believes should form the foundation of grading systems versus what he terms the “postmodernist” perspective where “[a]n objective view of reality and search for truth is replaced by an emphasis on divergent representations of reality. Gone also are notions of hierarchies in which relative values of ideas and knowledge systems are compared” (pp. 7-8). He contends that such a loss of objectivity leads the “postmodern” teacher to eschew giving low grades because there are

no criteria for establishing worth, a state of affairs he calls "bizarre" (p. 8). He perceives a crisis emerging when such lenient grading practices impact student expectations and course enrollments. His logic is as follows: Objective graders are seen as hard graders; students avoid classes in which they believe they will not do well, so hard graders get punished for having high standards because their classes are undersubscribed. Therefore, these instructors feel pressured to lower their expectations, causing a downward spiral that puts the entire higher educational enterprise at risk. Unfortunately, Johnson misses the whole point. In his concern over high standards, he fails to recognize that positivist assessment strategies diminish true intellectual standards as much, if not more, than any gentleman's C. He falls prey to what Newkirk (2009) describes as "a confusion of standards with standardization; of quality with uniformity; of consistency with excellence; of test scores with assessment" (p. 41).

Like Johnson (2003), I believe the higher educational enterprise is at risk, but for very different reasons. Extending the argument made by Wiggins (1994), my fear is that in our efforts to assess and reward writing competence, using carefully delineated scoring rubrics, we foreclose the development of more sophisticated levels of writing expertise. I agree with Johnson that how we evaluate performance impacts teaching practice and the educational choices students make. But, unlike Johnson, I do not see tighter positivistic standards as an appropriate motivator for the kind of intellectual curiosity we hope to cultivate in young scholars' minds. Agnew (1995) offered a compelling contrast to Johnson's position:

The biggest weakness of the grade deflation movement is that it works at cross-purposes with the very goal it seeks, the elevation of academic standards. The

grade deflation movement is at odds with composition theory and its process pedagogy, the very thing which could help faltering academic standards. (p. 96)

She justifies this claim by asserting, the “obsessive preoccupation with grades strangles [students’] creative potential; they are not willing to take the risks that the writing process requires; they just want to remain becalmed in the safe harbor of what they hope is a passing grade” (p. 97).

Broad (2003) is even more emphatic that the traditional rubric undermines what we should most value about student writing. He explained that

instead of a process of inquiry and a document that would highlight for our students the complexity, ambiguity and context-sensitivity of rhetorical evaluation, we have presented our students with a process and a document born long ago of a very different need: to make assessment quick, simple, and agreeable. In the field of writing assessment, increasing demands for truthfulness, usefulness, and meaningfulness are now at odds with the requirements of efficiency and standardization. (p. 4)

In moving away from the positivist paradigm, Broad argues, colleges and universities can align writing assessment with “the ‘real’ values of the writing program as enacted by the program’s instructors in the program’s classrooms” (p. 11). To further that end, he developed a complex and multi-faceted form of assessment called dynamic criteria mapping.

Problems of practice. In addition to problems of accuracy and validity, the traditional rubric is, quite simply, hard to use. During my assessment work in the spring of 2014, after the IRs completed their scoring, we ended the day by discussing the

process. Initially, I asked the group to talk about how this scoring work differed from the grading they had done for similar essays in their own classes. Several comments stood out. One person said, "I know I was a lot harder here in scoring than I would have been if this was one of my student's essays." Another observed, "I scored a lot faster than I would have if I were grading, if I had to justify a grade to a student." Such observations suggest a keen awareness of the human dimensions of the grading process. Instructors establish relationships with their students and are sensitive to each student's learning context and the demoralizing effects low grades can trigger. Hence, they proceed with caution.

Another reader said she had the hardest time assigning scores to essays where the student was grappling with a complex, sophisticated thesis that seemed to be just outside the writer's sphere of competence, meaning the overall essay may have lacked the development and support one would expect in a high-scoring paper. This comment received broad endorsement from the rest of the group. Discussion revolved around the dilemma of how to score essays that are technically perfect but dull, as opposed to essays based on complex and thought-provoking ideas that fall apart structurally. Most agreed that they preferred reading rich ideas that reflected a student's intellectual engagement, but some were uncomfortable giving such papers higher marks than the dull-but-technically-perfect essay -- because the rubric did not allow for this. Others admitted to weighting elements of the rubric intuitively to favor ideas over mechanics when they *graded* their students' essays, but not when they were supposed to be objective scorers. Several confessed a worry of not appearing "tough enough" in front of their peers, but acknowledged that in the privacy of their own classrooms they were much more flexible.

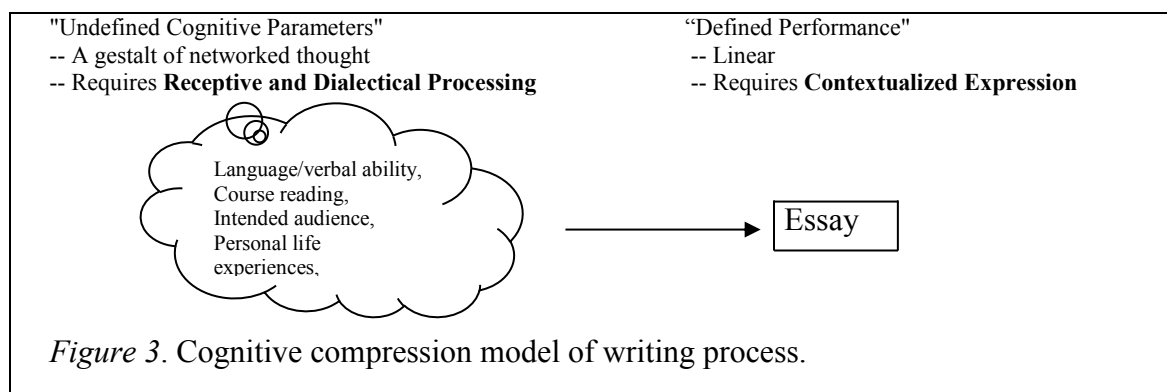
Which Standard? (The Case for Expertise over Proficiency)

Since the 1990s, the exploration of more authentic forms of writing assessment has led to new process-based standards on which student progress is measured in the composition classroom (Broad, 2003). However, some outside constituencies still clamor for seemingly more objective measures. Lather (2013) contends we are currently “caught between two regimes of truth...an era crushed by demands for more ‘evidence-based’ research under some kind of ‘gold standard’” (p. 638). Writing program administrators feel that pressure keenly. Moreover, instructor confessions, such as those described in the previous section, reveal a powerful impact of the lingering positivist bias on the evaluation of student work: Many instructors hide their intuitive evaluations from external scrutiny. But, what if the problem is not with the instructors' intuitive evaluations but with rubrics that valorize writing competence and fail to reward intellectual flair? As discussed, positivistic evaluation rubrics lead to a sense that rule-based performance is the goal. If this kind of conformity is the standard expected of students, it is a pretty low one.

In the rest of this article, I will explore new pathways for writing assessment that may bridge the positivist-versus-processist divide by articulating a different goal than simple writing proficiency. I will show how the continued use of traditional rubrics forecloses the development of writing expertise, identify the nature of this expertise, and suggest that the acquisition of writing expertise engenders unique motivational challenges for students. I will ponder: What would happen if instead of attacking the intuitive and motivational elements of the grading process, we honored them? How might faculty

development that features open discussion of what most teachers do in secret change writing assessment and pedagogical practice for the better?

Writing as an unstructured problem. The answers to these questions take us into new theoretical territory that encompasses both the nature of the writing process and the kinds of high standards to which we should aspire. Composition scholars are clear that writing is a highly complex task (Carroll, 2002). Framed in the language of cognitive theory, writing is an “unstructured problem [which] contain[s] a potentially unlimited number of possibly relevant facts and features, and the ways those elements interrelate and determine other events is unclear” (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1986, p. 20). Consider the multiple dimensions of the writing process that must be managed and compressed to result in a single essay. I have modeled these visually in the following figure:



When student writers compose essays, they must conform to the immediate context of the writing assignment. However, to accomplish this successfully, they must also integrate their own prior learning, as well as manage their emotions associated with past writing experiences and the current class setting. According to Scardamalia and Bereiter (1991)

the compression process only gets more complex as one becomes a more accomplished writer. Their research on writing expertise draws a clear distinction between the “knowledge-telling” process of the novice writer, which “minimizes many of the problems of text production but as a result misses out on the cognitive benefits of writing,” and the “knowledge-transforming” process used by the expert writer, “which solves rhetorical and knowledge-related problems interactively, thus simultaneously enhancing writing expertise and subject-matter understanding” (p. 179). Because of the challenges of negotiating this synergistic relationship, expert writers at first glance appear anomalous when compared to other experts. Most experts solve problems faster than non-experts, but expert writers spend *more* time composing because the task is so complex.

The nature of expertise. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) described five progressive developmental stages from novice, to advanced beginner, to competence, to proficiency, ultimately leading to expertise. While not suggesting that every person will necessarily achieve expertise in a chosen domain, they posited that each step is characterized by less-and-less adherence to set rules and more-and-more intuitive practice: “Competent performance is rational; proficiency is transitional; experts act arationally (*sic*)” (p. 36). Intuitive practice results in experts being able to make swift and accurate decisions (e.g., the expert diagnostician who can take one look at a patient and immediately know exactly what is wrong and how to treat it). Conversely, as mentioned, expert writers do not write more swiftly than beginners. Scardmalia and Bereiter (1991) reported that expert writers “tend to work harder...engaging in more planning and problem solving, more revisions of goals and methods” (p. 172) than non-expert writers. In short, writing is a slower and

more agonizing process for experts than for novices. Novice writers rarely reflect on or revise their writing, so “the composing process contributes little to the development of understanding. It may even have a degrading effect, because of the tendency to say what is easiest to say” (p. 180). In contrast, expert writers spend their time exploring the terrain of the undefined writing problem presented by every single writing context or assignment. In doing this, they run the risk of “information-processing overload” (p. 173) as they develop plans (or solutions) that move between overall outcome goals and local rhetorical decisions.

No wonder writing tasks present unique motivational challenges (Bruning & Horn, 2000). Far simpler to settle for mere “knowledge-telling” than to invest the time and energy required of expert writing. Indeed, Scardamalia and Bereiter (1991) warn:

Experts may limit their own development by adopting a facile, knowledge-telling approach to writing that although it may serve immediate purposes, deprives them of the knowledge transforming benefits of a more expert approach to writing.

Similarly, they may limit their development by concentrating too much on extracting targeted information from texts and not engaging in the dialectical process whereby a fuller and deeper representation of what the text says can have a transforming effect on existing knowledge. (p. 190)

However, the pay-off is also clear: Expert writers are better thinkers, capable of deep understanding and expression that can be transformed into real-world actions, which in turn feed even deeper understanding. Should not these be our standards and learning outcomes for written communication?

Cultivating writing expertise. Unfortunately, many current assessment practices do not foster expertise. One look at our rubric for evaluating student essays (Appendix A) and it is clear that not only have we misleadingly reduced the writing task into a simplistic checklist. We also relegate interesting ideas to a single “focus” cell. This signals to students that the writing process is a linear, well-defined problem and that *what* they have to say is less important than *how* they say it. Students will match these expectations. Is this all we want for our students? If not, what incentive is there for committing to the hard work of developing expertise?

Grader’s Block: Navigating Crossed-Purposes

Yancey and Huot (1997) told us, “[Writing Across the Curriculum] assessment is as much about faculty development—about how faculty develop and monitor their teaching and about how their understanding of learning changes—as it is about student development” (p. 11). If this is the case, before we can develop curricula and assessment protocols that foster writing expertise, we must re-examine our pedagogical practice in light of this new standard. Newkirk (2009) described the professional expertise required from teachers as “involv[ing] virtually constant decision-making and judgment” (p. 28), making classrooms akin to emergency rooms where medical professionals constantly make swift, intuitive diagnoses. In trying to understand the nature of these kinds of decisions, I discovered what I believe to be the root of some of our conflicts about teaching writing. I have long puzzled over why some of my colleagues relish their role as “grammar cops,” or alternatively feel they cannot teach writing because they do not feel their own grammar skills are good enough. Now I see that such inappropriate precedence given to grammar stems back to the difficulty of evaluating undefined

problems. Novice, and even some proficient, teachers rely on well-defined rules because they lack the experience required to figure out the cognitive compression process a student has engaged in that has resulted in the essay before them. Such understanding takes too much time to figure out – it can be so much easier to just mark off the well-defined grammar errors. Once we can frame the grammar obsession this way, we can begin to put grammar in its correct place, and instead focus on strategies for better discerning student intentions and on aligning these with their outcomes.

I also have observed a general lament that students are just not very good writers. However, if instructors re-cast the writing process as an incredibly complex task (Carroll, 2002), then they might be able to have more empathy for what students experience in developing their writing skills and move from novice to expert writer. When instructors realize that the process of developing expertise is messy, chaotic, and recursive, they might be less prone to calling writing "bad" and more likely to label it appropriately as "emerging." However, the traditional rubric encourages writing teachers to set unrealistic expectations. An "A" paper is usually defined as the sort of unified work expected from an expert writer. It is illogical to expect an undergraduate to be writing at that level. This is especially true when we consider the fact that as students encounter increasing levels of intellectual complexity, their abilities to express these ideas linguistically lag (Carroll, 2002). Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) described expertise as context-dependent, needing to be re-learned in new situations often causing a temporary relapse into modes of behavior more associated with proficiency. To support this type of iterative learning process, new rubrics might make room for recursion and be better calibrated to reflect developmentally appropriate benchmarks.

Along with the lament that students are bad writers comes the despair over the fact that grading writing can be exceedingly time consuming. True, there is no way around the fact that reading student work takes time, but to what extent does the traditional rubric force us to work at cross purposes with ourselves? In responding to student work, we are simultaneously expected to identify key ideas and foster the students' intellectual engagement at the same time flagging run-on sentences and stylistic infelicities. Those who have studied writer's block identify a root cause as conflict between the *creating* and *criticizing* impulses in the writer's mind. Elbow (2000) described this as the difficult balance of maintaining autonomy and independence as a writer while complying with set rules. Might writing teachers be experiencing a kind of corollary grader's block when we must simultaneously serve as writing coach and judge? No wonder many of us dread facing that pile of student essays. However, if we abandon the traditional rubric and craft one that separates response from judgment, we might approach the prospect with more glee.

