Faculty Identity and the 'Lesser Role': Service to the Academy

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> *Abstract: This study describes early career socialization to the service role in a College of Education at a university in the Southwest. This choice highlights perceptions of institutional influence on service experiences and development of a service ethos. Participants include seven early career women faculty in education, most hired during a two-year period. Multiple in-depth interviews were conducted with these participants throughout pre-tenure, resulting in a total of 26 interviews. We identified a common process of service identity development: orienting to the service role, induction into the service culture, and development of service identity. The resulting service identities are characterized as servant, politician, veteran, and castaway. Findings are discussed in terms of faculty rewards, professional identity transformation, and institutional change.*

Academic service is the least understood of faculty roles and responsibilities. Relative to teaching and research, it is considered ambiguous and insignificant (McCabe & McCabe, 2000; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). The perceived irrelevance of service is exacerbated by institutional reward systems that often ignore service contributions, particularly for promotion and tenure decisions (Boice, 2000). Theoretically, the "complete faculty member," Fairweather (2002) said, is expected to "be productive in all aspects of faculty work" (p. 29). In

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reality, the service role is rarely included in discussions of faculty productivity or success, except as a foil to teaching and research.

With such a pejorative attitude about the service role, it is not surprising that most faculty members consider service a waste of time and interference to their academic success (Bensimon, Ward, & Sanders, 2000; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Ward, 2003). Service demands may be inordinate for women faculty, and the career costs may be significant (Aguirre, 2000; Ropers-Huilman, 2000). Given that service is such a ubiquitous but unpopular function of the professoriate, and recognizing it is generally mandatory yet unequal, how do women faculty members engage the service role and make meaning of their service activities, especially during their pre-tenure years? Further, how does socialization, both to the professoriate and the institution, influence the development of their service ethos? Service ethos, in this case, refers to a faculty member's own philosophy and perception of the culture of service. In this way, we situated professional identity development in a local, experiential context (Reybold, 2003/2004).

Following a review of the literature on the history and current conceptualizations of the service role, we present a longitudinal investigation that describes early career women faculty socialization to the service role and development of a service ethos. We focus on early career faculty members because of their increased vulnerability due to "the inordinate stresses associated with the tenure and promotion process" (Reybold, 2008a, p. 280). We were particularly interested in how these faculty members experienced service across their pre-tenure years in relation to a changing institutional mission; thus we concentrate on the faculty service role in the College of Education at one public university in the Southwest with a stated goal of achieving status as a research university.

Service Myths and Realities

New faculty members often lack a clear definition of academic service and associated responsibilities (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Confused about institutional and disciplinary expectations, they contend with the myth of academic service and its value in the evaluation process. Most realize quickly that service counts very little towards promotion and tenure at most institutions. As a result, these faculty members become

hesitant about being involved in service-related activities (Balderston, 1995). Tierney and Bensimon (1996) warned that faculty may even be cynical about service recognition and costs. This perspective of service (D'Andrade, 1987) to the academy paints a grim picture for new faculty who, nonetheless, are subject to this function of the professoriate.

While disregard for service affects all faculty, it is potentially more damaging to women and minority faculty careers. Research indicates that these faculty members shoulder a significant service burden, resulting in cultural taxation, characterized by Padilla (1994) as "the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group" (p. 26). The institution is rewarded for its attention to diversity while the faculty members performing the services are not (See also: Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000). A similar argument can be made about women's gender-related service to the academy. Rebutting such a negative portrayal of service, Baez (2000) said some view their minority-related service as meaningful within and beyond the academy. They believe their service activities "represent and advance the interests of traditionally-subordinated social groups" (p. 380).

Institutional Dimensions: The Evolution of Academic Service in Higher Education

Historically, faculty service was an academic ideal meant to extend the roles of teaching and research beyond academe. Universities have evolved, though, into discipline-centric institutions. This isolates faculty by academic association, leaving a centralized administration to structure rewards such as promotion and tenure structure for their "hired hands" (Rice, Sorcinelli, & Austin, 2000, p. 15). The faculty as a whole has increasingly shrugged off the collegial model of governance in favor of more and more insulating layers of administration. No doubt, today's faculty members hold a different perspective of faculty roles and responsibilities, and their "professional ethos of service and altruism may be transformed by a cash-value bottom line view of knowledge" (Stanley, 2002, p. 1176).

Distinctions among types of service are important to consider. Service may be loosely conceptualized to include advising, mentoring, committee work, community engagement, national activities, and a

variety of other tasks. Yet service that is connected specifically to scholarship (such as leadership in national organizations) is considered more reputable and is more likely to be rewarded (Astin, 1999; Austin, Brocato, & Rohrer, 1997). Still, most service to the academy is "somehow thought of outside the 'real' work of scholars" (Ward, 2003, p.3).

