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When's the Payoff?: A Narrative Inquiry into Adjunct Faculty Experiences

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WHEN'S THE PAYOFF?:

A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO ADJUNCT FACULTY EXPERIENCES

by

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Abstract

This narrative inquiry sought to understand how adjunct faculty negotiated professorial identity and institutional belongingness after failed tenure-track interview processes when those same adjunct faculty continue to teach on that same campus or within that same district that did not offer them a tenure-track position. Two adjuncts teaching within a multi-campus California community college district shared their verbal stories as a means to further understand their experiences related to the research questions. Their narratives suggested that (1) the phase in their career and how the tenure-track experience was framed, impacted their professorial identity and (2) reflecting on various college professional development experiences influenced their perception of institutional belonging. Participants' narratives indicated areas for practice, which include transparency in tenure-track hiring processes. Furthermore, it would benefit the institution as well as adjunct faculty to re-socialize the adjunct faculty who were not offered tenure-track positions, which follows Levine and Moreland's (1994) group socialization model.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation opens with the powerful words of an adjunct faculty who applied for a tenure-track position at a college where he continues to serve as an adjunct after being turned down for the permanent position.

> *A quinceñera represents a definitive time when things change in a person's life. Before my quinceñera, I looked at myself as trying to fit into this place. I was an adjunct representative on Academic Senate and College Council. I ran to be on the union and different things like that; I wanted to enmesh myself as much as possible here on campus. The interview process was like my quinceñera; and now my focus has changed. All that other stuff I don't give a shit about anymore; I'm not going to expend energy to do any of those extraneous things because it's not reciprocated. And I'm only going to focus on teaching this class. I was willing to do the other stuff before, when I thought there would be some payoff down the road. There's no payoff down the road.*

The above quote, represents one adjunct's explanation of why he shifted his campus behaviors in response to a significant institutional event. The event my colleague referenced as his quinceñera was his experience interviewing for a tenure-track (TT) faculty position, a position that he was ultimately not offered. My colleague's experience is not simply anecdotal; there are thousands of adjuncts across the United States who desire a TT position who must also make sense of who they are within their campus cultures after they are rejected for a permanent position (American Association of University Professors, 2019b). Communication scholar Walter Fisher (1999) suggested humans utilize and tell stories in an effort to rationalize events in their social worlds; narratives or stories function as arguments, which can also further impact storytellers' social worlds. Additionally, narratives are a, "multifaceted resource for the

understanding of self-construction" (Kraus, 2006, p. 125). Kraus further states, "As an individual, the author of a self-story must be seen as a person with many selves, constantly trying to reorganize him- or herself into a provisional unity" (p. 127). Ultimately, my colleague's excerpt communicated how he rationalized behavioral changes in his role as a contingent faculty member – faculty who are not eligible for tenure – within a college setting, through his use of story and metaphor. More specifically, his storied metaphor was directed at me, his tenured colleague who served on the selection committee for a TT position for which he interviewed; we both know that in the end, he was not offered the position. His metaphor spoke to our shared context, how he was changed because of that context and the meaning he attributed to the events, as well as our respective and disparately power-laden or power-void positions within our shared organizational social space.

My colleague is an "involuntary adjunct" – a part-time faculty member who is actively or was actively seeking full time employment – situated in a tenuous context that requires he continue teaching in an adjunct capacity at the same institution to which he applied, and interviewed, for a tenure-track (TT) position. While playing with data collected from a single observation and interview collected during a course-based pilot study, this adjunct's tension became salient through his stories. Renegotiating identity within his campus community appeared to be a perceived felt need and therefore indicated a problem worthy of investigation: the stories adjunct faculty tell themselves and others as they renegotiate identity after they have been rejected for a TT position, even as they must continue to teach at that same institution in an adjunct capacity. As implied in the short vignette, self-concept is created and recreated in relation to others (Adler & Proctor, 2017; Kraus, 2006). Furthermore, within any organization, participants understand institutional norms and expectations through interactions with other

institutional members, which are implied within their own narratives (Anderson, Riddle, &

Martin, 1999). Thus, my colleague's sentiment is not just representative of his own experience,

but sets the stage and the tenor for this research to reflect on broader adjunct faculty experiences

and then delve into specific narratives adjunct faculty share after they have not been offered a TT

faculty position.

According to the American Association of University Professors (2017), in 2015

contingent faculty constituted seventy percent of all higher education faculty appointments. The

American Association of University Professors (AAUP) (n.d.) further states contingent faculty

comprise eighty percent of all faculty positions at two-year institutions (community colleges)

compared to sixty-six percent of all faculty positions at four-year institutions (universities).

Differences between the percentage of contingent faculty at two-year and four-year institutions

may be slight, but the mantra many faculty unions profess, "faculty working conditions are

student learning conditions" remains a relevant philosophy within academia, research, and

advocacy groups. Historically, two-year institutions tend to attract more socio-economically

disadvantaged students than four-year institutions, as they are less expensive than four-year

universities, thereby making them more economically accessible to students (Community

College Research Center, 2019). Therefore, the contingent faculty, who comprise the teaching

ranks at two-year colleges, and who are not afforded the same level of academic freedom as their

tenured counterparts, are more likely to impact the lives of the most socio-economically

disadvantaged college students. Colleges and universities continue to increasingly utilize

contingent faculty to address institutional missions in preparing the thinkers and workers of the

future. Essentially, hiring adjunct faculty in higher education (HE) organizations is a widespread

practice, but adjunct faculty is even more ubiquitous at the community college (CC) level. Since

community colleges serve a larger disadvantaged population than their university counter parts;

understanding adjuncts' experiences is an important facet when considering HE holistically.

Background

For the past fifty years, HE institutions have grown their reliance on contingent faculty

(American Association of University Professors, n.d.; Rogers, 2015). More than seventy percent

of instructional positions are off the tenure-track (American Association of University

Professors, 2018). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) further states

less than twenty percent of faculty at two-year institutions, typically community colleges, are

tenured or TT. While this practice is not inherently problematic from an economic perspective,

there may be detrimental outcomes to constituency groups, like students and community

members, beyond the obviously negatively impacted adjunct faculty. While this research does

not attempt to hypothesize about the impact of hiring practices on other HE constituency groups,

the premise of this research suggests that all institutional members create meaning through social

interactions, and those social interactions influence all institutional members attitudes, beliefs,

and values (Bahktin, 1986).