Grader's block is compounded when we expect too much from any one writing assignment. Just recently a colleague told me that she had been grading student essays and had come across a beautifully written paper, one that captured the essential ideas of the class and moved far beyond them to proffer profound insights. She found herself powerfully engaged with this student's ideas, making it one of those rare "A+" papers. She then described moving on and reading a few more papers before she remembered that her assignment had required students to refer to at least three authors from the course in their essays. On looking back at the "A+" essay, she saw the student had only referred to two authors. She was stuck. Should she ignore the rules she had laid out in the

assignment and reward the powerful writing? Ultimately, she demoted the essay, but just a bit, giving it an "A-." Is this grade inflation? I do not think so, but it certainly was grader's block brought about by creating an assignment that served too many masters. Her assignment was acting as a reading comprehension check as well as an opportunity for students to explore and develop new ideas. The traditional rubric does not see that as a problem: There are cells for both "ideas" and "support." But, demonstrating factual comprehension and generating novel ideas are two very different cognitive tasks. No wonder student writing suffers: Our assignments set them up for dissonance, we fail to help them navigate the chaos, and we do not reward successful maneuvering. In turn, we make ourselves suffer as graders. To create expert writers we need to consider what it means to teach for expertise.

Some might argue that aiming for expertise is appropriate only for the most gifted undergraduate writers, that because developmental students do not know "the basics," their curricula must be simplified. To my mind, such an argument is akin to saying, "Only healthy children deserve nourishing food. Let the starving ones eat sawdust." Sound writing instruction must engage and motivate all students at whatever level they may be. Instead of labeling a student with a "D," why not more accurately call that student a novice?

Sustaining Student Motivation and Assessing for Efficacy

Engaging with students in the messy work that will eventually lead to expert writing requires awareness of the complexity of the task, skillful assignment design, and time. Additionally, it is important to find a way to sustain students as they navigate this complex terrain. Awareness of the long-term goal of writing expertise highlights the

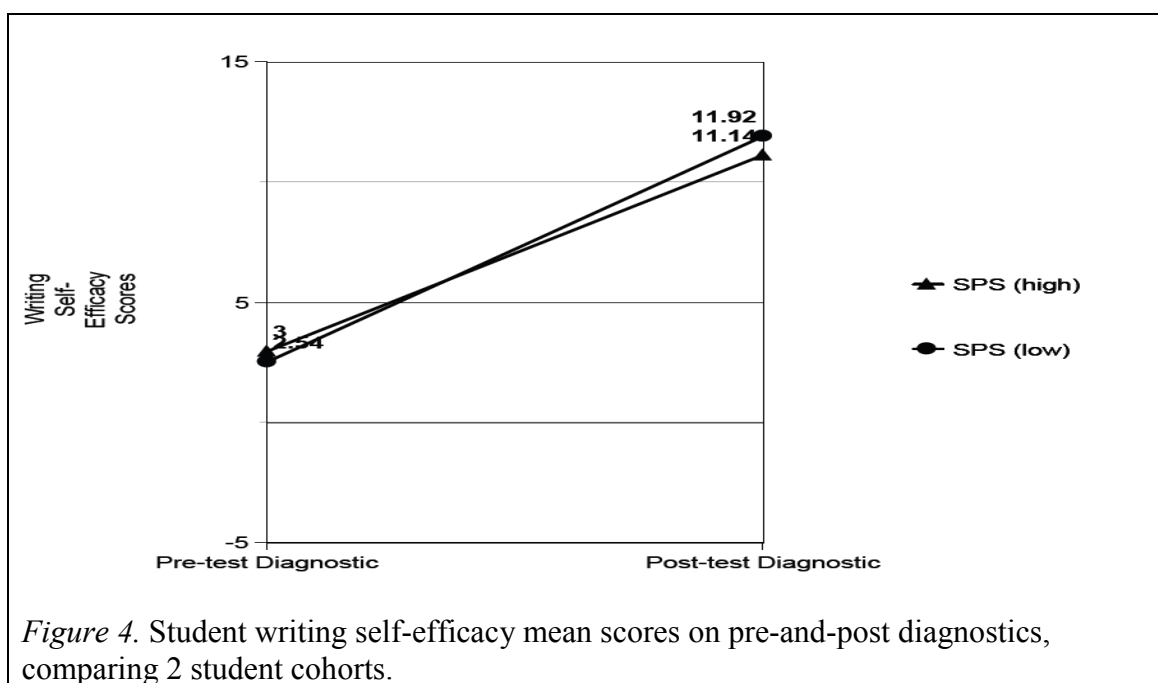
value and necessity of nurturing student motivation to write. I have written elsewhere about the importance of developing student writing self-efficacy (see Chapter 2). Here I wish to discuss and overlay the results of my concurrent self-efficacy assessment project against the IR scores obtained using the traditional rubric.

Brief background. In an attempt to gain a more complete picture of students' development as writers and to acknowledge that the act of writing involves much more than could be captured in a single demonstration of writing skill (e.g., SAT-w or an in-class diagnostic essay), potential writing performance was measured by looking at students' writing self-efficacy (WSE) beliefs. My reasoning was based on the conclusions summed up by pioneers in this research field:

If writing difficulties result not only from an inability to solve writing problems, but also from one's own decision that one is unable to solve them, then one important step in improving writing would be to strengthen individuals' self-efficacy expectations about their writing ability. (McCarthy, Meier, & Rinderer, 1985, p. 466)

Many subsequent studies have clearly linked writing self-efficacy beliefs to student achievement (Pajares, 2003; Prat-Sala & Redford, 2012; Shell, Murphy, & Bruning, 1989). Aware of this, as part of our work in the course in fall 2013, the instructional team established building students' writing self-efficacy as one of our main course objectives. To determine our success, I conducted another assessment project, separate from the skill-focused one described previously. Students completed a short in-class writing assignment that asked them to describe their strengths and weaknesses as writers and provide specific examples from their experiences to illustrate those claims. Students

did this writing in the first and final weeks of class, as pre- and post-tests. These writing samples were scored by instructors *not* for writing skill but for evidence of writing self-efficacy, using a specially-designed rubric (see Appendix B). Elements on this rubric were directly derived from Bandura's (1977, 1993) self-efficacy theory. Scorers spent several hours practicing with this rubric. It was revised and re-tested until inter-rater reliability was achieved. The mean scores from the pre- and post-tests can be observed in this graph.



Clearly, the slopes of the lines here are much steeper than the slopes in the IR-score graph (Fig. 1), meaning students appear to have made significant gains in writing self-efficacy even while their writing skills lagged behind. In terms of my original question as to whether our new course was successful, this self-efficacy data seems less equivocal: Students grew tremendously.

When I compared the instructor grade graph to the IR score graph, I queried whether we were looking at an instance of grade inflation. Now adding self-efficacy into the mix, and knowing it was one of the learning outcomes of the class, can we postulate that the expert graders who taught the SPS class were intuitively taking motivational constructs into account as they evaluated student essays?

Statistical suggestions. To try to understand if instructors were accounting for students' initially low levels of writing self-efficacy as a factor that contributed to the overall improvement of grades, I ran a sequential multiple regression analysis of the data, using the difference between instructor grades on essay 3 versus essay 1 as my criterion variable. Results were intriguing. The first predictor variable I loaded was student initial writing skill as demonstrated by the SAT-w. This variable accounted for only 1% ($R^2\Delta = 0.011$) of the variance in instructor grades, meaning initial writing skill was not associated with much of the grade improvement noted by instructors. The second predictor variable looked at the development of writing ability as demonstrated by the change in IR scores. This accounted for *less than* 1% ($R^2\Delta = 0.001$) of the variance in instructor grades, meaning that even when based on identical demonstrations of skill-level (i.e., essays 1 and 3) and using the same rubric, the change in IR scores explained less about the change in instructor grades than students' SAT-w scores did. In the final block I loaded the students' writing self-efficacy pre-test scores; these explained 4.7% ($R^2\Delta = 0.047$) of the variance in instructor grade change. This was by far the largest proportion accounted for by these data. It is also interesting to note that the standardized regression coefficient for this final data block is - 0.217. This inverse relationship means

that the students with the *lower* initial writing self-efficacy scores made the *most* grade improvement as their efficacy grew.

Unfortunately, because self-efficacy was a stated learning outcome only for the SPS group, this question about whether expert graders were intuitively taking motivational constructs into account as they evaluated student essays pertains only to the students enrolled in SPS, where I only had a sample of 30 students to draw from. Therefore, any claim I might try to make has to be qualified by the fact that my findings lack statistical significance. Indeed, other more subtle findings might have been missed entirely because they fail to emerge from such a small sample. However, there are some promising indications here that would be worth pursuing in the future. In addition to quantitative analysis, questions about the ways experienced faculty approach the grading task seem well-suited to qualitative research protocols. Qualitative methodologies might also uncover more about grader's block, leading to better articulated assignments and outcomes.

Analysis: Where Do We Go From Here?

In the end, where did this assessment journey leave me? One obvious observation is the fact that evaluations of student progress can diverge dramatically depending on what assessment tools are utilized. This is not really news. As our assessment gurus continually exhort: Choose the right tools to measure the specific question you want answered (Walvoord, 2014). What deserves further exploration, however, is the impact various assessment tools have on teaching practice and on subsequent student performance. The ultimate conclusion here is that just like writing itself, the act of grading writing appears to also be an “unstructured” act. Instructors do not simply

conform to the letter of a scoring rubric when they assign grades but seem to intuitively take motivational elements into consideration. What would it mean to legitimize this practice through creating new rubrics that privilege writing expertise and account for the difficulty of that development?

Such rubrics would celebrate the context and purpose of each piece of student writing, would capture the cognitive complexity of the writing task/problem, would grade students on an emerging continuum that transcends a specific course, and would reward progress in order to sustain motivation. In addition, encouraging students to transcend mere writing proficiency and strive for expertise, better aligns with democratic principles that honor student voice and see writing as a vehicle to connect with others in lifelong communication. Perhaps especially for developmental writers, what better standards could there be? As mentioned in a previous section, many compositionists are already well on-board with crafting assessment tools that honor writing development as a process (Broad, 2003), but the challenge for some writing program administrators remains in convincing various external constituents that the standards of the traditional rubric may be fool's gold. Articulating writing expertise as a more effective learning outcome may provide the needed traction.

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APPENDIX A: TRADITIONAL WRITING RUBRIC

Writing Rubric					
Dimensions	Excellent (A) = 5	Strong (B) = 4	Adequate (C) = 3	Not Adequate (D) = 2	Failing (F) = 1
FOCUS: A controlling idea (thesis) that shapes the development of an argument within the full context of the topic	A thoughtful, engaging, and sophisticated thesis that covers all aspects of the writing task and extends beyond class discussion.	A thoughtful and engaging thesis that covers most aspects of the writing task and may extend beyond class discussion.	A basic or minimal thesis that covers most aspects of the writing task and does not extend beyond class discussion.	A superficial, simplistic, or incomplete thesis given the writing task.	An undeveloped or seriously flawed, poorly written, or off-topic thesis for the writing task.
SUPPORT: Use of evidence and reasoning to explain & defend an argument	A logical, thorough, and concrete use of evidence that fully supports the main points of the argument.	A mostly logical, thorough, and concrete use of evidence that supports the main points of the argument but with some lapses.	A limited or insufficient use of evidence and reasoning in support of the main points of the argument.	Errors or omissions in the use of evidence and/or faulty reasoning to support the main points of the argument.	Primary reliance on assertion or invective to advance the argument and/or misuse of evidence.
COHERENCE: The sequence or arrangement of all the parts of an argument	A well-organized progression of main points clearly linked to the thesis that flows well through a compelling introduction, body, and conclusion.	An organized progression of main points with a clear introduction, body, and conclusion.	An uneven progression of main points with gaps or obstacles to making connections and transitions between paragraphs.	A confused arrangement of main points that obscures meaning with an insufficient introduction, and/or conclusion, and/or transitions between paragraphs.	Random commentary with no discernable principle of arrangement; absence of clear introduction, conclusion, and/or transitions between paragraphs.
CORRECTNESS: Using words and sentences according to the rules and conventions of written English and academic writing	Demonstrates mastery of grammar, punctuation, spelling, and mechanics; observes formatting standards; and follows appropriate citation guidelines.	Demonstrates competent control of grammar, punctuation, spelling, and mechanics; observes formatting standards and follows appropriate citation guidelines with only minor errors.	Demonstrates basic but uneven competence in grammar and mechanics; may observe formatting and citation rules but with errors that obscure meaning.	Poor use of grammar, punctuation, spelling, or mechanics; often misuses formatting standards and citation guidelines.	Seriously flawed use of grammar, punctuation, spelling, or mechanics; misuses or ignores formatting standards and citation guidelines.
STYLE: Choosing words carefully and crafting sentences/paragraphs suitable for the topic, purpose, and audience	Language is varied, compelling, and employed for effect; word choice (diction) is precise and appropriate--creating a tone that clearly communicates the writer's stance.	Language is clear and word choice (diction) is appropriate--creating a tone of general competence and credibility.	Language may be unclear and/or inappropriate, confusing the argument and raising some doubts about the writer's intentions.	Language is generally confusing or misleading, with enough words and sentences used inappropriately to raise serious doubts about the writer's intentions.	Language throughout is often inappropriate, confusing, or misleading at the word and sentence levels and fails to communicate basic competence.