The primary roles of teaching and research obviously overshadow the service function, and this subordination of the service role is quite apparent in institutional ranking criteria (Rosser, 2004). The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2007), for example, categorizes institutions by degrees offered and funding dollars, both of which point to the emphasis on teaching and research. The Carnegie Foundation recently added community engagement to its classification criteria, but institutional reporting remains elective. Still, it is worth noting that some form of service was added as a point of reference. This is significant, Driscoll (2008) pointed out, because of the Foundation's influence over universities' missions and strategic plans.

Service is missing also in Thelin's (2004) extensive sub-categorization of institutions by cost and effectiveness, admissions and access, and curricular and extracurricular characteristics. In fact, we could find no comprehensive categorization of institutional type that recognizes academic service independent of teaching and research. If institutions are not specifically recognized for excellence in service, how will faculty as service providers be recognized?

Human Dimensions: Perceptions and Consequences of Academic Service

After 20 years of systematic tracking of faculty work, Boice (2000) did not find one promotion and tenure case where service mattered, leading him to describe service activities as work that "needs no training and evaluation. We *perform* service but we *work* at writing and teaching" (p. 254). Tierney and Bensimon (1996), in their study of faculty socialization, concurred, finding "that service did not count in any practical sense when a candidate was being considered for tenure" (p. 69).

The equivocal domain of service work incorporates most faculty activities outside of teaching and research. However, defining service at any given institution is not as easy as noting everything a faculty member does independent of those roles. The value of service is dependent on institutional mission and disciplinary foci. Regardless of the type of activity or time spent, service is an abstract concept best characterized as the application of disciplinary expertise through personal engagement which enhances the knowledge of institutional, local, and national communities. Gouldner (1958) distinguished between internal and external service, coining the terms *cosmopolitans* and *locals* to describe the latent social roles of faculty who exhibit allegiance to their discipline (external service) or to their institution (internal service), respectively. A broad, national commitment conflicts fundamentally with a focused, local commitment to one specific institution (Flango & Brumbaugh, 1974); and according to Mullen and Forbes (2000), particularly in universities that are growing and changing in mission.

In some cases, service to students and disciplines may contribute to local recognition for teaching and research, both of which are rewarded during the promotion and tenure process. However, service to students is not valued as much as service to research (Austin, Brocato, & Rohrer, 1997), perhaps because "we believe that outstanding scholars will add more to our reputation and resources than will outstanding teachers as mentors" (Astin, 1999, p. 9). This juxtaposition of service against teaching and research productivity is particularly difficult for tenure-track faculty. As newcomers to the academy, new faculty members soon recognize that service is a lesser faculty role, subordinate to research and teaching when it comes to evaluation. "Time consumed by committee work," Tierney & Bensimon (1996) said, "is time away from activities that have greater relevance to their quest for tenure" (p. 137).

Ironically, faculty members who choose to be active in service activities may actually become trapped in a service spiral. Being available for service diminishes time spent on rewarded activities, particularly research. In addition, those activities might not be meaningful to a broader audience. Career opportunities may end up summarily condensed. Eventually, time spent in any kind of service to the academy reduces faculty rewards *and* opportunities for future rewards (Apps, 1988). These discussions of academic service portray the ambiguity of the faculty role beyond more valued responsibilities of teaching and

conducting research. They do not, for the most part, explore the faculty experience of academic service and its impact on faculty identity.

Research Design and Methods

This study describes early career faculty socialization to the service role and development of a service ethos. Early career, as used in this study, refers to pre-tenure faculty status; this includes faculty members who changed institutions while on the tenure track. Our inquiry was framed as a longitudinal case study (Patton, 2002) in order to concentrate on early career academic service in the context of discipline (education) and institution (a public university in the Southwest). These design choices allowed us to explore three factors in more depth: a) a developmental perspective of academic service across the early career, b) the distinct experiences of academic service unique to faculty who share a disciplinary base, and c) the perceived influence of institutional history and mission on experiences of academic service.

This study is part of a longitudinal investigation of faculty identity development in education (Reyold, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2009; Reybold & Alamia, 2008). Participants in the longitudinal study included doctoral students and early career faculty (N=55) in education, including adult and higher education (n=17), general support education (n=19), and public school education (n=16). All were identified through a network sampling technique (masked author citation) and represented 32 institutions of higher education. Applying the 2005 Carnegie Foundation (2007) classification system, these institutions included 9 RU/VH (research university/very high research activity), 9 RU/H (research university/high research activity, 3 DRU (doctoral research university), and 11 Master's L (master's colleges and universities/larger programs).

The following section discusses the methods specific to the case study presented here. However, all methods choices were *nested* in the longitudinal study (Patton, 2002) and dependent on its scope and direction.