Important to this discussion is the fact that not all adjunct faculty desire TT positions;

however, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT, 2010) reports that almost fifty percent of

adjunct faculty desire TT employment. AFT's survey results indicated that of those seeking TT

employment, less than fifty percent reported being satisfied with their work. Yet seventy percent

of adjunct faculty who consciously chose to remain adjunct are satisfied with their work.

Conclusively, the majority of adjunct faculty who want TT positions are unsatisfied with their

work. Additionally, "about 44 percent of all those surveyed believe they are not given a fair

opportunity to obtain a full-time position, rising to 55 percent among those who have pursued a

full-time position" (AFT, 2010, p. 5); and twenty-eight percent of those seeking TT positions

have sought TT positions at their current institutions. Ultimately, the AAUP (2019b) reported out

US Department of Education data from 2004, which pointed to 183,000 adjuncts nationwide who

were seeking full-time employment at their current HE institution where they were employed

part-time. The number of U.S. adjuncts involuntarily employed is equivalent to the entire

population of Salt Lake City, Utah. Clearly, faculty who are employed part-time desire TT

employment.

        While adjunct faculty may appear to be a fringe institutional group because they lack

similar pay and benefits compared to tenured or TT faculty (AFT, 2010), they still have a sense

of belonging to the institution, and more specifically, to their students, based on the meaningful

work they do (Bergom, Waltman, August, Hollenshead, 2010; Jolley, Cross, & Bryant, 2014).

According to the AAUP (2019a), the average adjunct earned about $2500 per 3-unit course in

2018 while teaching at a community college (CC). That number doubled if the adjunct was

working at a university, which was about $5,000 per course. CC adjuncts teaching three sections

a semester could expect to earn $15,000 a year; however, the average tenured or TT community

college faculty teaching anywhere from three to five sections earned around $100,000 in 2018. In

that same year, the AAUP further reported that the average university professor made just under

$200,000. In comparing salaries, adjunct faculty's salaries cannot even compare to their tenured

or TT counterparts; salaries are disproportionately incomparable. Ironically, in many counties

across the United States adjunct salaries have fallen below the poverty line; people with master's

degrees or higher have found themselves on public assistance (Andersen, 2018; Jacobs, Perry,

MacGillvary, 2015; Wessler, 2015).

Educational Problem of Practice

As noted, the majority of adjuncts desire a TT position. Adjuncts who make an effort to gain a TT position on the campus where they teach often must continue to teach at that same institution in an adjunct capacity, even when they are not chosen for the TT position. Some community college campuses go so far as to require that adjunct faculty employed on the campus must be interviewed along with outside applicants for an available TT position. It follows that these faculty feel under-valued by their institutions, as evidenced in Kramer, Gloekner, and Jacoby's (2015) survey, which is confirmed in one survey respondent's statement, "'I know I have a better chance of being hit by an asteroid than getting a full-time teaching job here'" (p. 295). This faculty member's statement indicates hopelessness on his/her campus, which speaks to a sense of fully belonging. A sense of belonging is created through socialization processes within an organization (Kraus, 2006). And research has yet to address whether or not new socialization processes should be developed in order to support adjunct faculty who were not considered "good enough" for the TT position, but are "good enough" to continue teaching college students in an adjunct capacity. It is also unclear how this type of rejection (not being offered the TT position for which they applied) informs adjuncts' professorial identities their daily practices within their respective HE institutions.

Purpose & Rationale

The purpose of this research was to explore the lived experiences of adjunct instructors who have been through the TT interview process at a community college, not hired for the position, but then continued to teach with adjunct status at the same institution. As a former contingent instructor myself, I experienced first-hand the tension existing between interviewing

in front of colleagues, but then not being chosen as the most capable instructor for the TT

position. It is disheartening, as any rejection might be; however, remaining in a part-time

teaching capacity at the same institution that chose to hire someone else, requires additional

mental, emotional, and social work. It requires the self to create a story to provide some type of

coherence to the experience, which is a mental, emotional, and social process (Kraus, 2006).

Ultimately, after my observation and interview activity with one of my colleagues, I recognized

that perceived tension was not just anecdotal to my experience, but was also experienced by

others who had been through the same process.

In this study, I explored this phenomenon through narrative inquiry. I utilized this

qualitative research approach in an effort to, "retrieve meanings by placing structures of

signification into an intelligible frame. By analyzing symbolic actions in terms of their meanings,

the investigator hopes to gain access to the informal logic of social life" (Bochner, 1985, p.44).

My research questions and methodology focus on the ways in which adjunct faculty talk about

their experiences before, during, and after the TT interview process. This report adds to the

growing body of research on adjunct experiences, while elevating the voices of a marginalized

population within a very specific context. The study also fills a small gap in the research; as of

today, I have not found any published research focused on the identity negotiation and

socialization experiences of faculty who continue to teach as an adjunct despite not being offered

the TT position for which they applied.

Research Question(s)

The following research questions encapsulate the concerns stated above. They also serve

to guide the literature review in Chapter Two and inform my methodological procedures in

Chapter Three. In an effort to understand how adjunct faculty create coherence through their

lived institutional experiences, the following questions guided this research:

What narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and interactions

  after a TT interview process?

    a. How might their narratives speak to their professorial identities?

    b. How might their narratives speak to their sense of institutional belongingness?

Definition of Terms

  To clarify and highlight the overlap in terminology related to this research, American

Association of University Professors' (n.d.) definitions are integrated throughout the study:

  Contingent Faculty – both full-time and part-time faculty hired for non-tenure-track

  positions, including adjunct faculty

  Adjunct Faculty – faculty hired part-time on a per course, per term, or per hour basis

  Full-time Faculty – faculty hired to teach a full load, but without the benefit of tenure

  Non Tenure-track (NTT) Faculty – any faculty who is hired in a part-time or full-time

  capacity but without the possibility of tenure; often a simile for contingent faculty

  Tenure-track (TT) Faculty – faculty hired indefinitely to preserve academic freedom

  Tenured (T) Faculty – faculty who have earned tenure status at their institution based on

  research publications, teaching positions, committee appointments, service to the

  institution, and/or service to the community, and also awarded, without much question,

  academic freedom.

These definitions indicate that while adjunct, full-time, and part-time are all enveloped within the

contingent faculty categorization, it is clear that TT faculty are afforded an entirely different set

of job protections. The difference in meaning between terms (contingent, adjunct, and part-time)

may be slight, but will be used at various times throughout this report in accordance with a

participant's desired classification or due to specific language included in a legal document or artifacts.