Chapter Four -- Faculty at a Hidden Crossroads: Intersected Identities and the *Habitus* of Higher Education⁶

Amid national outcry for accountability in higher education, student access and learning outcomes are under greater scrutiny, resource management is carefully monitored, and the general purposes and values of higher education are being re-examined. Universities are being asked to justify their continued existence. In order to make their cases, campuses attempt to better know themselves: they undergo program review, attempt to create effective assessment tools, and study student persistence. One notable gap in this push for greater understanding exists in learning about faculty. True, campuses care about the kind and quality of degrees possessed by their faculty, and they care about demographic representation amongst faculty. But, as will be discussed, much of this work focused on atomized segments of the faculty population; too little has been published about how faculty experience their work systematically. If faculty are the respective gatekeepers or access providers of the academy, we need to know more about them because problems experienced by faculty may be the bellwethers of deeper problems that affect all of higher education. This article attempts to shed some light on faculty identity as it develops over the course of a career in the belief that such a study can point to ways meaningful reform might be focused. William James (1896) used the term "forced options" to describe situations where one has no option but to make a choice. I will argue here that academic institutional culture often forces faculty to choose

⁶ Some portions of this article have been previously submitted (see Camfield, 2012).

identities that are stifling. In other words, to be a professor requires accepting options that limit the full range of professionally generative self-expression. Such choices may initially appear trivial but in the aggregate become momentous.

To better understand the mechanism by which institutional culture forces faculty identity options, my analysis will be grounded in Bourdieu's (1984, 1988, 1991) theories about social reproduction and symbolic power. A brief overview: Bourdieu posited that cultural production is not generalized but is specifically situated in *field* or domain and is constituted in terms of a number of processes and social realities that are defined through power and capital. Power and dominance can be overtly or physically expressed, but often they are more subtly manifested through invisible social norms or covert acts of coercion from those with high social capital. Bourdieu (1984) called this form of coercion *symbolic violence*. Here, I will argue that through the acculturation process to the field of higher education, faculty experience various forms of symbolic violence that coerce certain identity performances and constrain others. All faculty enter the professoriate with visions about what it will mean to be a faculty member but then encounter the invisible social norms or the *habitus* (the unconscious messages about the "correct" way things should be done and social constructions that limit the scope of what is considered possible) that are both particular to their institutions and endemic in all of higher education today. New faculty also come to recognize which figures have symbolic capital (i.e., power through prestige) in the field and navigate their own standing in relation to these exemplars. Bourdieu (1988) explained that "academic capital is obtained and maintained by holding a position enabling domination of other positions and their holders" (p. 84). As such, Bourdieu's ideas are relevant for this study;

however, they are also apt because of his core commitments to seeking integration between what other social scientists perceived as separate and to redefining the field of sociology by urging the transcendence of a false binary between objective reality and subjective experience of that reality. Faculty, too, are often forced into false binaries between scholarship (often seen as objective) and teaching (often seen as subjective). Bourdieu's work may point to a way of integrating each to create a more meaningful whole. He also believed that true understanding comes only through surveying both the objective field itself and the subjective experience of agents operating in that field. Therefore, the structure of this article will mirror this investigative model by beginning with a review of relevant literature that speaks to the more objective field of faculty identity and institutional culture and by then moving into an analysis of themes drawn from qualitative data gathered from six mid-career faculty members' subjective experiences. The impact of the symbolic violence perpetuated against these faculty is illustrated using intersectional analysis, demonstrating which elements of their identities are endorsed by institutional culture and which must be forced into hiding. In the end, what this study explains is not only the personal costs to faculty of navigating institutional culture but also the reasons why faculty may sometimes appear to operate at crossed-purposes by unconsciously responding to *habitus* even when their stated pedagogical intentions may be to the contrary.

Review of the (Battle)Field of Faculty Identity and Institutional Culture

Bourdieu defined the academic *field* as a "battlefield, a structured arena in which agents, because they carry different potentials and have different positions and proclivities, struggle to (re)define the very structure and boundaries of the field"

(Wacquant, 1989, p. 8). What follows are descriptions of some of the elements that currently define the *field* of U.S. higher education.

Into professorhood. Reybold (2003) offers an explicit and compelling model for faculty identity development to describe the transition from graduate school into the professoriate. Specifically, the pathways she identifies—the Anointed, the Pilgrim, the Visionary, the Philosopher and the Drifter—describe “the doctoral experience as an evolving epistemological relationship between the student and the professoriate” (p. 240). These pathways may lead to very different experiences of work, as they represent different orientations to the profession and reflect differences in identity conceptualization. The Anointed graduate student has had a close mentorship with a faculty member, which provides a sense of membership and acceptance into the profession. The Pilgrim takes full credit for success or failure by carefully plotting out a self-directed course, or an “accumulation of academic experiences” (p. 243) to secure a faculty position, perhaps through the use of functional, as opposed to relational, mentors. The Visionary “experiences the doctoral program as a calling toward a higher goal [like social change or educational reform] to be accomplished through the professoriate” (p. 245). Visionary professors are less concerned with tenure than with creating a positive impact for students beyond the classroom. The Philosopher becomes a professor as part of a “personal quest for intellectual growth and enlightenment” (p. 246). The Drifter is not particularly committed to academe and may not even be sure she wants to be a professor. This pathway describes the least-evolved sense of academic identity.

Reybold (2003) identifies the range of anxieties a newly-hired professor might experience relative to the respective pathway she has traveled and the degree of identity

reinforcement she finds at her new institution. Reybold queries the way academic culture defines professional reality and provides value and meaning to that reality, and she believes there is often a “discordant transition into the professoriate” (p. 251) when an individual’s sense of purpose, as defined in graduate school, conflicts with the hiring institution’s academic culture. At the conclusion of the article, Reybold makes some excellent suggestions for future research consideration. Namely, she lauds the value of further longitudinal inquiry into professional identity “as a developmental process and compared to other models of adult development such as perspective transformation (Cranton, 1996) and self-authorship (Baxter Magolda, 2001)” (p. 250). Finally, she raises a concern about what happens when individuals with similar or different identity trajectories interact, particularly in a student-advisor relationship, but by extension this interaction could be problematic in a department or across disciplines. What Reybold does not acknowledge is the fact that an individual might have multiple motivations for entering academia within her own self. In other words, you might be a “visionary-philosopher-pilgrim.” How those intersecting motives compound or conflict within an institutional context is likely to have an effect on subsequent identity development. Additionally, how these identities develop over the course of a career is left unexamined. This article attempts to address some of those gaps.

Institutional culture. Differing from Reybold's (2003) work, other research on faculty identity focuses less on faculty as individuals and more on the institutional structure of the academy. Nevertheless, understanding this institutional culture is important, as it profoundly shapes the people who work within this system. Here the research is more comprehensive. Kezar and Lester (2009) summarize much of this work

in their book *Organizing Higher Education for Collaboration*. They identify higher education as a “siloe, bureaucratic, and hierarchical organization” (p. 22) characterized by fragmentation caused by specialization, disciplinary and department narrowness, paradigmatic differences, individualistic faculty training and socialization undergirded by reward systems that promote individualistic work. They also raise concerns about bureaucratic and hierarchical administrative structures that limit communication flow across the organization and discourage horizontal interaction in favor of top-down authority-based leadership. This latter tendency is facilitated by responsibility-centered management practices where “various units or schools are responsible for their own revenue developments and covering costs” (p. 33). Gumpert (2001) laments this economic model coupled with academic restructuring and outcome assessment initiatives, as they create competition over resources that favors the quantifiable over the harder-to-measure “development of individual learning and human capital” (p. 91). To emphasize this latter point, while some of the troubles facing the academy are perennial, some things have truly changed, notably “the raw power that money exerts over so many aspects of higher education” (Kirp, 2003, p. 3). The ivory tower has increasingly been put up for sale in that “[p]riorities in higher education are determined less by the institution itself than by multiple ‘constituencies’ – students, donors, corporations, politicians – each promoting its vision of the ‘responsive’ (really the obeisant) institution” (p. 4). The impact on faculty, Kirp reveals, is less institutional loyalty and more “free agency” (p. 67), less job security and more tension over wages, and less pursuit of the greater good and more self-interest – “for those favored few, [for whom] every spring becomes a season of greed, as competing offers are weighed” (p. 5). The ways all this might

influence faculty identity development are grim: Those pathways into the professoriate are transformed into a toll road.

Moreover, when Menand (2010) looked at the politics of the professoriate, he was struck by the homogeneity of the group, going so far as to title a chapter “Why do professors all think alike?” (p.128). He explained some of the social replication process by stating:

The higher the barriers to entry in an occupation, the more likely there are to be implicit codes that need to be mastered in addition to the explicit entrance requirements. And the profession of college professor has a pretty high threshold. In fact, the height of the threshold may explain a lot of what we see in these studies of professor’s politics. (p.141)

He cited recent national studies on the condition and future of the Ph.D. that were undertaken in an attempt to correct the pattern of “benign neglect” (p. 142) that has historically been an aspect of the culture of graduate education. He asserted that phenomenally high graduate school drop-out rates and shrinking job prospects have “to have an effect on professional self-conception” (p. 143). He traced the historical roots of this crisis to the 1970s, when increased professionalization of academic work caused the professoriate “to identify more with their disciplines than with their campuses” (p. 144). This professionalization led institutions to prize research above teaching and service, made the dissertation more difficult to write, and enhanced the selectivity of the profession. At the same time, the market became flooded with Ph.D.s. Thus, the doctorate was both harder to get and less valuable. Additionally, in relying on graduate student labor to teach high-demand courses, like freshman composition, institutions

became designed to produce A.B.D.s, not Ph.D.s. Further, in the 1990s faculty identity was influenced by an over-supply of Ph.D.s coupled with “attacks on the university for ‘political correctness,’ articula[ing] a widespread mood of disenchantment with the university as a congenial place to work” (p. 148). After 1996, the size of doctoral programs was cut down, but time-to-degree was still long. Thus, those who stuck with it had to be prepared for a highly competitive and lengthy apprenticeship. The nature of that apprenticeship was ill-defined, especially in the liberal arts. In contrast, the nature of what constituted scholarship is all-too-rigidly defined as something quantifiable and requiring expertise. Hence, Menand concluded that there is a great deal of social self-replication in academia: Professors “are trained to teach people to do what they do and to know what they know” (p. 151). This is clearly an extremely narrow identity range: The toll road is down to one lane. He continued:

The obstacles to entering the academic profession are now so well-known that the students who brave them are already self-sorted before they apply to graduate school.... Students who go to graduate school already talk the talk, and they learn to walk the walk as well. There is less ferment from the bottom than is healthy in a field of intellectual inquiry.... The anxieties over placement and tenure do not encourage iconoclasm either. The academic profession in some areas is not reproducing itself so much as cloning itself. (p. 153)

This bodes ill for any faculty member who does not fit the norm. A curious lack of self-awareness exacerbates this problem. Faculty believe they are independent thinkers and are able to make objective decisions, but recent investigations into the world of academic judgment prove this is not the case. For example, Lamont (2009) discovered that far

from being a logical process, "peer review is an interactional and an emotional undertaking" (p. 20). Perhaps if we could be more honest about this, academic culture would be more just and less polarized.

Faculty job satisfaction. Additional research looks at the impact of these institutional structures and cultures as they pertain to graduate student and faculty attrition, quality of life, and job satisfaction. Although not directly addressing questions of identity, this research suggests this impact is quite personal. Lovitts and Nelson (2000) reported nationwide graduate student attrition rates at about 50%. Notably, major institutional differences in how graduate students are treated and regarded reveal a high correlation between integration into a department's social and professional life and successful completion of the Ph.D. Lack of integration into the departmental community contributes most heavily to the departure of graduate students. The researchers discovered the lowest attrition rates were in the sciences, where students often work in laboratory groups focused on collaborative research and where intellectual and social interaction is most intense. The highest attrition rates were in the humanities, where study and research are most fully individualized and isolated. Ultimately, their evidence showed that attrition is deeply embedded in the organizational culture of graduate school and the structure and process of graduate education. They concluded that:

Students leave less because of what they bring with them to the university than because of what happens to them after they arrive. A student who enters a department whose culture and structure facilitate academic and personal integration is more likely to complete the Ph.D. than a student whose departmental culture is hostile or laissez-faire. (para. 30)

In this case, institutional culture not so much shapes faculty identity, as aborts it altogether.

Furthermore, attrition linked to institutional culture does not end in graduate school. Xu (2008) studied the underrepresentation of women faculty in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). Comparing the intentions of attrition and turnover between genders in research and doctoral universities, she found that the two genders did *not* differ in their intentions to depart from academia. Women and men appeared to be equally committed to their academic careers in STEM. However, women expressed dissatisfaction with an academic culture that provides them fewer opportunities, limited support, and inequity in leadership. Further, women identified this culture as one that discourages their free expression of ideas. A more inclusive, collaborative culture is required to attract more women scientists and narrow the current gender gap. Huston (2009) put the attrition equation more directly:

When faculty leave, the primary element that [they report] is missing is collegiality. Some faculty call it a lack of community. Study after study demonstrates that faculty who leave or who plan to leave usually feel discouraged or angry that no one supports them in meaningful ways, or, worse yet, that people promise to support them but withdraw that support when it's needed most. (p. 240)

Positive personal relationships are essential to positive faculty identities.

For those who stay in the profession, institutional demands and culture compromise faculty quality of life by inhibiting the expression of a full-range of identity. DeAngelo, Hurtado, Pryor, Kelly, and Santos (2009) reported the following:

Only 34.2% of faculty overall believe they have established a healthy balance in their lives personally and professionally, with female faculty appearing to have greater difficulty than male faculty in striking a balance (27.3% vs. 38.7%).

College faculty appear to experience many sources of stress in both their professional and personal lives. The top most commonly cited sources of stress by faculty were self-imposed high expectations (80.1%). Across virtually all stressor items, more women than men report experiencing stress. The greatest gender differences are due to subtle discrimination, where more than twice as many women (38.7%) than men (18.2%) cite subtle discrimination in the form of prejudice, racism, and/or sexism as a source of stress. (p. 4)

All this boils down to the issue of job satisfaction. Trower, Austin and Sorinelli (2001) reported a study of early-career faculty that shows a "troubling gap between the vision and reality of an academic career" (p. 4) influenced by a lack of community, poor work-life balance, and ambiguous, shifting, conflicting and ever-escalating tenure expectations. Moreover, faculty struggling under those circumstances felt any complaint or request for help would be perceived as weakness. As with the data on graduate student attrition, Sabharwal and Corley (2009) found faculty job satisfaction is greatly affected by collegial and student relationships, shaped by the leadership, climate and culture of the university. On the plus side, collegial relationships are often a source of support and a mechanism of building networking capability for faculty members. However, acrimonious relationships destroy satisfaction. Menand (2010) noted that "job satisfaction is actually higher among Ph.D.s with non academic careers than it is among academics" (p. 150).