Selection of Site and Participants

In the late 1990s the University announced an aggressive move from classification as a regional institution toward "tier one" research status. This change in mission triggered considerable review of faculty

workload policies at every institutional level, particularly with regard to promotion and tenure. At the same time, colleges across the campus were being reorganized and Education was designated as a separate college and began departmental restructuring. With so much attention focused on evolution of mission, faculty work, and faculty evaluation, the University offered a unique glimpse into perceptions and experiences of academic service. Patton (2002) referred to this selection technique as critical case sampling, defining critical cases as "those that can make a point quite dramatically or are, for some reason, particularly important in the scheme of things" (p. 236).

Faculty members hired in the College of Education within a two-year period of this juncture were invited to participate in the study. Only one respondent was male, so we chose to focus on the narratives provided by the remaining six female faculty members. In addition to these early career faculty members, we included a more experienced tenure-track female faculty member in the College to provide a historical perspective of academic service expectations. Four of the seven participants have moved to another institution since completing their last interviews. One has been promoted to the rank of full professor, five have been promoted to the rank of associate, and one left the academy prior to promotion and tenure. Six of the participants are white; one is Hispanic. All are in their 40s and 50s. (See Table 1 for participant interview demographics by career rank and status.)

Table 1
Participant Career Demographics by Interview Number, Faculty Rank, and Tenure Status

Name	Interview #, Rank and Status	Current Rank and Status
Frieda	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT 3. Asst, TT 4. Asst, TT	Assoc w/ Tenure
Isabella	1. Asst, TT 2. Assoc. w/ Tenure *Moved 3. Assoc, TT	Full w/ Tenure*

Table 1 cont.

Katie	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT 3. Asst, TT 4. Asst, TT *Moved	Assoc, TT
Lisa	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT 3. Asst., TT 4. Asst., TT	Assoc w/ Tenure
Maggie	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT 3. Assoc w/ Tenure 4. Assoc w/ Tenure *Moved	Assoc, TT
Melinda	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT 3. Asst, TT 4. Asst, TT 5. Asst, TT	**Resigned
Teresa	1. Asst, TT 2. Asst, TT	Assoc w/ Tenure

Note. TT = tenure track. * Participant accepted faculty position at a different institution.
**Participant resigned faculty position.

Data Collection

The first author conducted multiple in depth interviews with all participants across a seven-year span, resulting in a total of 26 interviews. Interviews lasted approximately two hours each. Every iteration of the interview guide included standardized questions *across* the interview phases (to account for change over time) and topical questions *within* the interview phases (to explore emerging constructs. For example, all interviews included questions about participant perceptions of faculty roles, academic culture, and self evaluation; however, early phases of the interviews included questions about preparation for faculty duties while later interviews explored topics such as ethical reasoning and professional conflict. Participants were invited to conduct member checks, but no one chose that option. However, participants were updated periodically on analysis and encouraged to follow the dissemination of their stories through publication and presentation. In fact, participants selected their own pseudonyms, both to

provide a measure of confidentiality, but also to encourage continuing participant review and critique.

Data Analysis

All interviews were analyzed using the constant comparative method of open, axial, and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Through open coding, we identified narratives related to service and constructed individual service stories. Our early axial coding identified developmental patterns within each person's story, but also shared experiences across those stories. We noticed a progressive orientation to the service role that appeared to be associated with professional maturation; as faculty members matured, their initial conceptualizations of service became more complex and socially situated. Participant stories of service experiences did not follow this pattern consistently, though. Instead, we noticed that the women identified specific events—such as third-year review and consideration for early tenure—that triggered a personal critique of the service role. During this selective coding phase, we individually checked the transcripts against our assumption that service ethos was, in part, a transformative reaction to local service expectations and commitments. Throughout this process, we met biweekly to compare our themes and explanations until we reached consensus on findings.

Quality and Credibility

Patton (2002) urged researchers to be mindful about methods by discussing criteria for evaluating the quality and credibility of qualitative research. We believe certain aspects of our design choices enhanced our findings. For instance, we were "more interested in deeply understanding specific cases within a particular context" (Patton, 2002, p. 546), so we chose to focus inquiry through selection choices and follow experiences across the early career. Multiple interviews allowed us to explore perspectives across time and check our initial assumptions about the data. We strengthened analysis by independently coding transcripts, then checking our interpretations through our regular meetings. Patton referred to this strategy as analyst triangulation, though he was careful to stipulate the limitations of triangulation as *proof* of consistency. As he suggested, we used our personal interpretations of the data to move us forward in our discussions; ultimately, we achieved consensus through

an iterative process of dialogue, searching for alternative explanations, and identifying evidence to support our conclusions.