Significance of Study

There is a substantial body of research on TT faculty and a growing body of research focused on adjunct faculty. Plenty of research examines best practices associated with enculturating processes, often labelled as assimilation or integration processes. These practices help TT faculty fit into an institution with discussions focused on relationship-building, norms, rules, mentoring, and time management (Jolley, Cross, & Bryant, 2014; Thirolf, 2013). Publications have also focused on the disparities between adjunct and TT enculturation experiences (Kezar, 2010).

Little research has explored how adjunct faculty, negotiate or renegotiate those same institutional spaces after a failed TT interview process, which points to the need to better understand how they perceive themselves within their institution's culture. There has been considerable research on institutionalizing best practices for adjunct faculty, but Adrianna Kezar (2010), who advocates for adjuncts through prolific quantitative and qualitative studies, characterizes the worth of research such as this, "…[adjuncts] are in large measure the individuals responsible for meeting the primary mission of postsecondary institutions, and to know so little about who these faculty are (and how to support them) is at best reckless and at worst unethical" (p. 3). This study further addresses Kezar's concern by adding a bit more knowledge of adjunct faculty experiences, specifically through narratives adjunct faculty tell themselves and others as they renegotiate their institutional identities after a TT interview in which they were not offered the TT position.

Surely the continued employment of adjunct faculty to serve HE students is not slowing

down. Preparing future leaders, thinkers, and skilled workers requisite to each university's and

CC regional location necessarily requires creating and then staffing courses with appropriately

educated faculty. Hiring processes – and outcomes from those hiring processes – impacts many

HE institutional constituency groups, but it remains to be seen who experiences the most

disruption from these processes. This work collects and explores narratives of adjunct faculty

who have experienced the process of not being selected in a TT interview process, but continue

to work as an adjunct on that same campus for which they interviewed for a TT position.

Exploring their experiences through narrative inquiry provides rich stories contributing to an

underdeveloped area in current research.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Self-Concept, identity, and socialization processes have been studied for more than four

decades (Adler & Proctor,2017; Adler, Rosenfeld, & Proctor, 2010; Bahktin, 1981; Gubrium &

Holstein, 2001; Hoetler, 1983; Kraus, 2006; Levine & Moreland, 1994; Moreland, Anderson, &

Riddle, 2010; Riddle, Anderson, & Martin, 2000). Self-concept, identity, and models of

socialization are mentioned here as adjunct faculty find themselves working within a two-tiered

system imbued with socio-ideological messages reifying one group of faculty (tenured or TT) as

more important – evidenced by higher pay and benefits – while the other group (NTT) is

marginalized.

It is generally accepted that language creates and constitutes individuals' realities

(Bahktin, 1981; Todorov, 1984); therefore social interactions are the most influential processes

to self-concept and identity construction and management. Through communication acts within

specific contexts and social groups, individuals understand who they are in those respective

social contexts. "People do not simply choose affiliations, they have to negotiate them with

others…their distance to some collective identities or their closeness to others must be expressed

by them – and affirmed or rejected by present others" (Kraus, 2006, p. 130). Internal dialogues in

which individuals replay interactions serve as one way to reify their notions of self or can serve

to delegitimize socio-ideological manifestations (Vološinov, 1973).

In Chapter Two, identity and socialization processes are elaborated further; however, it is

important to mention that a two-tiered system exists even in how new TT and NTT faculty are

socialized into their institutions. Moreland, Anderson, and Riddle (2010) suggest that full

assimilation would be the goal of any new organizational member. Yet the two-tiered system in

HE tends to offer more in-depth socialization to TT faculty versus NTT faculty (Kezar & Sam,

2013). Socialization communicates the norms and rules of the organization, and therefore

communicates ideological socio-political structures within the organization. For example, when

one is asked to interview for a TT position, the selection committee conveys a message; the

message is that the interviewee is capable and worthy. However, when the TT position is offered

to another individual, the message to the rejected interviewee conveys an entirely different

message; the interviewee is not capable and unworthy. Yet the rejected interviewee might still

remain teaching on that very campus as an adjunct, and therefore, must reconcile the capable/not

capable dialectical tension along with a worthy/unworthy dialectical tension. Thus, a review of

the literature on socialization processes is warranted and will be offered in Chapter Two. Doing

so will serve the analysis of how contingent faculty, after interviewing for and not being offered

a TT position, experience feeling a part of their organization, an organization in which its

members contribute to the creation of their significant identities.

Delimitations and Limitations

As with any study, both quantitative and qualitative, there are limitations and

delimitations. The following limitations are inherent to this study and delimitations are bound by

the research question. Historically positivistic research methods have been the norm and

qualitative research conclusions were dismissed or marginalized due to validity and

generalizability concerns. The goal with this research is not to predict or control a natural world,

but to understand how individuals utilize narratives to provide coherence to their identity

construction and institutional belonging after a significant identity-threat event. And according to

Bochner (1985), a methodological approach grounded in social interaction is necessary when

exploring social experiences. Specifically, the goal with this research was to gain insight into the

storied lives of just a few adjunct faculty in a given context, not to make broad generalizations

across that might apply to all adjunct faculty. And in that vein, Polkinghorne (2007) asserts,

"narrative research issues claims about the meaning life events hold for people. It makes claims

about how people understand situations, others, and themselves" (p. 476). This research seeks to

understand a few individuals' social worlds in their work-life contexts, and does not attempt to

make generalizations beyond the given research context; therefore, empirical methods are not

useful to the proposed research questions.

Delimitations. Due to the specific circumstances of the insight gained during an

advanced qualitative methods course, I chose to narrow the research question based on a specific

type of interview experience, which was requisite to choosing participants. Having been through

a TT interview process is a unique and extensive process, but not being offered the position is

even more delimiting. This experience is the piece of the literature that remains unaddressed and

has potential to provide a critical glimpse into tension-filled organizational experiences.

Limitations. Due to the nature of the research question, which specifically focuses on a

type of experience (adjunct who interviewed for TT position), sampling was purposive. Given

the use of purposive sampling, there may be concerns regarding participant truthfulness or honesty. However, Polkinghorne (2007) asserts, "participants will be more open to sharing their experienced meanings if they trust that the interviewer is open to accept their felt meanings without judgment" (p. 481). I was committed to this work. As a result, I sense that participants recognized me as trustworthy, having similar adjunct experiences, and also working with participants' best interests at heart. I hope their narratives reflect a more honest reprisal of their experience through the TT interview process.