Twale and DeLuca (2008) framed the problem even more bluntly. They refer to faculty incivility and the rise of an academic bully culture. They cite two primary sources as responsible for this culture. They believe the changing face of academe has brought new players, notably women and faculty of color, into a game formerly dominated by white men. This has caused a host of resentments and exclusions. Also, the increasingly corporate culture in academe creates greater competition for resources, encourages isolation, and devalues humanistic work. Moreover, university governance structures have not adapted quickly enough to respond adequately to these changes. Quite simply, "Our academic world is changing faster than the academic culture and organizational governance structure can accommodate" (p. xii).

Understanding Symbolic Capital and Identity Intersections

Bourdieu (1984) defined *habitus* as both "a structured and structuring structure" (p. 171) that reproduces cultural norms, coloring perceptions of what is taken-for-granted as ordinary and possible. The previous section detailed both the way the academy is structured and some of the impact that structure has on faculty identity and job satisfaction. To gain an even deeper understanding of how that identity is shaped -- not just at the graduate level or at the transition point into the professoriate, but over the course of a career -- those concerned must zero in on the lived experience of faculty as they simultaneously capitulate to and resist elements of academic acculturation. Bourdieu told us that symbolic capital is associated with power and "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability...[within] the established (moral) order to which [those with symbolic capital] make daily contributions" (p. 291). In terms of higher education, those with symbolic capital and power are those who set

institutional policy and are seen as contributing to the bottom line. However, such power is to great extent "arbitrary" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170) in terms of what is claimed to have value (e.g., scholarship over teaching). Even so, those with higher levels of symbolic capital may exert overt and/or subtle symbolic violence against those with lower levels of prestige through structural and/or inter-personal actions. The coercive effect of symbolic violence in the academy can be illustrated through a conceptualization of faculty identity as multifaceted and threatened by forces that seek to perpetuate the status quo.

Feminist theory provides a theoretical lens that might facilitate exploration of how this threat operates. Intersectionality is a response to identity politics, which tends to see identity as singular and deterministic. In contrast, intersectionality begins with the assumption that human identity is made up of multiple, fluid identities that can compound or conflict and are influenced by external power structures (Dhamoon, 2011). Such a conceptualization can help us understand the full dimensions of faculty identity and the ways it is shaped by institutional culture. Which aspects of this identity are encouraged by our institutions? Which are discouraged? What does this winnowing process cost? Hancock (2007) argued people must not be forced to privilege one aspect of identity to the detriment of another. Further, intersectionality has allowed practitioners, like Bettie (2000), to look at groups of people on their own terms, not as outsiders see them, to recognize previously "unarticulated and invisible" issues (p. 17) and posit that internal identity intersections were separate from external performance. Recognizing such internal identity intersections challenged the notion of unitary or overly-simplified identity categories and provided a more accurate and complex explanation of what motivates individual choices. Such a theoretical approach can mitigate reductionism and

increase our holistic understanding of how real people experience their lives. When applied to university faculty, intersectionality might reveal that the external performance of the "professor role," as a highly trained expert, might be disconnected from internal experiences, and that disconnection might create negative feelings such as insecurity and loneliness. In exploring what aspects of themselves can and cannot be expressed in the academy, faculty may better be able to understand their feelings about their work and their colleagues. This may lead to meaningful reform of our institutions, especially if we can recognize that *most* faculty suffer to some extent under present conditions. To do this we must avoid "the 'oppression Olympics' where groups compete for the mantle of 'most oppressed' to gain the attention and political support of dominant groups...leaving the overall system of stratification unchanged" (Hancock, 2007, p. 68). In other words, one danger of identity-based politics is that it can pit one marginalized group against another: faculty of color versus women in the sciences, for example. I certainly do not intend to diminish the power and importance of previous work, for example, investigating the intersections between race, gender and class in the experiences of female faculty (Gutiérrez y Muhs, Niemann, González, & Harris, 2012). However, in addition to revealing the uniquely vexed experiences of particular categories of individuals, intersectionality can also reveal common ground that can allow many different groups to come together and work for institutional reform. This might best apply to faculty by revealing the way *all* faculty, not just women or ethnically marginalized groups, are diminished by the symbolic violence inherent in the academic system. The current study attempts to do just this.

Recently, theorists have been exploring the value of applying intersectional analysis not just to feminist issues, but more widely. Dhamoon (2011), for example, argues that, through using intersectionality to look at the interaction between social processes and systems, we can broadly address how not only individual identity but also social categories are organized and constructed. More importantly, we can inquire who controls these systems. With that understanding we are better poised to correct oppressive systems and advance “agendas for justice” (p. 233).

Notably, Pifer (2011) used intersectionality to research faculty members’ experience of collegial relationships in the context of academic departments. She asserted,

Explorations of intersectionality in academic careers may illuminate the professional and personal challenges faced by faculty members whose multiple identities are not reflected in the collective identity of the department or institution, or who feel like outsiders within their scholarly homes because of the groups with which they most identify. (p. 29)

The thrust of her argument aimed at revising methods of institutional research. She outlined two possible approaches to using intersectionality. One, where specific researcher-determined identity categories (e.g., race, class, gender) are explored, may be useful in understanding how these identities function in a given context. However, this “predetermined emphasis on certain identities” (p. 30) may reflect researcher bias or may favor one set of identity intersections while excluding others that are actually more significant. The other approach is to let participants “identify and explain which components of their identities are most salient to them” (p. 31). She asserted this

approach may give a more accurate, and therefore more useful, total picture. Pifer went on to describe her mixed-methods research approach that combines quantitative social network analysis and qualitative individual interviews. She felt this combination best captured the richness and complexity of faculty identity experience. However, she also pointed out that the qualitative interview process allowed her to discover that a faculty member who appeared to be well-connected and high-status, based on the quantitative data, actually *felt* like an outsider in her department because she was “a middle-aged, mid-career, single, childless woman within a competitive academic environment” (p. 40). This underscores the importance of allowing faculty to tell their own stories and of recognizing their layered identities. Pifer concluded by observing that intersectionality also allows researchers to understand how faculty members can report having very different experiences within the same institutional context. What she does not report is that the reverse may be true as well: Seemingly very different faculty members may have similar feelings. This similarity may be key in developing the sense of common ground necessary for institutional reform.

Clearly, there is rich ground for further study, and social reproduction theory combined with intersectionality provide especially valuable critical lenses. Academic socialization into a competitive, hierarchical system privileges certain aspects of an individual’s identity while imperiling others. These lost dimensions may be the very source of academic renewal, pluralistic integration, personal gratification, and deep commitment to best practices. Recognizing how the struggle to maintain valued aspects of identity can be undermined by unseen institutional forces is a crucial first step in resolving the conflict. Making space for ways of resisting arbitrary and exclusionary

exhibitions of power is the path towards increased democracy. Moreover, the pursuit of knowledge embedded in meaningful collegial relationships where all voices are valued is a vision for a robust, generative, and socially responsible academy.

Research Questions

The scholarship previously summarized points to a significant problem. Many faculty enter the professoriate with high ideals. They have identity conceptions of themselves as potential change-agents, expanding human knowledge and contributing to the greater good. For too many, somewhere along the way, this idealism fades and is replaced with job dissatisfaction and bitterness. What are the specific mechanisms that trigger this change? How do faculty experience institutional culture, internalize these experiences, and develop their professional identity?

Data Collection and Methodology

To answer these questions, I conducted hour-long qualitative interviews with six mid-career university faculty members in the social sciences or humanities. I selected this demographic because it appears to be less thoroughly studied than other faculty populations, women in STEM for example. Selecting mid-career faculty allowed me to examine the persistence of the initial inspiration that brought them into the academy – the extent to which imagined identities could be realized. Also, I intentionally chose faculty who appear to embody success stories, some might even be labeled "privileged." My logic was that if these survivors of the system report problems, something must really be awry at the core of the status quo. From those who responded to my call for participants, I chose three men and three women (identified by the pseudonyms Simon, George, Hal, Sarah, Erin, and Juliana) from three different mid-size U.S. universities (two public, one

private) to capture what I thought would be varying experiences of the academy.

Nevertheless, because of their mid-career status, many of them had shared similar experiences: Four of the six have served as administrators; four have children; three have won teaching awards. All were presently serving as faculty, and all have tenure, with the exception of one person whose job security was differently protected. Overall, my intention was not to present a comprehensive study of diverse manifestations of faculty identity, rather to look at common themes in these six stories. Further, I have aggregated my descriptions of these six individuals as much as possible to emphasize their commonalities over their differences.

Using Pifer's (2011) model of intersectional analysis, where participants identify salient components of their identities rather than responding to pre-determined categories, I opened my interview by asking each participant for a list of such components. I then asked specific questions about what inspired them to pursue a career in academia and how their subsequent experiences have lived up to that ideal. See Appendix A for my list of interview questions. After the interviews, I transcribed the content and used both axial coding, to see how their identity paths conformed to Reibold's (2003) theory of faculty development, and Pifer's (2011) open coding, to see what other identity themes emerged from their narratives. Appendix B provides detailed lists of faculty identity traits and my coding, which indicate the identity elements that individuals felt were most valued by their academic institutions and those they felt had to be hidden or masked. Additionally, I note which of these traits can be considered emotional or relational and which participants identified as most personally valued. My hypothesis was that job satisfaction would be influenced by the degree to which faculty work has lived up to initial

expectations and by the amount of congruence between the aspects of identity both personally and institutionally valued. Further, I posited that where there was discontinuity, faculty would have experienced forms of symbolic violence that forced into hiding those identity attributes that failed to conform to institutional expectations.

Findings and Discussion

In general, these interviews confirmed previously identified problems in academia. Institutions are plagued by bureaucracy, hierarchy, competition, conformity, and reductively-quantified measures of human worth. All of these negatively impact sense of community and quality of life. Further, George, Sarah, Erin, Juliana, and Hal each reported specific examples of incivility, suggesting the presence of an academic bully culture that creates unhappiness and silences dissent. Socialization structures reinforce and perpetuate these problems. However, that much was known before I began this research. What this study reveals are the ways institutional culture shapes faculty identity and influences faculty practice and job satisfaction in the long-term. The specific mechanism by which this satisfaction is impacted had to do with the fact that faculty must mask their core, most valued, identities to survive. The impact of that masking emerged in the interviews.

In examining my data, I originally labeled those most satisfied with their work based on the degree to which they reported reality living up to initial career expectations. I predicted a correlation between this contentment and a lower percentage of hidden or masked identity components. I also expected that this contentment would also be in relation to higher percentages of institutionally valued identity traits. [See Table 1.]

<i>Table 1.</i> Career Expectations and Hidden-Versus-Valued Identity Traits, Compared						
	Simon	George	Sarah	Erin	Juliana	Hal
Initial Expectations	Exceeded	Met and Exceeded	Met and Exceeded	Met and Exceeded	Unmet	Unmet
Percentages of hidden or masked identity traits.	0%	16%	35%	27-47%	35%	100%
Percentages of institutionally valued identity traits	50%	35%	35%	13%	9%	0% (?)

To this extent, my data confirmed my predictions. Further, in selecting mid-career faculty, all of whom have a degree of job security, this study examined a population that has been relatively successful in navigating academic culture. In other words, if there is a group that might exemplify privilege and high social capital, one would expect to find it here. My findings show that even among the advantaged, academic acculturation exacts a price. Moreover, it hints at how much more costly it is for disadvantaged groups.

However, in addition to what I expected, there were findings that my hypotheses did not predict, which I will explore more fully in the following sections. In short, social reproduction theory and intersectional analysis reveal that faculty identity is more complex than I imagined and that the very ways we define job satisfaction may need to be re-examined. While my interview participants each had their unique stories, several common themes emerged, indicating the most impactful forced options in academic culture that shape faculty identity over time. An issue rose to the level of being designated a *theme* when at least five of the six participants identified the concern as salient. Some of these themes challenge pre-existing data on faculty identity and suggest a commonality of experience that may provide the key for effective institutional reforms.

Anticipated identity: Shifting from the ideal to the real. Five of the six participants in my study decided to pursue a career in academia because of what they had experienced as undergraduates. George described having

a fantastic teacher --whose charisma, whose warmth, whose integrity, whose ability to connect studying with living a life well – changed my life and made it richer and better. The idea I could do the same struck me as important.

Sarah talked about the "incredibly nurturing" environment of her undergraduate college. Erin's "mind was stimulated" by the analytical work of her discipline; she thought she would "enjoy" the work and that it was "important and meaningful....to make the world a better place." Simon said "I learned everything I know as an undergraduate." Hal was inspired as an undergraduate by "what could be done with knowledge" and saw being a professor as "the best job in the world."

In many ways Juliana is an outlier in this study. First, she does not have a full-time academic appointment. She chooses to teach on an adjunct basis in addition to her administrative role in an academic support program. As these kinds of hybrid positions are becoming more common in the academy, I believed it was relevant to include someone who bridges two domains. Second, as a Latina female, she embodies a less-privileged demographic than the other five participants. Her responses confirmed that challenges faced by more mainstream faculty are even more pronounced for more marginalized faculty. Further, her reasons for entering academia were somewhat different from the other five. She saw higher education as her "way out of ignorance and poverty" and wanted to be a "champion" for students like herself who are "different." As she put it, "I thought it was important to be a representative of a group that isn't often

represented in higher education in front of the classroom instead of cleaning the classroom."