Findings

Developing a Service Identity

Participants came to The University as tenure track assistant professors. At that time, The University was undergoing a change in leadership, mission, and structure. New administrators immediately set a new tone for this institution—*tier one* research status. During the next few years, substantial increases in student enrollment to more than 28,000 overwhelmed campus resources, but at the same time resources were being diverted to the development of research capacity, particularly in the form of faculty hires. Faculty search committees sought candidates with doctoral leadership and grant writing history. At the conclusion of the study, The University boasted more than a dozen doctoral programs and several in development, and it had a publically-stated goal to become a doctoral/research intensive institution in the immediate future and a doctoral/research extensive institution by 2015. Meanwhile, The University was searching again for a new provost.

Institutional changes were not limited to upper levels of administration or university structure. The College also was evolving to align structurally with the university-wide dialogue about becoming a research institution. This meant adopting a departmental structure; but with few senior faculty in The College overall, some departments relied on early career faculty—even first year faculty—for programmatic and departmental leadership. Several new faculty members took on program coordination and led faculty searches. In one extreme case, a faculty member was appointed to department chair as a second-year tenure track assistant professor. During this time, College faculty began to reconsider the criteria for faculty rewards in light of The University's goal for research status; committees were tasked with review of merit evaluation, tenure, and promotion.
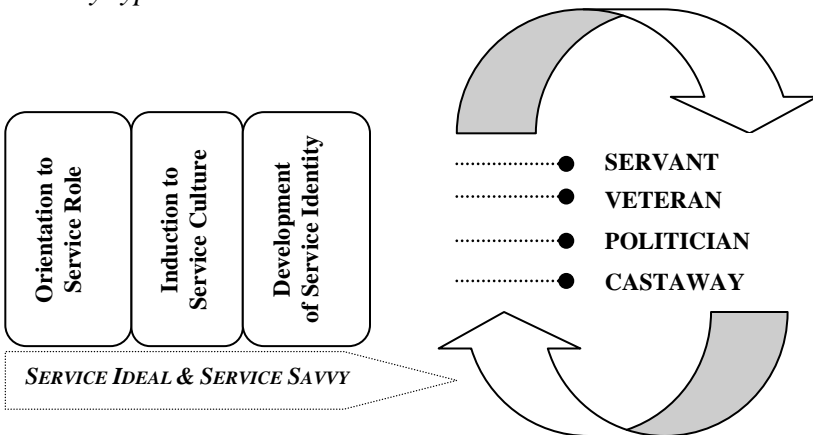
The standards for success continued to rise in tandem with the movement toward tier one status, but not without debate. Some faculty members agreed without hesitation that The University—and The College along with it—should move resolutely toward its research goals. Others disagree just as vehemently, noting the institution's mission to serve

underrepresented populations. Most found themselves somewhere along this continuum, not opposed to research status but wondering how it would impact their own bid for promotion and tenure. Faculty members also adjusted to changing leadership at the college level; at the end of the study, The College was led by its fourth dean since restructuring began. Most participants in this study were hired under one dean, reviewed during the third year by another dean, and were tenured by yet another.

This was the academic climate in which the participants worked and defined themselves as faculty. Across the years, each one developed a service ethos that helped prioritize their service roles and commitments across the College and University. We identified three developmental aspects of that ethos: orienting to the service role, induction into service culture, and constructing a service identity. While all participants experienced this process, we noticed four service identity types constructed during the final phase: servant, politician, veteran, and castaway. These types were not mutually exclusive; neither were they static. Participants exhibited a dominant type at any point in their early career, but this did not preclude changing service identity. In this section, we discuss a) the general process of development of service ethos, and b) the resulting service identities types. (See Figure 1 for a model of service identity development and subsequent service identity types.)

Figure 1
A model of service identity development and subsequent service identity types.

Orienting to the Service Role

All participants were interviewed annually or biannually, most beginning with their first year as a tenure-track faculty member at The University. Not all were new faculty; two had been in tenure-track positions at other institutions, and both of them came to The University to enhance their research opportunities. Lisa hoped to escape her previous career focus on service and administration, while Katie expected to reduce her teaching load by changing institutions.

In their early careers, all of these faculty members engaged their daily work mostly in terms of their academic roles: teacher, researcher, and service provider. While they expressed a sense of frustration and lack of preparation for their teaching and research responsibilities, they entered the professoriate with some gist of these duties. Even in early career, these faculty members associated teaching and research with academic success, specifically promotion and tenure. This was not the case with the service role. Most of these faculty members accepted their first tenure-track position with a distorted or vague perception of academic service. Their definitions of service ranged from committee work and student advising to consulting and leadership with organizations. Most were unaware of the types of service they were expected to do, and no-one in the study anticipated the quantity of service required. As new faculty members at The University, participants oriented themselves to the service role; their experiences and decisions were based on two interrelated dimensions: service ideal and service savvy.

Service Ideal. Participants were asked to define academic service and explain its purpose and function in higher education. Participants also were asked to describe their role in service activities. This ethos of service, or service ideal, revealed participants' initial sense of self as a faculty member in relation to academic service.