Organization of Study

To contextualize the research question as comprehensively as possible, related prior research is presented in Chapter Two and the methodology is detailed in Chapter Three. In Chapter Two I present an explanation as to how and why HE institutions increased reliance on contingent faculty. Additionally, I offer an overview of the literature related to adjunct experiences in relation to their tenured or TT counterparts prior to offering conceptual frameworks: identity and socialization theories, which further narrows the focus of this study. In Chapter Three, I provide a justification for narrative inquiry as methodology, along with a historical contextualization of the setting, participants, data collection, and data analysis processes. I explore all of these topics in an effort to establish a solid foundation for this study on adjunct faculty experiences. Chapter Four includes the full narratives of the two adjunct faculty participants in this study, along with analysis of their narratives related to their negotiation of identity and institutional belongingness. Ultimately, this report ends with a discussion in Chapter Five, which includes the contributions to the field, limitations of this study, implications for

practice, and areas for further research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Hiring TT faculty used to be the generally accepted practice in HE; however, the new normal is hiring adjunct faculty. Due to the large population of adjunct faculty, and the fact that more than 50% of adjunct faculty desire TT work, adjunct faculty will continue to be part of the applicant pools for TT positions (Ott & Dippold, 2018a). However, as of today, there is minimal research published on this phenomenon except for a few recent articles presenting multi-variate analyses on previously collected survey data, which will discussed later in this chapter. Beyond this data is a dearth of literature specific to adjunct faculty's experiences after interviewing for TT positions. Since this scope of adjunct faculty experiences has not yet been addressed in published research, I present a broad picture of the HE faculty landscape in this chapter. I begin with the socio-political and economic reasons for hiring adjunct faculty and then move on to juxtapose adjunct faculty experiences with tenured or TT faculty experiences. I also offer an overview of previous research related to faculty hiring and hiring models in Chapter Two. To inform the context in which adjuncts are currently situated, I discuss contemporary hiring and orientation practices in academia demonstrating this prolific two-tiered system of enculturation processes. Ultimately, I end Chapter Two with a description of the theoretical frameworks informing the analysis in Chapter Four: an overview of socialization models and identity theory.

The past one hundred years has been a time of economic and intellectual growth for America. There has been an increase in the number of public and private universities, which in turn, necessarily requires an increase in faculty to staff courses in these new colleges and universities. In the 1970's, more than 75% of faculty were full-time (Magness, 2016). Fast forward almost fifty years, more than seventy percent of faculty positions are contingent (American Association of University Professors, 2017). The growth in use of adjunct faculty has

been attributed to a number of influences: (1) increase in the number of for-profit universities, which, typically do not offer tenure positions, (2) increase in the number of community colleges, which hire a greater percentage of adjunct faculty, (3) an overproduction of PhD's and non-terminal humanity-degreed faculty compared to an availability of TT positions – supply and demand –, and (4) the newer practice of replacing retiring tenured faculty with adjunct positions (Magness, 2016). So, while these four reasons seem to have the most significant impact on the adjunctification of HE, it is interesting to note that public universities tend to have the highest rate of tenured or TT positions and for-profit colleges and universities have the lowest rate of tenured or TT positions (American Association of University Professors, 2017; Magness, 2016).

While the type of HE institution correlates with either a greater prevalence of contingent faculty positions or TT faculty positions, as stated in Chapter One, even more differences exist within the rank of adjunct faculty. Not all adjunct faculty desire TT positions; however, several sources report that more than fifty percent of adjunct faculty desire a TT position (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Jacoby, 2005; Ott & Dippold, 2018a). Adjunct faculty desiring full-time employment – underemployed faculty – often work in the humanities disciplines versus the science and technology disciplines (Magness). To further demonstrate the importance of this large population of faculty, a significant portion of adjunct faculty who desire TT employment report feeling dissatisfaction with administration, dissatisfaction with their T colleagues, and with their campuses overall (Eagan et. al.). Essentially, when it comes to various types of institutions and the type of hiring structures, it is important to note that much of the early research on adjunct faculty reported that adjuncts were content with their part-time employment (Leslie, Gappa, & Outcalt, 2002); yet the latest research is demonstrating in various regions of the country, this is not the case (Eagan et. al., 2015; Jacoby, 2005; Magness, 2016; Ott &

Dippold, 2018a).

Historical Background on the Literature

The use of part-time faculty has significantly increased, but so have the concerns associated with relying on a contingent workforce who are teaching most community college students and a large portion of lower division students at four-year universities. This growing concern is obvious with the increase in literature focusing on part-time faculty teaching methodologies, as well as their impact on student success, transfer rates, and degree attainment. According to the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges (1992) contingent faculty hiring increased on the heels of the modernistic period of economic and scientific growth, therefore, research data and conclusions addressing this faculty group only reaches back about twenty-five years. Many journal publications acknowledging the work of part-time faculty members is quantitative and draws on the conceptual models of researchers who typically do not belong to a contingent workforce (Baldwin & Wawrzynski, 2011; Jaeger & Eagan, 2009; Rogers, 2015). Furthermore, much of the quantitative research solely reports on nationally distributed part-time faculty job satisfaction surveys (Leslie, Gappa, & Outcalt, 2002). Or the research utilizes data from national reports and applies Item Response Theory Analyses or Multivariate Analyses to inform correlational-type of conclusions (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2018; Seipel & Larson, 2015).

Historically, researchers who focused on adjunct faculty have utilized a deficit model when approaching research questions associated with part-time faculty and student success (Baldwin & Wawrzynski, 2011; Jaeger & Eagan, 2009; Rogers, 2015). The deficit model approaches research questions with the assumption that contingent faculty negatively impact student success. Approaching research from this perspective has served to further devalue the

voices and work of part-time faculty (Baldwin & Wawrzynski, 2011; Rogers, 2015). More recent

research has focused on adjunct faculty job satisfaction within different frameworks, such as

Self-Determination Theory and Underemployment Theory, to name just a couple (Eagan, Jaeger,

& Grantham, 2015; Seipel & Larson, 2018). New research recognizes the important role

contingent faculty members play in the lives of community college and university students, but it

also identifies how research is at a point in which theory can be, and should be, developed to

ensure meaningful integration of contingent faculty into an HE institution (Kezar & Sam, 2013).

Faculty Roles in Academia

Initially HE faculty were only responsible for imparting knowledge to their students.