As inside-outsiders (i.e., undergraduates), all six imagined life inside the academy as something a bit different from what they actually encountered. Using Reibold's (2003) terms, George, Erin, and Juliana entered the profession as Visionaries, the most idealistic identity orientation. Although he was not as forthcoming, I presume to say Hal also falls into this category. The nature of this idealism is worth emphasizing: All of them wanted to make the world a better place. They dreamed of their scholarship, work in the university, and teaching as functioning together in varying degrees to achieve this end. They saw their calling extending outward in very human terms. All of them expressed frustration that their work has not lived up to their expectations. They shared a sadness over how dehumanizing academic culture can be and how slowly institutions change. Erin talked about learning to accept the role of being a "butterfly flapping" instead of a "world-changer." However, all of them have also retained commitments that sustain them. Nevertheless, they have had to form less ambitious identities. In short, while they still have sources of meaning and purpose, they also harbor a sense of loss.

This is not to say that they all were completely unprepared for what they encountered. George "watched the university where [he] got [his] bachelor's degree" and saw faculty did not always get along. He also recognized a lot of "strange people" would be his faculty colleagues and knew that higher education has "too many things to do and faculty don't agree on what is most important, and we have external pressures that coerce us to go in one direction or another." Also, early on Sarah recognized the "high theory" of her graduate program was at odds with what she had experienced as an undergraduate,

so she was relieved to ultimately be hired at a university where she believed teaching would be valued.

Additionally, the identity compromises they have been forced to make have not been all bad, but were still unpredicted. In her early years as a professor, Erin came to realize that teaching "far outstripped" her initial expectations, perhaps in part because "she had no idea whether [she] would like it." Moreover, both Simon's and Sarah's identities could be initially characterized as Drifter-Philosophers, but their careers have taken very different paths. Simon has ceased to be a Drifter and has remained a Philosopher, a primarily inward-turning identity that allows him more direct control over the outcomes of his labors. He had lower expectations from the start and now expresses no disappointment over his career path. He also shows little to no institutional loyalty or sense of community at his university. Further, he initially expected to be spending at least half his time on teaching, but now he "doesn't spend any time on teaching at all anymore." He observed that by the year 2000 "my classes were mostly done, and I didn't see the need to rewrite them or really do new courses." He admits that he doesn't "have close relationships" with his students but feels fulfilled through research and publication.

In contrast, Sarah, who initially picked an academic career path as the "safe choice" instead of pursuing her "younger dream" of being a fiction writer, has become deeply committed to teaching and to her community. She finds meaning in serving the "big picture" and has become a Visionary. Later in her career, perhaps because she Drifted into administration (entering into it in part as an escape from her dysfunctional department rather than being "called" into service), she was at first okay with merely being "a voice at the table," but as she became more of a social justice Visionary, her

somewhat gelded status was no longer acceptable. Rather than ditch her identity as a Visionary, she once again shifted her role in the university, returning to teaching and "caring increasingly about scholarship."

Overall, Visionary identities appear to be common entry-level orientations for faculty, but they also may be more vulnerable pathways into the professoriate than other routes. They can be more readily damaged by symbolic violence because the realization of "visions" depends on the cooperation of other people. True, many workers shift from the idealism they feel upon entering their professions after encountering the realities faced during the course of their careers (Hall, 2002). However, the mechanism of this shift described by these mid-career faculty members was troubling. While not the terms they used, all described experiences of de-humanization and varying degrees of symbolic violence forcing certain attributes of their identities into hiding.

One does not encounter symbolic violence in any field unless there are those with symbolic power. In an interview, Bourdieu described academic power "as the power to control the reproduction of the institution (that is, control of positions, appointments, and of the allocation of financial and other resources)" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 7). Accordingly, it is no surprise that my participants knew full well that the most prestigious members of the academic community were, as Erin put it, "tenured, white, full professors and members of the upper administration who set policy." The tone set by these successful leaders both reflects and shapes the *habitus* of an institution. As Bourdieu (1988) makes clear, anyone who diverges from the norms is bound to suffer. Yet what was interesting is the nature of that suffering for my participants. One might imagine individuals *either* being coerced by seemingly-objective institutional policy *or* through inter-personal

bullying, but my participants showed that the mechanisms of coercion operated on *both* levels. This confirms Bourdieu's commitment to breaking down arbitrary dichotomies. To borrow and re-frame the slogan "the personal is political," for faculty "the institutional is personal." What follows are the salient themes that characterized their struggles.

Elements of Symbolic Violence

Institutional structure: Too much to do, too little time. Regardless of initial identity pathway, all of the participants reported having to make compromises due to institutional pressures or lack of support. Simon is not pursuing his ultimate dream of running a special program devoted to his sub-specialty; instead he is publishing and traveling (which he pays for out-of-pocket). He also frets over the difficulty of juggling too many projects and claims this is self-inflicted because he cannot say no. But, perhaps this is not solely due to his own choices and has something to do with the expectations and time pressures that characterize higher education today. George and Sarah both complained about technology not only making it possible for them to be "on call" 24/7, but playing into the expectation that they are so. Sarah described an "accretion of duties" that undermines her family time. She and George also complained about the corporatization of the academy leading to a drive for "efficiency" that contradicts the humane values that drew them into the profession in the first place. Erin's teaching load makes it so she does not have time to work on her scholarship. Hal feels he has to "cut corners" to get everything done. Another aspect of this time problem has to do with perceptions of wasted time. Simon, Erin and Hal each complained about committee work that felt pointless, took too long, or involved faculty just "spinning in the wheel." Overall, too much to do in too little time is a factor that prevents them all from savoring

the full expression of their identities or engaging in the kind of contemplation that can provide meaning.

Institutional rewards. In addition to these time pressures, there is the problem of what the institution rewards. For all of my interview participants, the institution fails fully to endorse what they most care about professionally: Simon's feels his research could be better supported; all the rest feel teaching is undervalued. In fact, Erin endorsed a widely-held belief that the reward structure is actually set up to undercut those faculty members who actually *do* have shared values but which are not the "correct" shared values: "The reward structure is all about research...the institution itself does not really value teaching." Hal referred to this as "the lie of higher education today," that we pretend to value teaching but instead favor "rigid number counting." He believes "the rules change while you are in the middle of playing the game" and this "discontinuity becomes explosive." I predicted this finding to the extent that the term "forced options" means that one's environment encourages certain ways of being over others. Therefore, I expected to discover some aspects of faculty identity would be rewarded and some would be forced into hiding.

However, what I had not accounted for was the extent to which the academy can reward *negative* identity traits. Simon, George, Sarah and Erin all expressed ways their institutions reinforce their self-imposed high expectations, a criteria determined to be highly linked with job stress and dissatisfaction (DeAngelo, Hurtado, Pryor, Kelly, & Santos, 2009). Further, George believes his perfectionism, worry, and fear of failure have been cultivated by the academy. Juliana says her sense of self as "unsafe" and "silenced" are institutionally rewarded. The cultivation of these negative identity traits

directly correlates with negative emotion—and, thus, negative emotion emerged as a powerful force that impacts faculty identity options.

Negative emotion: Colleagues' inflated egos and lack of empathy. As discussed previously, existing literature identifies positive collegial relationships as one of the key sources of faculty job satisfaction. While all of the faculty I interviewed asserted that many of the people they work with are wonderful colleagues, each identified a cohort of individuals that compromise their job satisfaction. Simon criticized those who are "lazy" and those who claim unfairness when they do not automatically get the same rewards he believes has worked hard for and uniquely deserved. George, Sarah, Erin, Juliana and Hal describe dealing with colleagues' ego problems and lack of empathy as huge challenges associated with committee work and university service. Here, the problem is one powerful person's negative identity intruding on other people's identities, a manifestation of symbolic violence. George was explicit in clarifying that while one can find difficult people in any workplace, "the university protects them; it's an important part of academic freedom, but it allows us to be protected to be jerks." He believes such incivility stems directly from academic training: "We are trained as faculty members to assert our research and challenge what we see as weakness in others' research. We are cultivated to be combatants in our thinking." This contributes to a competitive environment where people "count up points: I've got more publications than you, so I am a better person." He added that it only takes one person with this kind of mentality to teach junior people this is the way to behave and you have an "acculturation process in savagery."

Those that I interviewed expressed a range of negative feelings in reaction to such savagery. George, Sarah, Erin, and Hal resorted to profanity when describing certain colleagues and committee work: Otherwise articulate individuals were reduced to cursing when faced with arrogance and incivility. In particular, Erin described this incivility as attacks on what she most values: She "gnashed her teeth" at a colleague who challenged those faculty who care about student learning by condescendingly asserting "If your grades are too high in your classes that must mean you're not rigorous," and "you can't be a good professor if your average is a B.'" In response to these kinds of assaults, Juliana very consciously "buttons up" her blazer jacket-armor or retreats into silence. In these cases violence is done against Visionary perspectives because others are unwilling to listen and/or monopolize resources or meeting time for ends that conform to what the institution most values: hierarchy and well-defined scholarship.

The problem of narrow forms of symbolic capital, manifested as ego or "star" power, does not end there. Sarah and Erin compare themselves negatively to those who are perceived as "stars," who put in long hours and seem to "have no life" outside of work. Neither woman wants to put in that kind of time, but both understand that they will never be up in the stratosphere unless they do. Thus, they are caught between two identities: the one they both identify as most personally meaningful (mother) and the one their profession vaunts as top tier. George also wishes he could spend more time with his family and resists becoming a leader. However, as long as that "star" identity is out there, they will always feel in second place, even though being a mid-career faculty member means that there are naturally other calls on their identities. The institution does not allow for easy compromises.

Judgment and (lack of) mentoring. Another manifestation of symbolic violence is the way negative emotion shapes faculty identity through institutional judgment. George, Sarah, Erin and Hal expressed significant angst over their promotion and tenure processes. They voiced arbitrariness, subjectivity, and shifting expectations as large parts of the problem with their experiences with this process. In identity terms, they did not know who they needed to be in order to succeed. In George's case, he got caught between two poles of the theory wars raging in his department because he did not neatly fit in either camp. Erin explicitly used the term "hazing," which by definition involves the persistent harassment of an initiate into a closed system. For some, this closed system felt like a straightjacket. Several talked about the reductive and "unnuanced" ways worth was measured, ways that also failed to take into account how one's work changes over the course of a career.

They all talked about the pressures of judgment in other ways as well. George discussed how difficult it was to stand up to his former department and express an unpopular opinion. His pain over the criticism he received was clear. Sarah talked about the "snarky comments" with which her colleagues judged her. Erin described the frequent review process required by her union as "very stressful." She also told how she did not think she was respected by her former department head. His judgment resulted in "one of the most miserable times" in her life. Juliana felt so judged she continuously "structure[s] what [she has to] say in a way that is acceptable." She feels that to do otherwise would be to call forth the "killer bees." Hal expressed a "constant anxiety" that external judgment might reshape his identity. He also thinks all faculty are "plagued by a lot of self-doubt." Such vulnerability is seen as shameful. (Note: Simon may have

exemplified the problem when he referred to the expression of such feelings as "whining.") In short, fear of negative judgment impacts faculty identity by forcing people to invest energy into protecting their vulnerable selves. This energy could instead be better mobilized outward in the service of their more integrated identities to construct a more positive institutional environment.

Given the difficulty of coping with this kind of judgment, it is no wonder that George, Sarah, Erin and Hal were angry over the lack of formal mentoring they received. They all desired more guidance in developing their professional identities. Their difficulty was exacerbated by the time issues discussed previously.

Understanding Symbolic Violence

Do all professors think alike? While Menand (2010) argued that the academy self-selects new faculty who replicate existing norms, my interviews suggested this is not the case. There is actually a great deal of diversity within faculty populations, but that diversity must be masked. George described the way untenured faculty have to appear to be *avant garde* but that they cannot be truly original in their thinking. Juliana said she felt she must "act white" to be accepted in the dominant faculty group. Erin and Sarah both believed they had to hide their spirituality or be dismissed as "lightweight." While these examples demonstrate the kind of conformity pressures that faculty experience, this is not the same thing as Menand's claim that "Students who go to graduate school already talk the talk, and they learn to walk the walk as well" (p. 163). So, later when he says, "There is less ferment from the bottom than is healthy in a field of intellectual inquiry" (p. 163), such ferment could actually occur, if only faculty could express their full range of identity.

A gender divide...or not? However, creating better understanding of the problems that plague academic culture is not always easy. As I have been exploring, what might seem clear on the surface may be more complex underneath. Another example is the theme of gender identity as it emerged in my interviews. Initially, the problem seemed like a simple binary: male privilege versus female marginalization. Erin suffered under a sexist department head. Sarah described the "masculinist" culture that she sees contributing to the corporatization of higher education and the "masculine drive" that creates time pressure problems. She believed she was supposed to develop theoretical "mastery" and feels women are "ambivalent about ambition" and competition – all of which she sees as symptomatic of being outsiders confronting a patriarchal system. She talked about the unfair service burden placed on women, especially women of color. Juliana exemplifies other problems experienced by that group as well when she explains "I am successful within the institution because I have been able to hide some things, cover others, and structure what I have to say in a way that is acceptable." She navigates her Latina identity by trying "to become as American, as homogenized, as I can be...otherwise I begin any discussion with five points against me." All of this may be true, but the problem is more nuanced than that.

It would be too hasty if I simply blamed men for the problems in academia and saw women as the primary victims. Digging a little further, I must acknowledge the fact that it was two *men* in Sarah's department who tried to mentor her and it was two *men* who alerted Erin to the fact of her department head's sexism. George used his position of power to try to challenge sexism in his department. These exceptions might point to a new rule. I am not forgetting that Simon admitted to benefitting from male privilege and

that he says the academy is a "perfectly pleasant" place to work. Indeed, he seems to feel that he is under no obligation to try to change higher education, despite the fact he has "heard about" wrongdoing. Because he has not experienced it directly, he ignores it. But what about George and Hal? George does not wear his masculinity as a badge of honor. Instead, he adopts a "hidden" identity to protect his emotionally sensitive self and resists the "leader" label, even though it is deeply embedded in his identity "as a man in our culture." Paradoxically, as George rejects a narrow definition of masculinity to embrace his other identities as a parent and a teacher, Juliana says she wears a blazer for protection against hostile colleagues. One way of analyzing this might be to report that George is trying to embrace a more feminine identity, while Juliana pursues a more masculine, and therefore more powerful, identity--that they are essentially pursuing different ends. But such an interpretation misreads the symbols: *Both* are attempting to negotiate a culture that forces them to radically alter what they most value in themselves and what makes them most alive. They are both victims of the symbolic violence endemic in their cultures. Additionally, while Hal adopts a hyper-theoretical veneer, how does he really see himself vis-à-vis his students? The descriptive term he chose is not just parent, but *mother*. Perhaps there was something more nuanced and complex than simple sexism going on here.