A few participants perceived academic service to be an important aspect of the overall faculty responsibility, whether to the institution, the discipline, or the communities. These faculty members internalized the service role and defined themselves in relation to it, at least to some degree. For example, Isabella immersed herself in mentoring future teachers, integrating her teaching and service responsibilities, while using internal service to become involved in the academic culture. She

learned that service has a political value and describes tenure as membership where for her "the first couple of years before I got tenure was [sic] one really long date to see if they like you and if you were going to get along." Isabella's determination to succeed led her to quickly develop a plan to promote herself without falling into what she called "the black hole of service."

Similarly, Freida viewed service as political and professionally taxing. She felt overwhelmed by the lack of collegiality and organization and believed her professional goals (along with the quality of her work) were ignored. This increased her feelings of powerlessness to serve effectively.

> "I realize that I have been kind of sucked up into researching, thinking, serving, and being engaged in activities that I don't have a lot of passion for. There is a calling or need for these things, and they create opportunities for service [but] there are things I want to think about rather than things I'm doing."

She continued to participate in service, but maintained she was as an outsider, saying, "I just want to hide."

Lisa also viewed service early on as a political liability; in fact, she devised her career plan for promotion and tenure to avoid any unnecessary academic service. According to her plan, once she received tenure, she would "be going to very few meetings except for those that I think are productive. The ones that I feel are nonproductive, I'll sit on committees [but] I just won't come to the meetings."

Some participants defined service as an extension of their teaching and research roles; others characterized service as obligatory but pointless. All of these women, though, shared a sense of urgency that they were being professionally judged in relation to their academic service. No one in the study believed the quality of her service was valued comparably to the quantity of service. Participants did equate academic service with professional exposure—both positive and negative. In other words, service was seen (and sometimes used) by participants as publicity for promotion and tenure.

Service Savvy. While all participants provided some definition of service and its function in the academy, most had a distorted or indistinct sense of the nature and magnitude of service activities during their early career. Lisa, who had served in leadership positions at another institution, clearly noted the politics of service, but most participants were idealistic and naïve about the demands of academic service. Katie said she understood academic service being required for tenure; however, she never understood what service entailed or what was expected in terms of quality verses quantity. As she prepared her tenure box, she said her "biggest fear is not only being told that it's not good enough, but to be told that [it] doesn't count." Unable to develop a plan which balanced service with teaching and research, Katie accepted every service assignment given her, explaining that she was unsure how to say "no" to these requests. One consequence was that her advising loads increased. She admitted, "I did over-extend myself with teaching in the sense that I was the only tenure track faculty in my department in my area, and so everything fell to me in that area. For a 'baby' faculty member, that's a horrible burden to put on someone." Like the other faculty members in the study, Katie claimed the expectations were for her to mentor new faculty, all of whom were brought in with course releases and fewer advisees—all to develop the new faculty members research capacity. Katie believed she and others in her hiring cohort were being sacrificed to develop new faculty members' research capacity as part of the institution's growth mission.

At the other extreme of service savvy, Teresa intentionally avoided specific types of service that would interfere with her teaching and research. To her, academic culture was "what you make of it," and her mentors had cautioned her to focus on research productivity, resulting in her publishing a book prior to tenure. Interestingly, Teresa did not portray service as negative in itself. In fact, she believed, 'I don't know if it is true; maybe it's just a fantasy" that tenure will allow her to serve her academic and disciplinary communities more effectively. While Katie and Melinda both requested extensions for promotion and tenure, Maggie and Teresa were prompted to go up for tenure early.

Induction into the Service Culture

When first hired, most of the participants held unrealistic perspectives about service, but most developed a more authentic understanding of

service responsibilities through experience. Maggie, as a new faculty member, was able to conceptualize the types of academic service required for promotion and tenure, and she identified strongly with the service role. Her primary difficulty was not that she misunderstood service, but that she failed to establish appropriate boundaries her first year on the job, even though others warned her not to take on so much so quickly. Her list of first-year service commitments including program coordination, graduate student advising, program development, various curriculum committees at the program and college levels, and even steering committees in other colleges. "I believe the point of service is to build society, and I have high standards for that," Maggie said in her first interview. By her next interview, she wondered if she should be more balanced with her service duties. "I have done a lot of service, but at the college level and division level and department level; I don't have a national presence." Maggie began to feel constricted by local service that built the program and institution but did not contribute to her career. "I learned to separate service from serving." For Maggie and other participants, *service* meant contributing to faculty governance efforts while *serving* meant subordinated busy work.

Isabella also realized early on that she needed to distinguish service from serving. In her first year, she "never perceived service as an issue;" however, her perception changed over time. As her workload increased, she said, "I had no idea that there was so much service." Then when she "turned in her tenure box" she remembered, "I got swamped with even more service than I had thought possible." She believed that much service work was assigned to new faculty who were unwilling or unable to refuse excess service assignments. Committee work, she said, goes "on and on for hours of meetings and it seemed as if nothing was getting accomplished and that nothing would be getting accomplished. It felt like just a suck up of my time."