Moving forward a few hundred years to the twenty-first century, institutions of HE expect their

faculty to perform certain and varied roles to shape students who are critical thinking, productive

members of society (Lucas, 2006). Comparatively, Rogers (2015) points out, community college

(CC) faculty are not expected to do the same work as their university counterparts; the focus for

tenured or TT CC faculty is instructing students, while TT university faculty must do research in

addition to their instructional duties. However, tenured and TT faculty across various types of

HE institutions must also perform administrative duties, like developing new curriculum and

participating on various campus committees. Contingent faculty at universities and two-year

colleges are not expected to participate on committees, as they are typically only paid to teach

(Eagan et. al., 2015).

Contingent faculty hires & who benefits. As I stated in Chapter One and reiterated here

in Chapter Two, not all adjunct faculty are looking for TT employment; therefore, those content

in their adjunct status tend to report greater levels of workplace satisfaction (Eagan et. al., 2015;

Seipel & Larson, 2018). Within this context it seems more appropriate to acknowledge the

benefits of adjunct faculty to their respective campuses and their own professional identities. When HE institutions staff courses with contingent faculty, and if they are unable to fill those courses, they can easily terminate contracts without legal repercussions (American Association of University Professors, n.d.). With a larger contingent workforce, administration has created a power vacuum in which they can easily step into and influence curriculum decisions, as well as future faculty hiring decisions. Tenured faculty have traditionally assumed this role as per AAUP academic freedom guidelines; however, with so many more contingent workers, tenured faculty must do the administrative work of their departments and programs instead of focusing on rights associated with academic freedom (Kezar, 2010). And, of course, when hiring a cheaper labor force, like adjuncts, administration can redirect budgetary dollars to other institutional needs or wants. Even though CC have worked to reduce instructional costs there is very little cost-shifting when utilizing adjuncts at the community college level, unlike their four-year counterparts that shift instructional savings towards maintenance and administration (AIR, 2015).

Adjunct faculty, voluntarily choosing to work in a part-time capacity, realize personal benefits and enjoy greater work satisfaction (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Seipel & Larson, 2018). Adjuncts whose disciplines are associated with specific professions (i.e. doctor, lawyer) tend to have full-time employment beyond the campus (Kezar, 2010). Therefore, part-time work as an adjunct allows them an opportunity to give back to their community, and they are content with their single course assignment each semester, as it is not their primary source of income. In Smith's (2019) phenomenological study, she found that participants who were voluntarily employed as adjuncts, enjoyed teaching because they were positively impacting students and "making a difference" (p. 73). While this perspective seems indicative of those who enter into teaching, the adjuncts in this study taught at a small private Christian college, so their

characterization of their experiences could also be due to a sense of belonging felt in a shared

spiritual context. Regardless of shared spiritual experience, Eagan and colleagues' (2015) study

further supports positive attitudes associated with adjuncts voluntarily underemployed,

"…voluntary part-time faculty were significantly more likely to feel that part-timers on their

campus had good working relationships with the administration. Likewise, voluntary part-time

faculty were significantly more likely to feel that full-time faculty respected their part-time

colleagues" (p. 472). Contingent labor can serve HE institutions well in addition to offering

personal satisfaction for adjuncts who desire only part-time employment.

Contingent faculty hires & the two-tiered system. As previously discussed the

majority of adjunct faculty would prefer to be hired for a TT position. Faculty with these

aspirations report lower workplace satisfaction, which can influence institutional commitment

and perceptions of personal growth (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Seipel & Larson, 2018).

Furthermore, faculty desiring TT employment report feeling discouraged enough not to even

seek out TT employment opportunities (Jacoby, 2005). So even though they might desire a TT

position, their high level of discouragement negatively influences their willingness to even apply

for a TT position.

One of the primary concerns facing contingent faculty is income stability (Bergom,

Waltman, August, Hollenshead, 2010; Leslie, Gappa, & Outcalt, 2002). Kezar and Sam (2013)

found that two-year colleges were more likely to hire part-time faculty while four-year

universities were more likely to hire full-time contingent faculty; full-time contingent faculty had

equitable pay and benefits to their TT counterparts. Part-time faculty often struggle to piece

together a living wage teaching on multiple campuses in a single term. They are less likely to

voice concerns about poor working conditions because they are afraid they will not be rehired in

subsequent semesters, as adjunct contracts are typically semester to semester (Bergom et. al., 2010; Kezar & Maxey, 2014).

Additionally, Kezar and Sam (2013) point to the isolated feeling adjunct faculty members report experiencing; they are often invited to participate on committees, which is representative of shared governance, but they are not paid for their committee work like their full-time counterparts. Levin and Shaker (2011) suggest that HE institutions are bureaucracies in which rules and norms are set by the high status professoriate, which naturally excludes contingent faculty. Adjuncts may be asked to participate in some aspect of a committee's decision-making process, but are often asked to leave while other decisions are made in their absence (Jolley, Cross, & Bryant, 2014). Ott and Dippold (2018b) reported that adjuncts were not included in program review, but had a strong desire to be involved in this process. In their survey of 1239 adjunct faculty, one part-timer reported,

> "as an adjunct faculty member, I am not consulted on anything regarding my course content. The new department chair does not speak to me at all except to cancel a course or to say hello; there is NO collegial exchange or engagement about my role or the value I bring to my department." Her statement captures how, for many adjuncts, inclusion in governance is not merely about contributing to any given decision. It also has larger symbolic meaning, communicating respect for their professional expertise and making them feel valued in their roles. (p. 454)

As might be expected, Eagan, Jaeger, and Grantham (2015) found relational satisfaction adjuncts experience with their administration and faculty peer groups is related to their workplace satisfaction. In their multivariate analyses, they found that adjunct perceptions of colleagues' and administration' respect contributed to an overall sense of relational satisfaction. Seipel and

Larson (2018) suggest, "…that relatedness is a critical lens through which NTT faculty interpret environmental supports and evaluate their well-being" (p. 167). It appears that adjunct participation in decision-making functions to foster inclusion and positive relationship-building among all decision-makers.