Cognitive bias. Indeed, the root of the problem in academia is the denial of emotion. The cognitive bias in higher education affects all members of the system, although to varying degrees. Over and over again throughout these interviews, George, Sarah, Erin, Juliana, and Hal referred to a privileging of the analytical and expressed their pain over having to hide their feelings. They talked about people being turned into

machines, teaching getting taken over by robots, human worth getting measured by quantified productivity requirements. They talked about how unsafe it is to be emotional, how ashamed they feel if they cry in front of their colleagues, and how they fear they will be dismissed as "airheads" if they have feelings. Juliana may often see herself as a puppy who "tucks her tail between her legs," but she will not "expose her belly." Paradoxically, she realizes that her sensitivity allows for "perspective taking" and that effective responses to a diverse community require emotionality, but for someone who is sensitive, "stinging words really do hurt." Operating under a similar burden, George described keeping his true identity underground and working as a "mole," even though the one thing he most wishes his colleagues knew about him was how sensitive he is. Like Juliana, the "wellspring" of Sarah's professional effectiveness is institutionally ignored even though she knows her emotionality is "what makes her a good teacher, a connector, a team player" and is what helps her with "big-picture administrative problem-solving." Erin's nurturance can only be expressed in one of the three components of her work, and there, in her teaching, she has a "secret" following of admirers. In academia emotion is not just seen as a deficiency, it perceived as a defect. However, not all emotion: Negative emotion (fear, shame, anger) is allowed to thrive, but positive emotion (empathy, nurturance, spirituality) is shunned and seen as anti-intellectual. Cognitive bias masks this reality.

Earlier, I described the forced loss of initial ideals as a form of de-humanization. At its worst, symbolic violence in the academy also de-humanizes by killing off the emotional aspects of faculty identity, especially the positively emotional parts. Do not think for a moment that this is not how people experience it. George, Juliana and Hal

feel personally besieged. All three used life-or-death imagery to describe the perceived risks of revealing too much of themselves: George imagines "Everyone is shooting at you in the battle, including from behind" (i.e., from your own side); Hal says you must learn to "compromise or die." Juliana often asks herself "Is this the hill I am going to die on?" She also recognizes that her "gods have feet of clay," that the ivory tower has not lived up to what she had hoped it would be, that she must grieve "the death of [her] illusions." This, then, is the impact of symbolic violence.

Who is really the most satisfied? Given all this pain, Simon's relative isolation and detachment from his community and from his emotions may begin to look more enticing. Add to that the math that the higher the percentage of emotional or relational identity traits [Simon (12.5%), George (58%), Juliana (65%), Sarah (80%), Erin (80%), Hal (100%?)], the less job satisfaction individuals expressed -- especially when combined with the correlation between hidden identities and institutionally under-valued identities. However, Simon's narrative contains a number of contradictions and inconsistencies, suggesting he may be more confused or masked than he reports. This indicates not only the limitations of self-reported measures of happiness, but intersectional analysis digs underneath the explicit to reveal a more complicated subtext. True, Simon has experienced the least amount of symbolic violence than my other participants, but he also uses the fewest terms to describe his identity, suggesting a fairly limited sense of self. That which he does express fully endorses the academic culture status quo. Reibold (2002) suggested the "Drifter" identity was vulnerable because such a person has a weak commitment to academe and might be more prone to "drift" away. Simon shows that a "drifter's" weak identity might also become so fully acculturated, in ways that discourage

self-reflection, that richer more multi-faceted identity development is foreclosed. Also, except for when he is expressing anger at his "lazy" colleagues, he uses fairly tepid language to describe his work, suggesting his experience of positive emotion has been somewhat truncated.

To contrast, while Simon described his work as merely "fun," that in no way compares to the deep joy the rest experience in their teaching. They use words like flow, delight, highly thrilling, awesome, engaging, meaning-making, enlightenment, and love. From this we can conclude that in allowing an emotionally positive identity to flourish, faculty do risk experiencing some lows but there are some very high highs as compensation. While relationships with colleagues might be thwarted by a hostile academic culture, relationships with students give meaning. This kind of intersectional analysis suggests that my criteria for determining job satisfaction may be insufficient. While I initially ranked Simon as most satisfied, I am no longer content with that designation. This aligns with Pifer's (2011) realization that there can be quite a disconnect between external and internal experiences of identity. My study adds to that the possibility of a layer of identity that a person might not be consciously aware of. Thus, faculty identity is more complex than one might initially imagine, requiring more sophisticated measures of satisfaction that can capture simultaneous frustrations and gratifications, mechanisms of masking and endorsing, and the interplay between the subjective and the contextual.

Another curious finding from this study is the elusive quality of symbolic capital in higher education. Earlier, I wrote about my participants having a clear sense of male, tenured, white professors as being "at the top of the food chain." Yet, Simon, George and

Hal, who are male, tenured, white professors, do not seem to revel in their power. Simon juggles his multiple scholarly projects solo. George admits he is "freer," "more relaxed," and "worries less" now that he has tenure, but he also feels like he has been "socialized into being a coward" – so afraid of his colleagues' censure, because in the past that censure meant denial of tenure at another institution, that he shies from being a "bold risk taker." He also continues to feel pressure to churn out publications because his future raises will depend on these. No question that things are easier now than when he was starting out his career, but there is an odd sense that, to borrow a saying from Gertrude Stein (1937), "there is no there there," (p. 289). Academia exacts a never-ending price.

Escape, retreat, retrench. Therefore, just because frustrated faculty also experience some career gratification in spite of symbolic violence does not mean we should cease working on ways to minimize those frustrations. Finding ways to optimize positive relationships, build on them, and work to change the cognitively biased system should be top priority not just for faculty job satisfaction, but for the future of the academy. We must not gloss over the huge personal impact academic identity formation has on the individuals involved. All six of the faculty I interviewed told me about career decisions they have made, or coping mechanisms they have developed, in order to "escape" unbearable aspects of academic institutional culture. Even Simon, who seems the most content, dove into scholarship to avoid a department that didn't value his academic sub-specialty and to avoid committee work that he detests. George first went into administration and then left one university to avoid a toxic department. Sarah also went into administration to avoid her dysfunctional department. She needed "distance" to figure out why she was so unhappy. Erin considered quitting academia altogether.

Juliana wears her armor. Hal told me he drinks, and even if that was just a joke, he obfuscates and wears a cynical mask. These escape strategies illustrate how important it is that we begin acknowledging the kinds of choices faculty are being asked to make and the ways in which our institutions limit the full expression of humanity. In other words, the academy needs to examine the kinds of options it is forcing on faculty. The stakes are high. If these problems are not resolved, it won't merely be a question of how faculty develop their identity and experience their work. Those people who are most fully developed will leave academia altogether, a natural selection process that weeds the humanity out of academe.

An additional consequence of symbolic violence against faculty is the unconscious perpetuation of practices that can translate into symbolic violence against students. While this was not a focus of the present study, future work might examine how even the most well-intentioned and democratic of professors might find themselves asserting their expertise and invalidating student perspectives, or grading in ways that perpetuate social privilege. Bourdieu (1988) himself described a process by which faculty unconsciously favored students from the upper classes, who possessed high linguistic capital, over those from working classes -- independent from the merit of the ideas conveyed in their work. The wealthier students simply sounded smarter than the poorer ones did. In other words, the invisible *habitus* of academic language expectations affected faculty judgment. Bourdieu called such teachers "mystified mystifiers" and "the *first victims* of the operations which they perform" because the *habitus* of the academy functions to make them "think they are operating on a purely academic [level]" (p. 207). Because of this false belief, "the system is able to perform a genuine *distortion of the*

meaning of their practices, persuading them to do what they would not deliberately do for 'all the money in the world'" (p. 207). As reflected in my study, most of the participants talked about how much they care about teaching but also felt they must not appear to care "too much." What impact does such an identity compromise have on students?

Conclusion

To guard against such hidden institutional influences in their colleges and universities, faculty might do well to practice a form of Bourdieu's "epistemic reflexivity," which he claims differs from the reflexivity advocated by other social theorists because his "primary target is not the individual analyst but the social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations ... [Therefore, reflexivity] must be a collective enterprise rather than the burden of the lone academic" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 36). Such a collective commitment to an awareness of the capacity for bias or hypocrisy and to a strict alignment between intentions and outcomes might militate against time wasted "spinning in the wheel" on academic committees, as Simon put it, or teaching practices that work at cross purposes (e.g., simultaneously encouraging and silencing student voice in class discussion), or the scholarship George observed that undercuts itself because it tries to be both innovative and derivative at the same time. True, most of the participants in this study reveal that they already have some of this kind of reflexive-awareness, but those who hold the reins of power – who are more deeply embedded in academic culture – do not appear to be participating in similar self-interrogation (e.g., Simon). Or, if they are, there is no incentive for them to change their behavior. In short, those that are most satisfied are least likely to challenge academic

culture, and those that are most satisfied are likely those with the most power. What this means is that change is unlikely to come any time soon.

For change to happen, the mechanisms that trigger faculty job dissatisfaction—the negative forced options—must be more openly acknowledged and studied. The academy must recognize that dissatisfaction stems from socialization into a competitive, hierarchical system that privileges certain facets of an individual's identity while imperiling other aspects, especially the emotional and relational. These lost dimensions may well be the source of academic renewal and connection, as well as personal gratification. Further study of a wider range of individuals can deepen our understanding of this phenomenon. Such research might also target more of the various pathways and sub-themes identified in this project. Moreover, because an intersectional lens reveals individual faculty identity is comprised of multiple identities, this research suggests that as we consider ways of making the academy more democratic, we must begin to think of pluralism as both an *intrapersonal* and interpersonal goal. The way we define job satisfaction and reflexivity must reflect this more complex and nuanced sense of self.

The issue is not simply a question of improving personal happiness and faculty job satisfaction. Twale and DeLuca (2008) told us, "Academic environments that successfully manage conflict through valuing openness, civility, and honest communication are more likely to survive" (p. 155). They go on to describe effective leadership as outward-focused and not ego centered. The necessary structural changes in academia that this study implies would allow that kind of civility and leadership to flourish. For example, long-term mentoring of senior faculty members might help them better facilitate the acquisition of symbolic power and more fully understand what that

means in terms of their relationships with junior faculty. If emotions were more valued, differences could be discussed, common ground could be discovered, and collaboration could be more possible. This might have a ripple effect on all aspects of higher education, creating both better classroom experiences for students and more relevant research for the larger society. Therefore, to borrow a concept from social justice theory, we must move from a deficit model (Paris, 2012) to see emotion and relationships as assets, funds of feeling. We must redefine academic capital, re-humanizing the academy to create a space where positive feelings can flourish. Such a process involves inviting our "relational selves" (Jordan, 1997) to sit at the analytical table. The pursuit of knowledge amongst fully-actualized human beings embedded in honest, meaningful, harmonious relationships within collaborative institutions is a vision for a robust, generative, and socially responsible academy--one that is culturally enriching and can change lives for the better.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1.) I would like to begin by mapping out the way you see yourself in its totality. Help me fill-in the facets of your identity you feel best capture who you are – these might be adjectives or demographic details.

Let's evaluate these facets of your identity...

2.) Which aspects of your identity are personally most important to you? Why?

3.) Which aspects are personally least important to you? Why?

Now, let's turn to your work at the university...

4.) Why did you choose this career? What did you hope to accomplish?

5.) Has your work lived up to these expectations? How so? How not?

6.) What do you like best about your current job?

6b.) Which of the three domains of your work—teaching, research, service/administration— do you find most gratifying, if any? Why?

6c.) On an interpersonal level, how satisfied do you feel about: your work teaching/with students...your interactions with colleagues...your interactions with administrators...the overall structure of the institution? [Rank on a 1-10 scale, 10 being fabulous, 1 being awful]

7.) What do you like least about your current job?

7b.) Which of the three domains of your work – teaching, research, service/administration--do you find most frustrating, if any? Why?

8.) What facets of your identity (from the circle we drew in #1) are most valued, endorsed, and/or encouraged by the university? (Or, do any parts of your identity fit-together (compound) to aid your success in academia?) How so?

8b.) Which aspect(s) of your identity do you think people associate with you most?

9.) What facets are most hidden undervalued, and/or discouraged? (Or, might feel "at odds" or in conflict?) How so?

10.) How does your academic discipline influence your identity?

11.) How does (or has) your rank in the university influenced your identity?

12.) What metaphor or image would you use to describe yourself in the context of your work in the university?

13.) What is the one thing about yourself you wish more people at work knew about you? Why?

14.) How do you imagine your experience of your work would be different if you could express or utilize those hidden facets more?

15.) What aspect of your identity as a university faculty member have I not asked about that you think I need to know about?