Lisa grudgingly relented to some service commitments she had avoided previously, concluding, "I could only say 'no' to so many before I got stuck doing it." Lisa also wondered how others would evaluate her lack of service commitment, saying, "I always feel like if I say no to something that people ask me to do, they are going to think that I am not a team player." Lisa says she was following a colleague's advice to "get in good with them."

During their induction into the local service culture, only two participants were unable to develop, to some degree, a sense of savvy about service and its interrelatedness to other roles and responsibilities. Neither Katie nor Melinda reduced her service load, even when it began to interfere with a successful bid for tenure. Both described this as a "service fog" that blinded them to the realities of academic service. They felt trapped by an overwhelming frustration with the amount and intensity of service expected, yet neither believed she had power to change that situation. Melinda accepted that being a faculty member required considerable effort and time, characterizing her academic life as "work, work—I mean it's a lot of work!" Melinda believed that her college was "doing something to [new faculty] that is just totally sending them bonkers." She approached the Dean about her concern but was embarrassed to "complain" about her "ton of meetings." In her meeting with the Dean, Melinda said she "just broke down and said, 'I want out. This is it; I've got to do something.'" Melinda says her meeting with the Dean "didn't actually work it out completely [but] I'm more accepting of it."

Most participants, though, developed a more balanced approach to service; Teresa and Freida began taking on more program commitments, while Maggie and Isabella extended their service activities to the national arena. Several of the women noted a specific experience or episode that provoked this reorientation to the service role. Like others, Isabella felt her early career was a service "hazing ritual" that tested her loyalty to the program and college. At her third-year review, though, she was told she was serving "too much" to be successful in a bid for tenure, so she intentionally became more selective in her service choices. Several of the participants noted a similar awareness of over commitment to service, usually in relation to their third-year or tenure review process. Lisa and Katie, for example, described having to teach themselves the norms. Isabella remembered thinking to herself, "I kind of slapped myself and said 'grow up; you are not going to get any help.'"

Constructing a Service Identity

Participants, some more easily than others, learned that their notions of service differed from actual experiences. Generally, they adjusted their service actions to be more in line with institutional expectations, but they did not change their fundamental perspective of the meaning of academic

service and their rationale for service. For the women in this study, their service identity—a composite of roles, values, and expectations associated with academic service—remained constant across participation in the study.

We identified four archetypal service identities: servants, politicians, veterans, and castaways. These types are not mutually exclusive, though we did notice several of the women moving from one to another as they matured professionally.

Servants. These women described themselves as laborers in the academy. While all the participants commented on the lack of time for their roles, servants became exhausted, some to the point of depression, and yet they continued to take on additional service work. The reason was simple: they were available and willing to do the work. At some point in their early career, four of the participants fit this description: Isabella, Katie, Maggie, and Melinda. Early on, they accepted the exhaustion associated with being "junior" faculty members and resigned themselves to a greater service workload. Interviews revealed a subtle difference, though. Isabella and Maggie saw their service work as part of their overall identity as a faculty member and even connected service activities to scholarly interests; Katie and Melinda did not. While they did perceived service as a component of their teaching duties, it was something they did rather than a part of their professional self.

Politicians. These participants perceived service quite differently. For Lisa and Teresa, service provided opportunities for exposure and publicity, and thus were a source of power. These women wanted to know where decisions were made, and they learned to use service opportunities to gain entrée to academic culture. Also, they had specific criteria for selecting service activities that coincided with their own professional goals. Both were research oriented faculty, but they did not share the same service ideals. Both Lisa and Teresa distanced themselves from service in order to devote more time and attention to research. They did not avoid all service but carefully chose opportunities that would be to their advantage. Lisa explained her decision as a matter of feminist logic: "Women are more socialized towards service," she said, so she focused on the most "meaningful committees," expecting more service commitments than her male counterparts.

Veterans. Experience was the key to becoming a service veteran. Over time, the women developed a protective barrier between themselves and the "service fog" that overwhelmed them in early career. For some, it was a deliberate reaction to a third-year ultimatum or some other defining moment. They recounted a time in their professional life when they "shut the door" and reconsidered their service commitments. Four women—Frieda, Isabella, Lisa and Maggie—characterized this as a period of personal growth, a hardening and gaining control of emotion. They repeatedly used words such as disillusion, frustration, and disheartening; but their withdrawal was for renewal, not isolation. Between her second and third year, Maggie recognized her naïvete about service. Maggie realized she had idealized the service role at the expense of other faculty work. She felt overused and undervalued in her service activities, and this was the impetus for becoming more selective about unrewarded commitments. "Less service time," Maggie said, "means more research time. So I choose [service] more carefully now. I give a lot to service, but it must give a lot to me, too!" Frieda resolved early on to hold steady. Service, she said, "is not defining me; it's defining me for other people. That is okay except that I have other interests and I don't want to get sucked down in this service thing."