In addition to institutional drawbacks for adjuncts, they can face challenges facilitating and delivering their course content, which can impact institutional effectiveness. Often adjunct faculty are hired right before a term begins; thereby providing minimal opportunity to orient to the campus as well as minimal opportunity to orient to their assigned course content (Jolley, Cross, & Bryant, 2014; Kezar & Maxey, 2014; Wallin, 2004). This can impede their ability to launch their students' semesters effectively and efficiently as possible. Part-time faculty also reported they were less likely to have academic freedom over textbook choices (Leslie, Gappa, & Outcalt, 2002). As most faculty, tenured or NTT, already know, being unfamiliar with a textbook, but required to use it, takes additional hours of preparation. So when and where are adjunct faculty supposed to prepare their courses? Jolley, Cross, and Bryant's (2014) research participants commented that prep areas for adjunct faculty were disparate compared to full-time faculty; adjuncts had to share a small space with dozens of other adjunct faculty, while full-time faculty had private office space to prepare lectures and meet with students. Ultimately, Eagan, Jaeger, and Grantham (2015) confirmed that private offices & personal computers become more important to workplace satisfaction when part-time faculty are not satisfied with administrative and colleague relationships.

Hiring & Orienting

Typically, in private sector jobs, applicants and interviewees most often come from outside the organization, unlike applicants and interviewees for jobs in academia. Community

colleges hire more adjuncts than four-year universities; therefore, when a CC announces a TT

position, there are almost always adjuncts in the applicant pool, unlike TT applicant pools for

positions at four-year universities. For example, a union contract for a CC district in California

actually requires that two currently employed district adjuncts must be interviewed for every new

TT position announced (State Center Federation of Teachers, 2018).

Once a new faculty member is hired, regardless of status, a best practice is some type of

onboarding and/or orientation process to enculturate the new organizational member (Billot &

King, 2017; Wallin, 2004). Orientation, onboarding, and/or induction processes are opportunities

for institutions to convey rules and norms facilitating seamless assimilation for all new hires

(Dunn & Jasinski, 2009). Yet newly-hired adjuncts are more likely to have access to just a one-

day orientation and a faculty handbook, while their TT counterparts will experience a more in-

depth orientation process; this provides evidence of a two-tiered classification system serving to

differentiate faculty by type (Kezar & Sam, 2013). Teboul and Cole (2005) suggest this practice

extends beyond HE institutions, as perceived status of new-hires influences the amount of time

and energy established high-status members will invest in building relationships and/or

mentoring activities. Jolley, Cross, and Bryant (2014) report that adjuncts are often hired just a

few days prior to the beginning of a term, which does not those newly hired adjuncts to even

participate in the orientation.

Socialization Framework

Fully enculturated faculty members are those who have been successfully socialized, or

assimilated into their respective institutions (Riddle, Anderson, & Martin, 2000). Enculturating

institutional members is a social process, occurring through language-bound interactions at the

interpersonal, group, and organizational levels. As Mumby (1987) states, "Organizational

members inhabit a symbolic environment in which they create the rules, norms, and values that frame the process of organizing" (p. 113). So those personal values, group values, and organizational values are conveyed, exchanged, and constantly recreated through interaction, specifically because language is ideological in nature (Bahktin, 1981).

Levine and Moreland (1994) who developed seminal theory related to group socialization processes and the type of behaviors or interactions occurring at various phases in the process, state the importance of socialization best with:

> When an individual feels strong commitment toward a group, the person is likely to accept the group's goals and values, feel positive affect toward group members, work hard to fulfil (sic) group expectations and attain group goals, and seek to gain or maintain membership in the group. Similarly, a group that feels strong commitment toward an individual is likely to accept the individual's needs and values, feel positive affect toward the individual, work hard to fulfill (sic) the individual's expectations and satisfy his or her needs, and seek to gain or retain the individual as a group member. (p. 309)

Levine and Moreland clarify five phases of group membership: investigation, socialization, maintenance, resocialization, and remembrance. First it is important to note that Teboul and Cole (2005) assert that new hires who are perceived as having a lower status and less to offer higher status institutional members, "are likely to experience organizational socialization as both divesting and disjunctive…" and "…likely forced to contest their upward mobility with other same-status cohorts" (p. 403). Yet most contingent faculty are recognized as low status members with limited opportunities for higher status roles (Bergom et. al., 2010; Levin & Shaker, 2011). Most important to the focus of this research are the maintenance and resocialization phases. According to the framework, if the established group – the hiring

organization – and the newly hired individual successfully negotiate role expectations, then there is commitment to the group. During the fourth phase, the resocialization phase, marginal group members are resocialized to calibrate the group's culture (Levine & Moreland, 1994). This phase of socialization is under-researched; however, this phase might be most applicable when examining the perspectives of adjunct faculty who are not offered an open TT position on their campus.

Thirolf (2013) suggests that communication between part-time and full-time faculty should be examined to understand and develop positive interactions, which could create a positive work climate while also providing an alternative perspective into socialization processes. This would also confirm Teboul and Cole's (2005) expectations in that positive relationship developments would minimize the impact of negative institutional events on workplace satisfaction. Participants in Thirolf's research stated they lacked collegiality at their campuses and therefore felt "dejected," which was also confirmed in Jolley, Cross, and Bryant's (2014) qualitative research. Feelings of dejected, or not feeling a part of a group, is due to perceptions while interacting with others within the same social network (Hoetler, 1983). Adjunct faculty who perceive their administration and tenured colleagues as negatively appraising their efforts in the organization influence how committed they might be to their role in their respective organizations. Connecting with humans is considered one of the most basic human needs and a necessary for cognitive, emotional, and physical growth (Adler & Proctor, 2017), so a study bound within a socialization framework contributes a new understanding of how a sense of value, commitment, and respect, or lack thereof, contributes to adjuncts feelings

of institutional belongingness.

Self-Concept & Identity

Investigating self-concept through identity theory within a socialization framework is fitting, given that self-concept develops in relation to others, in a social context (Adler, Rosenfeld, & Proctor, 2010; Bahktin, 1986; Hoetler, 1983). Identity theory asserts that, "Persons acting in the context of social structure name one another and themselves in the sense of recognizing one another as occupants of positions (roles)" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). Kraus (2006) further clarifies, "People do not simply choose affiliations, they have to negotiate them with others and are positioned within them by others" (p. 130). Kraus also argues that identity construction is an ongoing process. Even more specifically, significant others offer supportive or critical messages, which then positively or negatively influence one's self-concept and/or one's social position (Adler et. al., 2010; Hoetler, 1983). More specific to the topic of this study, Levin and Shaker (2011) found that contingent faculty's "identity is dualistic because as teachers, they express satisfaction, whereas as members of the professoriate, they articulate restricted self-determination and self-esteem" (p. 1462

Language creates and constitutes individuals' realities (Bahktin, 1981; Todorov, 1984); therefore, social interactions are the most influential processes in constructing self-concept and identity. Martin and Nakayama (1999) claim, "one becomes fully human only in relation to another person" (p. 14). Furthermore, self-concept develops through social comparison, oftentimes to reference groups. For the adjunct who views TT as the ideal, TT faculty would be the reference group. And for the majority of adjunct faculty, TT is the ideal (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015). In western culture, job titles and careers are significant categories associated with identity and Americans' biggest identities are most often their titles. Therefore,

investigating identity within a work setting is fitting given Gubrium and Holstein's (2001)

statement, "…in a variety of organizational settings, the personal self is discerned in public space

and produced in social interaction" (p. 2). Essentially, the individual understands self in relation

to others in a given context. And Bochner (1985) confirms that an individual's meaning-making

is situated within a given context.