APPENDIX B: FACULTY SELF-IDENTIFIED CORE IDENTITY TRAITS, CODED

<p>Simon: "Having Fun and Juggling Solo" Drifter-Philosopher</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [academic sub-specialty] 2. teacher 3. writer 4. cook 5. potter 6. musician 7. father * 8. editor <p>Most endorsed or valued by the academic institution (4/8 = 50%)</p> <p>Most hidden or masked in academic institution (0%)</p> <p>* Emotional/Relational (1/8 = 12.5%)</p> <p>Most personally valued (all)</p>	<p>George: "Working Underground" Visionary-Philosopher</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. family man * 2. curious * 3. articulate 4. perfectionistic * 5. worrier * 6. great teacher * 7. citizen * 8. provider 9. competitive and sensitive * 10. pleaser * 11. (ironically) conflict averse * 12. brave * 13. male 14. progressive/democrat * 15. book lover * 16. builder 17. creative * 18. observant 19. ethical * 20. leader * 21. complicated class background 22. good friend (to a chosen few) * 23. messy 24. afraid to fail (also coded blue) * 25. risk taker/ bold thinker/ integrative connector * 26. white 27. married with 2 children 28. agnostic 29. full professor w/ endowed chair 30. supporter of the liberal arts 31. silenced <p>Most endorsed or valued by the academic institution (11/31 = 35%)</p> <p>Most hidden or masked in academic institution (5/31 = 16%)</p> <p>* Emotional/relational (18/31 = 58%)</p> <p>Most personally valued</p>	<p>Sarah: "Attached and Grounded" Drifter-Philosopher-Visionary</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. mother * 2. teacher * 3. spouse * 4. friend * 5. sister/daughter * 6. lover of the arts * 7. compassionate/empathetic * 8. a "connector" * 9. team player * 10. passionate * 11. (overly) sensitive * 12. scholar 13. "big picture" thinker 14. liberal * 15. Unitarian/spiritual * 16. feminist * 17. passionate about diversity issues and social justice * 18. female 19. white 20. (overly) responsible * <p>Most valued by the academic institution (7/20 = 35%)</p> <p>Most hidden or masked in academic institution (7/20 = 35%)</p> <p>*Emotional/relational (16/20 = 80%)</p> <p>Most personally valued</p>	<p>Erin: "Secretly Excellent" Philosopher-Visionary</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. mother * 2. wife * 3. sister/daughter * 4. friend * 5. creative 6. kind/nurturing ** 7. spiritual * 8. intelligent * 9. leftist * 10. feminist ** 11. nature-loving * 12. gardener 13. professor * 14. writer * 15. emotionally sensitive * <p>Most valued by the academic institution (2/15 = 13%)</p> <p>Most hidden or masked in academic institution (4/15 = 27% totally masked; * plus 3 that are partially masked: 7/15 = 47%)</p> <p>*Emotional/relational (12/15 = 80%)</p> <p>Most personally valued</p>	<p>Juliana: "Still Standing" Visionary</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. passionate * 2. honest * 3. ethical * 4. compassionate * 5. sensitive * 6. happy * 7. critical 8. curious * 9. change-agent and hopeful ** 10. equitable * 11. intelligent 12. playful * 13. strong * 14. courageous * 15. bad-ass * 16. female 17. Latina 18. adjunct faculty 19. born poor, but now upper middle class 20. Buddhist 21. married, no children * 22. Democrat/liberal 23. social scientist <p>Most valued by the academic institution (2/23 = 9%)</p> <p>Most hidden or masked in academic institution (8/23 = 35%)</p> <p>* Emotional/relational (15/23 = 65%)</p> <p>Most personally valued</p>	<p>Hal: "Being and Doing" Philosopher (latent Visionary)</p> <p>Declined to offer any specific traits; claimed identity was not determined by the individual but was constructed through the perceptions of others.</p>
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Note: The name-label term in quotation marks was selected by the participant as best capturing how they see themselves in relation to the academy. The second term is derived from Reybold's (2003) model of pathways to the professorate.

Chapter Five -- On the Need for a New Ethic of Collegiality

In this dissertation I have sought answers to the question: In what ways does institutional culture influence teaching practices and student engagement? The previous three chapters have demonstrated how those elements connect. I have shown how even while engaged learning techniques have been developed by scholars of pedagogy, ways of broadly building the kind of will amongst faculty to actually *use* these techniques have been under-explored. My work here has attempted to rectify that omission. Chapter Two examined engaged learning, revealing the profound impact, for good or ill, a teacher has on student writing self-efficacy and highlighting the value of learning relationships that foster mediated efficacy. Chapter Two also showed that student attitudes about learning are largely shaped before they arrive in college. Therefore, to be effective educators, university faculty need to recognize their students' perspectives and needs. However, elements of institutional culture can make that level of attention to student requirements difficult to sustain. Chapter Three explored some of these difficulties faced by faculty when they simultaneously feel compelled to support students but also are pressured to follow institutionally-imposed assessment protocols. Chapter Four deepened the examination of the positions faculty are put in when navigating institutional culture. The impact of aspects of that culture on sense of identity, quality of life, and meaningful work was profoundly troubling. Again, in terms of educational effectiveness, many faculty are

being forced to navigate institutional cultures that work at crossed purposes to the kinds of collaborative classroom environments most conducive to student learning.

At the very outset, Chapter One previewed subsequent sections by stating that the structure of this dissertation began with students and ended with faculty, promising that the relationship between students and faculty would be the focus of my overarching analysis. I contended that the purposes of higher education are heavily influenced by the cultures of institutions and that an understanding of culture requires careful consideration of the perspectives and experiences of stakeholders and of the ways in which their views align or diverge. Chapters Two, Three, and Four have highlighted key features of stakeholder experience. The task ahead is to ascertain what those experiences signify. If faculty identity is as truncated by institutional culture as my research suggests, what impact does that have on students and on the long-term health of the academy? This final chapter will attempt to answer this question and will offer recommendations for ways the academy can move forward.

How Negative Faculty Identities Impact Students

When faculty are faced with hostile institutional cultures, or even cultures that simply do not foster learning relationships between teacher and student, there appear to be three routes unhappy professors take – each of which can exact a toll on students. The first route is to leave academia altogether. The impact this option has on students is extremely hard to calculate because in many cases faculty depart before they ever even enter the professoriate. With 50% of graduate students dropping out of their programs (Lovitts and Nelson, 2000), potential professors may be leaving before they get the chance to become inspired by innovative and humane teachers who challenge dominant

paradigms. Moreover, the fact that tenure rates at research universities run on average at 53%, with "females trail[ing] males and minorities trail[ing] non-minorities in the rates at which they achieve tenure" (Dooris & Guidos, 2006, p. 6), suggests that the 47% who fail to get tenure might just be those faculty who have invested more time in their teaching and less in their scholarly output. Such a claim is somewhat speculative, and certainly not all colleges are research universities, but the basic point is that students lose the faculty with whom they have previously built relationships if those faculty leave the institution. One recent case of a professor who withdrew himself from tenure

consideration at an Ivy League research university illustrates my point. As he put it, he

quit before I could be fired. I'd grown tired of the low-stakes, high-anxiety bitterness of academic politics; weary of performing the performative weariness of academic writing... All in all, pretty routine academic despair for anyone fortunate enough to land a tenure-track job (Jarosinski, 2014, para. 3)... Since leaving the tenure track, I've taken to calling myself a #failedintellectual online. The hashtag became a minor meme, then something of a guiding ethos. In truth, I suppose, it's also a lie. Looking back on my years in the academy, I think I succeeded at what I really wanted to accomplish. I greatly improved my teaching and did my best to pass on what my best teachers taught me: how to read carefully, think boldly, write convincingly. Though I do hope to teach again, that's over for the moment. (Jaronsinski, 2014, para.6)

With him gone, who remains at that Ivy League institution to teach students to read carefully, think boldly, write convincingly?

A second route that an unhappy faculty member might take, should that faculty member receive tenure, is to remain at his or her institution but become disillusioned and cynical. While the notion of the cynical professor has achieved near-stereotypic status (think of the old curmudgeon in the movie *The Paper Chase*) such typecasting is not merely a product of Hollywood. Bedeian (2007) reported a "growing level of cynicism" (p. 9) present in the academy in response to the increasing sense of high-stakes corporatization and disillusionment experienced by faculty. This disillusionment was characterized by "a basic disconnect between their university's publically stated aims and the day-to-day reality" (p. 10). His findings led him to conclude "that universities that engender high levels of cynicism among their faculty can expect diminished organizational commitment, waning job satisfaction, and, ultimately increased turnover" (p. 25). He explored less obvious implications as well, including the reality that "cynicism (both high and low) can spread throughout entire colleges and, perhaps, campuses" and that "when faculty feel a sense of disconnection, as a result of doubting the motives, actions or values of their employing university, their relations with colleagues and students may well be affected" (p. 26). Palmer's (1998) observation that "it is not unusual to see faculty in midcareer don the armor of cynicism against students, education, and any sign of hope" as the ideals that once propelled them into academia are "dashed by experience" (p. 48) underscores the point. Corrigan (2014) illustrated the all-too-familiar cynic's lambast against students as going something like this:

Students these days. Take it from me, I teach college. They barely read. Can't write a coherent sentence. They have no attention span. Or respect for authority. Or for knowledge. All they do is eat, cheat, sleep, sleep around, sleep through class—

texting and sexting the whole while. They are worse than all previous generations of students. Basically horrible in every way. (para. 1)

Far from isolated rants, Corrigan pointed to the thousands of stories published on websites, like *Rate Your Students* and *College Misery*, that have received millions of views. He recalled:

In 2008 in a widely read *Atlantic* essay, Professor X, an anonymous college teacher, lambasted some of his students as unable to “write a coherent sentence” and not even ready for high school. More recently, Rebecca Schuman, an occasional college teacher, insisted that, since most college students can’t write and won’t learn to, we should stop trying to teach them. So far, readers have shared her essay more than 50,000 times on social media. (para.2)

It is hard to imagine these sorts of attitudes not exacting a heavy toll on students. How can the mutual trust that learning relationships require flourish in such a hostile climate?⁷ Indeed, instead of setting the high expectations most associated with student improvement (Arum & Roksa, 2011), student bashing communicates how little is expected of them and could influence how much and how well they learn. Further, according to Corrigan (2014), “going after students in public is bad press and bad politics. Souring public attitudes towards teaching and learning does nothing to improve things. It just hastens the next round of funding cuts and testing mandates” (para. 9).

⁷ That said, there appears to be a gap in the research here worth exploring at a future time. Bedeian (2007) reports: “The toll such cynicism exacts on collegial relations, faculty performance of service obligations, mentoring roles, and, most important, teaching responsibilities is unknown. Likewise unknown is the impact that this cynicism has on faculty members' inner lives and the passion they bring to their subject matter and convey to students. The nature of cynicism's toll on the growth of collegial relations and student learning are, thus, areas for additional research.” (p. 26)

Despite the concerns raised in the previous paragraph, only one of the six faculty members I interviewed for Chapter 4 (Hal) displayed such cynicism toward students. Four others (Sarah, Erin, George, and Juliana) remained deeply committed to students. True, they displayed some cynicism against their institutions, proving one of Bedeian's (2007) other points, "that cynicism may be directed to different targets" (p. 26). In general, these four faculty may represent a third way of managing their unhappiness: compartmentalization. They seem able to carry on with the work they find most gratifying in spite of negative institutional pressures. Given that none of them work at a liberal arts college, their success in achieving tenure *and* maintaining their teaching commitments to students is worth applause, but it is not without some negative consequence for students. The cost of being forced to hide their dedication to students and retreating into the isolation of their classrooms is that they do not work with other colleagues building curriculum or sharing pedagogical strategies. Thus, even with this most benign alternative for beleaguered faculty, there are the costs of fragmentation and missed opportunities that are borne by students.

While it is extremely difficult to measure the impact of missed opportunities, current research on another group of fragmented faculty might shed some light on what students lose. Perhaps somewhat like Sarah, Erin, George, and Juliana from Chapter 4, contingent faculty have been shown to have low levels of institutional or organizational commitment (Umbach, 2007), which in turn is a "critical aspect in determining the success of education reform and school effectiveness" (Selamat, Nordin, & Adnan, 2013, p. 566). Because instructors with low institutional commitment focus more on their own success or on the success of individual students in their classrooms, they make less effort

to improve educational conditions more broadly. Further, "a lack of professional identity and shared values" (Cross, 1986, p. 14) has long been recognized as a source of faculty demoralization. The isolation experienced by many contingent faculty can exacerbate morale problems (Dolan, 2011). Likewise, when morale is low, enthusiasm ebbs, creating a vicious cycle that impacts students because "an academic's enthusiasm [is] an important prerequisite for students' engagement with the learning process" (Benton, 2011, p. 30). Additionally, when faculty feel their work is not recognized or institutionally valued, morale drops, and enthusiasm for teaching wanes, this not only has an adverse effect on student learning, but also may ultimately be detrimental for the institution itself (Freudenberg & Samarkovski, 2014). When faculty members feel undervalued or expendable, it "makes it hard to make strong demands on students, or, perhaps more important, to stand up for any kind of change in our institutions" (Natale & Doran, 2012).

Therefore, the issues discussed in the previous paragraphs transcend questions of job satisfaction or personal gratification. Instead, they speak to the sustainability of higher education into the 21st Century. Given that active learning methods play a role in student persistence, "the teaching practices of college and university faculty play a significant role in the college student departure process" (Braxton, Milem, & Sullivan, 2000, p. 587). Moreover, "increased efforts to enhance the pedagogical practices of college and university faculty members...might not only reduce student departure, but also increase student learning" (p. 587) and institutional effectiveness.

Manifestos such as *Our Underachieving Colleges* (Bok, 2006) and *Academically Adrift* (Arum & Roksa, 2011) thoroughly document troubling trends in student learning rates, and both books discuss elements of campus culture that contribute to an educational

downward spiral. I will not repeat those findings here but will point out a couple of key congruencies between my findings and theirs. Notably, Bok (2006) detected the same kinds of differing perspectives between students and faculty on the role of a university education I showed in Chapter One when I contrasted the CIRP and HERI data from my own institution. He also recognized the negative impact compartmentalization can have on curricular coherence. However, in his focus on student performance, he tended to lay the blame for low achievement rates on faculty. For example, he identified a pattern of what he perceived as neglect where faculty simply change curricular requirements instead of undertaking the more "effortful" task of reforming pedagogical methods and ignore research on student development instead of "risking unsettling changes" (p. 51). He believed they are motivated by a form of "self-protection" and hide behind academic freedom rather than "change long-standing habits and master new skills for which many of them have little preparation" (p. 49). While not directly using the terms "lazy" and "cowardly," his descriptions imply these pejoratives. Although I certainly do not claim generalizability based on my small sample, my research reveals a more heart-breaking reality: Most faculty may be all-too-willing to engage in the hard work of "collective deliberation" (p. 51) about pedagogy, but institutional culture militates against such exertions or undercuts the transfer of deliberation into action. In Chapter Four, faculty described the "accretion of duties" and time pressures that make it difficult to transform reflection into operation.