Castaways. Two faculty participants failed to negotiate a successful service identity in relation to their other faculty roles at this University. Thinking "there is this whole game [that] I am being held to a standard that I have no control over" and "maybe along the way someone will smile favorably on me," Katie and Melinda both experienced profound frustration. Neither entered the tenure process on a positive note. One believed preferential treatment was given to certain people "at the expense of others; and especially with me having to go up for tenure." Their stories placed blame on The University, as both argued they were not mentored as doctoral students or new faculty. Complaining that "there's no life beyond scholarly activities," Melinda described service as "a distraction that I shouldn't have." Both women expected rules, structure, and authority to *save* them as their opportunities for research drifted away. They felt abandoned by their dean and department chair and isolated from meaningful scholarship.

Discussion

Service Identity and Institutional Culture

As new faculty, most participants expressed relatively naïve perspectives about their service role. During their early years, though, all participants reoriented to that service role in relation to The University's mission to achieve research status. In other words, local institutional context reframed the practice of academic service. For some participants, service was reframed as overtly political, a necessary social activity that impinges on promotion and tenure. For others, service was reframed as an academic duty to the institution and a recognized aspect of their faculty identity. All believed institutional expectations for service were geared toward its development, not theirs; thus all participants reframed service as a depletion of time and energy that could be directed to other—more rewarding—activities.

Socialization to Academic Values: Institutional and Disciplinary Rewards

Rice, Sorcinelli, and Austin (2000) concluded that "new faculty enter the profession with a high level of idealism" (p. 5). This is particularly true for the service role. In this study, most participants initially engaged service positively; yet over time they developed a distrust of service and either curtailed or actively avoided service activities. They were unclear about the meaningfulness of their service work to their professional vitality, both locally and nationally. This is reminiscent of Boice's (2000) argument that academic service is seemingly irrelevant and devalued, particularly in relation to rewards such as promotion and tenure (see also: Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). It also points to the lack of preparation for faculty work and the possible toll of subsequent early career dissatisfaction (Reybold, 2005) and intent to leave (Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002).

The organizational culture of an institution itself socializes faculty to believe in what is acceptable behavior through constant reinforcement during the promotion and tenure process (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). This study points to the need for attention to service parameters at the institutional level—definitions of service, explanations of institutional expectations for quantity and quality of service, clarification of how faculty service contributes to the university mission, and professional

development for new faculty about their service roles. This is particularly important for faculty members at institutions in flux. Participants at The University in this study were negotiating their service roles in the face of changing leadership and a new mission. Institutional leaders must account for the impact of organizational transformation on individual faculty members, especially those in early career. Komives, Lucas, and McMahon (2007) argued that a "critical leadership task is to understand this tension and transform it" (p. 329).

On the other hand, individual faculty members must take more responsibility for the development of their own service identity. Participants in this study entered the professoriate with little preparation for service, and few sought out experiences to develop their understanding of that role. Most accepted what they considered to be a service overload, but fumed privately about what they perceived to be the abusive nature of the service expectations. In a study of recently tenured faculty, Neumann and LaPointe Terosky (2007) found that faculty members believed their service workloads increased post tenure. Participants in this study, though, described their early career as a "service fog" they expected to dissipate with increased political savvy regarding service.

Service is contentious because of the overwhelming focus on research, and to some degree teaching, as the index for successful promotion and tenure. To counter the emphasis on research productivity, Rosser (2004) suggested faculty members attempt "to select or match service activities with their interests and areas of research" (p. 32). In a similar vein, Wisniewski and Ducharme (1989) noted the "interrelationship among scholarship, teaching, and professional service" (p. 144) increases productivity and satisfaction.

But what to do with academic service needs that do not intersect with other, more rewarded faculty roles? Participants recognized the difficulty working within a dichotomy where service is implicitly required but not explicitly rewarded (Ward, 2003). This disregard for academic service is a problem for most universities and points to the need for reform. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) argued that the many reports of "common negative experiences are indications that the system is in need of change" (p. 4). Reform-minded scholars plainly focus attention on the reward structure of higher education, claiming it fuels a persistent disregard for

service. In turn, this reward system reinforces faculty "competitive and individualistic tendencies, making it very difficult for them to develop those qualities that help to promote a sense of community on the campus: good colleagueship, collaboration, community service, citizenship, and social responsibility" (Astin, 1999, p. 9).