     Desiring a TT position also reifies the two-tiered system that HE institutional policies

currently support, which separates contingent faculty from tenured or TT faculty by utilizing

divisive language. Tenured and TT faculty are grouped into one category, which is offered

benefits like health care and retirement while the other group, adjunct faculty is not. This

communicates that one group's health and work is valued more than the other group's (Kezar &

Maxey, 2014). Social comparison to reference groups can result in positive or negative self-

evaluation, depending on how one evaluates characteristics between self and the reference group

(Adler, Rosenfeld, & Proctor, 2010). Kraus (2006) supports this sentiment with, "Identity

construction is not only at stake when somebody is explicitly talking about him- or herself, but

also when seemingly referring to other subjects, since even then positions have to be taken and

stories be constructed" (p. 130). Position or role identity is always being constructed even when

speaking about the institutional others; institutional others recognize distinct members with

perceived institutional value assigned to who they are and the roles they play within the

institution.). "Much of this evaluation is based on perceptions of others' appraisals (of self) and

comparisons of self with others. These evaluations, either directly or indirectly, involve the roles

one enacts and uses for defining oneself, providing the necessary points of reference for

cognitive organization" (Hoetler, 1983, p. 146). Identity theory informs the analysis and

discussion sections in Chapter Four and Chapter 5, as identity changes are uncovered through

narrative inquiry (Lannamann, 1992). As Levin and Shaker (2011) suggest "narratives reveal

how they see themselves and how they want to be seen" (p. 1475).

Summary

Adjunct hiring has emerged as the hiring practice of choice and is now the new normal

hiring practice in HE. As the U.S. population has grown, so has a need and desire for an

expansion of HE instruction and the production of degrees. The prior research problematizes this

hiring practice, but little has been done to alleviate the multiple problematic dimensions

associated with this growing faculty typology: low pay, under-employed, dissatisfaction, two-

tiered system. Quite possibly not enough research exists to fully understand the impact this

hiring practice has on all HE constituency groups. Or possibly this hiring practice influences

different types of HE institutions disparately, therefore not perceived as problematic in all HE

contexts. Implications for this type of hiring practice have only demonstrated a high level of

dissatisfaction, which can lead to reduced institutional involvement and commitment. Chapter

Two introduced the two lens' through which the data is analyzed. Chapter Three will provide an

explanation of the methodology used for this research and how that methodology informs the

resulting implications, contributing yet another small piece of literature to this varied problem.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Humans have been telling stories to convey truths about their social and physical worlds long before written language served to convey knowledge. Even though most cultures have a written language, humans continue the practice of storytelling today to make meaning of events in their lives (Fisher, 1999). According to Walter Fischer's narrative paradigm, humans understand their lived experiences through intrapersonal and interpersonal narratives, and this study serves to reveal the storied lives of adjunct faculty (Hollihan & Baaske, 2017).

Purpose & Research Questions

I utilized narrative inquiry as the primary method to explore how adjunct faculty negotiate their institutional relationships after they are not offered the TT position for which they interviewed. I asked for stories as a way to discern how they make sense of the event and thereby negotiate self within their institution. The following research questions guided this study:

What narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and

interactions after a TT interview process?

a. How might their narratives speak to their professorial identities?

b. How might their narratives speak to their sense of institutional belongingness?

Research Design

Stories or narratives are essential to understand the experiences of adjunct faculty. As Polkinghorne (2007) suggests stories are claims people make about their reality. Furthermore, Clandinin (2013) states, stories are "…a way of thinking about identities relationally" (p. 21). When interacting with others, or relationshipping with others, people are exposed to how others perceive them. They gain insight to and develop their self-concepts, which further influences identity formation (Adler & Proctor, 2010). And the purpose of this research was to understand

the stories adjuncts tell themselves and others while trying to control their professorial and colleagial identities. Hoetler (1983) suggests that humans utilize their perception of prior interactions as internal dialogue "to evaluate performance and guide behavior" (p. 146).

Narrative inquiry also serves its participants in affirming the value of their lived experiences; it reveals, "…the impact of the social and cultural setting on people's lives" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 483), which, for the purposes of this study, were bound within an HE institution. Narrative inquiry can go beyond simply elevating participants' voices and present their critical stories highlighting power dimensions to advocate equity within participants' and the research's setting (Moss, 2004). Mumby (1987) asserts that discourse does not just stabilize participants' realities, it can also transform their realities as a mere consequence to how language functions. This is evidenced in Chapter Four, which includes participants' narratives even as it represents cumulative narratives, doing argumentative work in the academic social world.

Working within the assumption of Fisher's narrative paradigm necessarily implies an epistemological assumption – knowledge is socially created, constituted, and reconstituted through the stories one tells self and others. Stories can confirm and disconfirm realities; therefore, stories are rarely neutral, and significantly shape one's social world (Fisher, 1999). Chronicling the stories humans tell and live, narrative inquiry, provides insight into how individuals make meaning through social interactions (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Polkinghorne, 2007). "Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience" through "…stories lived and told" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). Narratives also offer the space to consider relational aspects of understanding experience (Clandinin, 2013). Since the purpose of this study has been to understand how adjunct faculty experience negotiating organizational space and relationships after interviewing for a TT position, narrative inquiry was the optimal

methodological fit.