Focus on student performance as the primary criterion for measuring instructional effectiveness is the core of the current institutional accountability movement. As Arum and Roksa (2011) acknowledge, such concerns are inevitable for economic reasons and in

some respects are warranted. Accountability is preferable to inconsistency and neglect. However, their skepticism regarding externally imposed accountability systems seems well-placed. Do such systems define and measure student learning through a short-term snapshot of competence or through a long-term study of skill transfer and development? Do such systems narrowly-define comprehension or include whole-person growth and self-knowledge? Conner and Rabovsky (2011) pointed out that "understanding how both institutions and students are affected by either state or federal-level [accountability] decisions are particularly poignant in understanding the second order effects of policy, as well as the unintended consequences" (pp. 105-106). Chapter Three of this dissertation illustrated some of these unintended consequences by demonstrating the way faculty can be caught between accountability demands encoded in a gold standard writing rubric and responsibility to student long-term skill development. Without internal conversations about what and *why* students should learn, assessment processes risk being reductionistic or, worse, will nobble the potential function of higher education in a democracy. However, forcing faculty to shoulder the lion's share of blame for accountability problems seems a bit like getting angry at someone for not attending a party to which they were not invited. To encourage and engage faculty in any kind of deep improvement, the venue for reform must be booked. In other words, institutional cultures will need to change in ways that encourage introspection and alignment.

Approaches to Changing Institutional Culture

Given the hidden and unconscious ways culture can be transmitted and manifested, crafting lasting institutional change can be quite challenging. Even the most toxic cultures can become normalized, especially when the impact of negative behaviors

is hidden, when usually intolerable situations (e.g., bullying) are redefined as acceptable, or when repeated exposure numbs response (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2002). Such normalizing happens amongst the professoriate when faculty members like Juliana "button up" their armor and hide their hurt feelings, when the hazing Erin experienced at the hands of her department chair is masked by the tenure process, or when the "snarky comments" Sarah regularly endured from her departmental colleagues becomes just "the way things are." So, too, do classroom practices that are inhumane and counter-productive – e.g., slashing students' papers with "the red pen of death" – seem acceptable if they appear to be ubiquitous. Therefore, perhaps the first task in trying to craft change is *denormalizing* taken-for-granted features of academic culture. Twale and De Luca (2008) referred to this as "deconstructing to reconstruct" (p. 181). They advocated a process of "unlearning" destructive behaviors and "relearning" a more desirable way of interacting. According to these authors, universities must examine their reward structures, stop rewarding uncivil behaviors, and reward respectful ones. They referred to this as a "simple solution" (p. 181). However, simple is not the same thing as easy.

Organizational behavior and management texts contain a veritable explosion of information about techniques for transforming institutional culture. A brief synopsis of some of the key strategies may serve to inject some hope in readers who feel dismayed by the depth of the problems articulated in previous sections. In general, while there can be some over-lap, suggestions fall into two categories: punitive and top-down measures versus collaborative and bottom-up approaches.

Punitive and top-down measures. Falling in the first category, to tackle academic bully culture Twale and De Luca (2008) advocated a period of information

gathering and study to determine the nature of the issues. Then, they discussed "sanction, dismissal, or demotion of the perpetrators" (p. 175). Before such actions can be taken, institutions must establish grievance procedures with clear redress mechanisms. They cautioned: "If there is no policy in place or no clear enforcement of existing policy, the problem may lay dormant, to reappear later" (p. 180). Even with strong policies, "changing behaviors is much easier, however, than changing values, attitudes, and beliefs ingrained in faculty and their culture. Therefore, systemic modification would be best monitored by someone outside that academic culture" (p. 182). Monitoring and enforcement must come from the top, from those with the power to exert sanctions.

Kotter (2007) appealed to leaders to follow his "eight steps to transform your organization" (p. 6): establish a great sense of urgency, form a powerful guiding coalition, create a vision, communicate the vision, empower others to act on the vision, plan for and create short-term wins, consolidate improvements and produce still more change, and institutionalize new approaches. He emphasized that change occurs in stages and takes many years. Leaders can kill progress by skipping key steps in the process, by failing to be consistent or not matching their words with their actions, and by not managing morale over the long-haul. Thus, institutional change is not something to undertake lightly; it requires careful planning and commitment from a strong leader who understands the big picture.

Collaborative and bottom-up approaches. Others approach the challenge of organizational change from a more collaborative perspective. While not dismissing the role of effective campus leaders, authors like Kezar and Lester (2009) advocated redesigning the organizational context -- the "major structural, process, human, political,

and cultural elements of the campus" (p. 60). Theirs was a more holistic vision that included "seven key context features"⁸ that must be altered in order to develop an environment that is conducive to and that enables collaborative work" (p. 60).

Recognizing the temptation faced by senior administrators who "have been delegated authority over meeting the mission, hiring, or resource allocation," Kezar and Lester urged restraint, noting that the task of leaders should be to use every opportunity to "demonstrate collaboration" (p. 247). Without buy-in from stakeholders at every level lasting change will never be accomplished.

Hargreaves (2012) referred to the "Fourth Way of educational change...[that weaves multiple institutional constructs] to form a social fabric that bonds its people" (p. 11). He urged the cultivation of "responsibility over accountability" (p. 14) where every voice is heard and multiple perspectives are valued. While accountability may be mandated from the outside, *responsibility* should exist between individuals in an institution. Only from a communal sense of shared purpose and duty will a "shift in mindset" occur that can lead to "a more sustainable future" (p. 7). Once stakeholders shoulder collective responsibility, change will become self-perpetuating and self-sustaining.

Unfortunately, any set of reform strategies can be at-risk for different reasons. Top-down policies run the danger of embodying the same kind of bully culture they were intended to eradicate. Bottom-up policies can create pockets of reform that are isolated from the larger institution. Therefore, effective reform may require a combination of strategies that provide a strong enough catalyst to trigger enough threshold energy to

⁸ 1.) mission and vision and educational philosophy; 2.) values; 3.) social networks; 4.) integrating structures; 5.) rewards; 6.) external pressures; 7.) learning

break through the status quo and set-off chain reactions over time. Such a catalyst must provide a new frame to re-focus multiple levels of institutional efforts. Three such catalysts will be discussed in the next section.

Leveraging Change: Systems, Sustainability, and Moral Commitment

Formulas for organizational change are one thing; mobilizing the will to mix all of the necessary elements is another. Fullan (2006) argued that "those working in the field of educational change have not provided us with a powerful enough agenda for actually realizing deeper reform. It is not sufficient to critique policies or even to offer great insights into current situations" (p. 114). Instead, change must be leveraged through powerful persuasion. Fullan urged educational leaders to re-frame efforts around the ideas of *systems thinking* and *sustainability*. The notion of reform affecting systems suggests that restructuring can be an integrative force that provides "motivation to look at how the disciplines interrelate" (p. 115); sustainability injects an imperative to plan for the long-term and resist expedient solutions. While less-explicitly making a systems argument, Kezar and Lester (2009) illustrated how collaborative institutions confer survival advantages lacking in competitive hierarchies. They cited studies showing that collaboration on an institutional level can allow for innovation and learning, can create better solutions to complex problems, can enable campuses to provide better service across the institution, can decrease costs and lead to greater efficiency, and can provide better sources of employee motivation through increased job satisfaction. Across disciplines, within departments and in classrooms, collaboration can improve teaching and learning by preventing the "fragmentation that has affected and limited knowledge production" (p. 14), by increasing student engagement, by contributing "to an openness

to diverse perspectives” (p. 16), and by fostering positive interactions between students and faculty, which in turn have an impact on student persistence and success. All of these can contribute to a more sustainable university.

Moral commitment. Merely understanding linkages is not enough. Without recognition that all parts are integral to the long-term survival of the institution, reform will be fragmentary and fleeting. Fullan (2006) acknowledged that such a recognition requires a sense of moral commitment that transcends the individual and shapes "all of [an institution's] core activities" (p. 115). The idea of moral commitment within a network is appealing because it offers a powerful counter-narrative to the sense among many faculty that what they do as individuals does not much matter and does not affect the system. Perhaps because of the siloing and compartmentalization problems discussed previously, there exists the notion that one canceled class or one cynical comment does not shape institutional culture. In other words, isolation has bred moral disengagement. Bandura (2002) reported that “moral control operates most strongly when people acknowledge that they are contributors to harmful outcomes” (p. 106). When inhumane behavior is socially sanctioned, moral disengagement can flourish. Its mechanisms are all-too-recognizable in academic culture. *Diffusion of responsibility* occurs when “people shift their attention from the meaning of what they are doing to the details of their specific jobs” (p. 107): “I cannot hold office hours today because I have to finish editing an article” conveys the implicit message that students are a low priority. *Distortion of consequences* happens when the harm one causes is minimized or when other people’s “suffering is not visible and when destructive actions are physically and temporally remote from their injurious effects” (p. 108), as when Juliana retreats to the corner to lick

her wounds. Because “perceiving another as human activates empathetic reactions through perceived similarity” (p. 108), *dehumanization* is possible when faculty see their colleagues or students as alien (or “horrible in every way”). The *attribution of blame* further distorts one’s sense of moral agency when “victims get blamed for bringing suffering on themselves” (p. 110). Rhode (2006) described a problem in university teaching priorities arising from “the mismatch between professors’ expectations and students’ needs, abilities, and concerns.... What perpetuates the problem...is the inability of many academics to perceive it as *their* problem, or as something that they could at least reduce” (p. 78). If, as Bandura (2002) argued, the antidote for moral disengagement is *rehumanization*, how might that happen in the academy?

Rhode (2006) attributed most of the problems in higher education to a veritable arms race between universities for prestige. She claimed:

the pursuit of status has not only compounded financial difficulties but also distorted academic priorities. Higher education faces a classic prisoner’s dilemma, in which institutionally rational behavior leads to socially undesirable results...What loses out are activities such as teaching and advising, which are crucial to the academic mission but not readily evaluated in national rankings or in hiring, promotion and compensation processes. (p. 154)

The race for academic prestige creates a zero-sum game that in the long run everyone loses. While not neglecting the role of external sanctions (e.g., she supports the idea of making teaching count more heavily in the promotion process), her reform recommendation was for faculty re-alignment with personal core values and the development of more intrinsic reward systems – gratification from a job well done, as

opposed to an advancement. She reminded her readers that “what defines our profession is a commitment to learning: our own, our students, our readers. We need more occasions to consider how well our daily activities advance our deepest aspirations and what institutional structures get in the way” (p. 172).

What seems missing in this discussion is the fact that a commitment to learning should also necessitate a commitment to *being taught*. If, as Bandura (2002) stipulated, humans develop moral self-regulation in context with other human beings, then the claim that faculty can independently elect to operate humanely, or can autonomously *learn* how to operate out of their deepest aspirations, may need to be mediated by someone teaching them how to actually do it. Nowhere in the literature have I seen recommendations for adding “how to be a good colleague” seminars to new faculty orientation, or as a topic for ongoing conversation between department chairs and candidates advancing for promotion, or as an essential function of faculty mentoring. This is in spite of the fact that an *absence* of collegiality is the primary element driving faculty voluntary departure from the academy (Huston, 2009). To be clear, I am absolutely not suggesting that collegiality become a criterion for tenure; the potential for abuse is much too high. Indeed, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) was eloquent on why collegiality should not be a separate and discrete standard for promotion, tenure, or renewal; however, they also noted that

collegiality is not a distinct capacity to be assessed independently of the traditional triumvirate of teaching, scholarship, and service. It is rather a quality whose value is expressed in the successful execution of these three functions.

Evaluation in these three areas will encompass the contributions that the virtue of

collegiality may pertinently add to a faculty member's career. (AAUP, 1999, p. 39)

In other words, a faculty member would be politically foolish to think that relations with others in the community have no effect on tenure voting or letters of support. Indeed, Lamont (2009) writes extensively about how subjective the peer review process can be. So, why do we not teach people how to be good citizens of the academic community? Why do we not educate the group on how to counteract the micro-aggressions of symbolic violence with mirco-compassions?

Nay-sayers may argue that such social conditioning is an affront to academic freedom. I am sympathetic to that concern, but I fear that in the guise of upholding academic freedom we may have gone too far in promoting autonomy and have banished civility in the process. This research has shown that *habitus* works invisibly but inexorably (and sometimes perniciously) unless directly challenged. Better, in my opinion, to deliberately socialize group members using positive role models and open discussion than allow the unconscious coercion of symbolic violence go unchecked. If, as Keltner (2009) has asserted, emotions are contagious, then pro-social emotions need to go viral on university campuses. Examples of this have already been documented in studies on creating a campus climate of fairness where faculty attitudes have a direct effect on students (Rodabaugh, 1996). Keltner (2009) also observed that compassion and cooperation optimize group survival far more than conflict and competition. He suggested that our capacity to cooperate also gives us the tools for minimizing the damage caused by bullies. Individual human beings who might be weak on their own have the ability to come together and communicate concerns and identify problems.

They can collectively sanction bad citizens through ostracism or exclusion from resources. The lateral nature of such censure differs from top-down punishment and in the end is likely to be more effective because, as Noddings (1984) put it, "punitive moves work against the development of subjective responsibility that is required for continuous construction of the ethical ideal" (p. 201). Instead, the academy must foster moral commitment and reward pro-social behavior, but first it must teach what it looks like – to students and faculty alike. This is the imperative for future educational leaders.

Overall, this dissertation has shown the inter-twined nature of faculty identity, teaching practices, student identity (e.g., sense of self-efficacy), levels of student engagement, and learning. Such complex interactions suggest that improvement of any one element cannot be addressed discretely. Yet, making effective policy that influences a multifaceted system can be overwhelming, and institutional leaders who seek to improve teaching and learning in higher education risk getting lost in a kind of tactical labyrinth. However, my research suggests that the faculty thread may be the essential component that could lead to meaningful progress. Therefore, it may prove to be in everyone's best interest to begin with cultivating an institutional culture that fosters collegiality and the mutual trust where learning relationships can flourish.

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