For participants in this study, the negativity associated with academic service was a result of being socialized *away* from the service function, not of the service role itself. Socialization based on faculty rewards tends to isolate and reduce faculty work to that which is most rewarded: teaching and service. Most participants in this study did not want to avoid service to the academy; they wanted their service to be balanced and valued. Instead of their service being a meaningful part of their faculty roles, the participants felt abused and without recourse.

Tierney and Bensimon (1996) suggested the department chair should be the ideal advocate for new faculty members, especially during their early socialization. Bensimon, Ward, and Sanders (2000) recommended that department chairs assist new faculty with setting service priorities within a framework of institutional expectations: "The chair can help protect new faculty from becoming too immersed in service and from spreading their time too thin" (p. 85). However, they also pointed out that department chairs, themselves, may not be trained to take on this responsibility. Still, they should be cognizant that new faculty, in particular, may feel compelled "to say yes to all requests for service in an effort to be involved and to become a team player" (p. 85).

None of the participants in this study believed their chairperson or deans understood the inordinate service expectations and their negative impact on professional growth, or even on mental and physical health. Boice (2000) noted similar findings from his own 1993 study that minority and women faculty "were more likely to leave campus before R/P/T decisions were made, they more often took years off during their probationary periods to rest and catch up on writing, and they struggled or failed proportionally more often in campus decisions about R/P/T" (p. 260). Also, he found minority and women faculty members suffered disproportionately from both physical and psychological illnesses and fatigue.

Bensimon et al. (2000), in their discussion of the department chair's role in developing new faculty, identified several practical methods for contributing to a more effective socialization process. Central to their suggestions is time management and the concept of urgency. To reduce anxiety about feeling "trapped by the urgent" (p. 88), department chairs could remind new faculty to frame their decision making around four questions: "1) Why am I doing this? 2) When will I stop doing this? 3) What would happen if I stopped? 4) How does this activity contribute to my goals" (p. 88)?

Developmental Aspects of the Service Role

As faculty members learn about and develop into the service role, they "manage or otherwise negotiate the social, bureaucratic, and cultural features of their university workplaces" (Neumann & LaPointe Terosky, 2007, p. 302). In our study, most participants did learn to navigate the service role, but in different ways and toward service identities that evolved across their early career. Servants learned to distinguish between service and serving; politicians learned to negotiate their service identities in relation to promotion and tenure expectations; and veterans learned to balance their faculty roles more effectively. For these participants, service identity was fluid but developmental.

Castaways, on the other hand, were unable to reconcile their service identity with perceived expectations for success; they failed to learn to use their service experiences as a learning opportunity about their faculty work. Melinda did not achieve tenure and considered her service work destructive to her faculty career. Rather than learning from service experiences, she "mislearned" (Neumann & LaPointe Terosky, 2007, p. 287) from them. Katie, had convinced herself she would not earn tenure; she left The University and took a faculty position at a teaching institution. The development of both service ideal and service savvy is essential to the construction of successful service identity. Through reflective and strategic insight into their own service role, most participants were able to emerge from the service fog of their early career.

Interestingly, most participants at this institution did not spontaneously mention any impact of gender on their experience of academic service. Aside from general and abstract comments about the institutional

environment being "unfriendly to women," their discussions centered more on rank and status. However, that does not mean sex and gender were not issues. Faculty members do experience gender-related barriers to success (Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002), though they may not identify them as such.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

As part of a longitudinal investigation of faculty identity in education, this study was designed to note changes in faculty perspectives over time and across experiences. This presents the development of service identity among seven early career women faculty in one institution. Also, our study was situated at a teaching institution moving toward research status. According to Neumann & LaPointe Terosky (2007), institutional type and mission most likely complicate faculty service choices and workload. Our study offers a unique perspective of faculty experiences in the midst of major institutional change.

Conclusion

In many of our institutions of higher education, Fairweather's (2002) concept of the complete faculty member is far from reality, if we extend faculty work to include service. The gap "between the myth and the reality of academic life" (Boyer, 1990, p. 15) continues to be most evident in faculty rewards such as promotion and tenure. While a number of scholars have suggested a more inclusive or synergistic perspective of faculty work (Astin, Chang, & Mitchell, 1995; Huber, 2001; Rosser, 2004; Ward, 2003), change is slow to come. That is the nature of institutions, particularly one with such a long history and broad influence as higher education. Still, what if certain universities did adopt a more liberal stance toward academic service? How, then, would that service be measured if the faculty member moved to another university that does not similarly recognize those activities?

If higher education is to invoke academic citizenship among its faculty (Astin, 1999; Knight & Trowler, 1999; Mullen & Forbes, 2000; Tierney, 1999), it must first endorse the service function of its faculty. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) claim service "tasks are ill-defined because they lack... an over-arching intellectual perspective" (p. 70). Certainly, the academy can work toward institutional reform of service recognition at the local and national levels. Meanwhile, higher education should make

every effort to prepare individual faculty members for *all* of their duties, not just the ones with a predictable return.

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