Narrative inquiry also requires researchers to consider context and how the investigated context informs social constructs over time, thereby focusing on three-dimensions: temporality, personal/social, and place (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Inquirers exploring temporality assume participants have past, present, and the possibility of future experiences, which adds one meaningful dimension to a story. Salient through an exploration of the social and personal dimensions is how meaning is constructed through interactions with others. The third dimension explores context to further understand participants' meaning-making. Gubrium and Holstein (2001) suggest that analysis must be understood within context because human meaning-making in social interactions is always embedded in the context. Analysis of these dimensions reveals, "…the impact of the social and cultural setting on people's lives" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 483). Through these three dimensions, researchers seek patterns, narrative threads, tensions, or themes across participants' narrated experiences.

The Researcher

This research is personal to me, since prior to gaining my own TT position, I was an adjunct professor for almost a decade. Social justice and equity are indicative of values guiding my initial decision to become an educator, and continued to significantly influence my actions to pursue a community college (CC) TT instructional position. I am a first-generation college student and a graduate of California's CC system. While I have personally experienced marginalization as an adjunct instructor, I have also benefitted financially and socially from years in college and opportunities an advanced degree has afforded. I experienced socio-economic marginalization with lower pay, no voice in institutional governance, limited access to supplies and ten-plus preps a semester just to make ends meet. For me, a TT position was an

elusive golden calf and I recognize how a decade of experiencing this type of first world

oppression shapes the research question and the critical lens I bring to this research.

I also recognize the power that I, a tenured professor, have within my institution,

especially as it is juxtaposed with adjunct faculty who are at-will employees. As a tenured

faculty member I participate on hiring committees; therefore, adjunct faculty may perceive me as

someone who might have power to offer TT jobs in the future. Since gaining a TT position is so

desirable, I am keenly aware of the additional energy adjunct faculty must expend in order

negotiate power dimensions on the multiple campuses at which they teach.

Ultimately, though, I remember my experience as an adjunct and the desire to feel

connected to all my colleagues. So currently I try to serve my colleagues, especially adjuncts, as

an advocate on various campus committees. I am Co-Chair on the Professional Development

committee and advocate paying adjuncts to participate in campus learning opportunities.

Additionally, I have crafted email messages about adjunct faculty observations and evaluations

that are now becoming the standard on campus, as they are scripted in a way to demonstrate

commitment to their growth as instructors while also providing them with their rights as per the

union-negotiated contract. I advocate for extra pay for adjuncts to participate in curriculum

development within my program. I find problems in my current context and advocate for

changing policy; this indicates the ways this research is more than just investigating the

meanings my colleagues share through narratives. My end goal, in the words of Bochner (1985)

is to, "seek enlightenment and social change through reflective methods" (p. 46). Essentially, I

see myself as a life-long learner and an advocate in the role of a George Fox University doctoral

student who supports the growth of students in higher education, which primarily rests on the

work of adjuncts.

Assumptions, Limitations, & Delimitations of the Study

As data suggests, people who have college degrees are more likely to earn higher wages than their counterparts without college degrees (Torpey, 2018). As a community college professor, I see myself as doing good in my social world by serving a socio-economically disadvantaged population of students. Eventually, my students will earn their degree(s), gain a commensurate job, and climb the socio-economic ladder. While somewhat idealistic, adjuncts' reality is not as positive. Adjunct faculty are not afforded the same socio-economic opportunities, even though they, minimally, must have Master's Degrees. This research provides space for voices of highly-degreed, yet economically marginalized, contingent faculty to speak to their perceptions of the current equitable or unequitable situation among faculty working in HE.

Context & Setting

To understand the inequity inherent to the lives of adjunct faculty, specifically at the CC level – the site of this study – it is important to understand the context in which adjunctification emerged as an acceptable hiring practice. Community colleges formally began in 1901 as a way to provide access to higher education for a democratic society. Interest in community colleges grew exponentially each decade, except during the Great Depression when enrollment dropped. Trainor (2015) clarifies that during the 60's, community colleges were,

> opening at an average rate of one per week during this decade, community colleges not only absorbed and educated a considerable portion of the Boomer generation; they also inaugurated many of the core features of the 21st century college while pioneering a revolutionary open-doors admission policy (para. 11).

Historical contextualization of California' community college system. While some

credit University of Chicago President William Rainey Harper with formally introducing junior

colleges (the historical term for CC) to the state of California, Stanford's president at the time,

David Starr Jordan, and Berkley's president were also huge supporters of junior colleges (Lucas,

2006; Trainor, 2015). Jordan publicly presented his desire to see incoming Stanford students

with an associate's degree in hand. In response to this, in 1907, the California legislature passed

law allowing, "…high schools to offer post-high school instruction" (Winter, 1964, p. 1). With

this, California became the first state in the United States to legislatively institute community

colleges. However, the first California CC was not institutionalized until 1910 in the small

agricultural community of Fresno. By the end of the 1940's, California was home to 52

community colleges (Winter, 1964).

Socio-economic needs influenced interest and growth in community colleges, and

political motives morphed CC missions. Legislation during the 1950's allowed California's

community colleges to create nursing programs, real estate programs, air transportation

programs, offer summer school, and allow high school students to concurrently take CC classes,

as necessitated by regional needs. Furthermore, laws were passed requiring CC instructors to

minimally hold a master's degree (Winter, 1964). All this legislation contributed to the

expansion in scope of California's CC mission. With an expanded scope came expanded

budgets.

Current socio-economic context for community colleges nationwide. Today there are

more than 1200 two-year institutions throughout the United States (Hankin, 2003). Hankin

further reports that previously, fifty percent of CC funding came from their respective state's

budget. Currently, though, state contributions average around thirty percent of CC budgets, with

the balance being made up through lottery funds, enrollment fees, local revenue, and local

property taxes (Legislative Analyst's Office, 2017). Community colleges throughout the nation are providing more services than ever with diminished financial resources. With the growth in the number of students attending community colleges nationwide, administrators must hire more faculty, but they must do so within significantly tighter budget constraints. This is one cause leading to the expanded practice of hiring adjunct faculty, whose pay rate is much less than that of their TT counterparts (AIR, 2017).

Current socio-economic context for California's community colleges. In 2017 the California Community College System had more than 2.1 million students enrolled at one of 113 colleges throughout the state (Foundation for Community Colleges). Data presented in California's *Vision for Success* supports the claim that only half of these students will attain an educational goal, including earning a certificate, degree, or transfer degree. In response to these troubling numbers, Eloy Oakley, the Chancellor of California Community Colleges, in concert with the Foundation for Community Colleges, created specific system wide goals to be reached by 2022. These goals include a twenty percent increase in students earning associates degrees and a thirty-five percent increase in students transferring to the UC or CSU systems. The California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office (2019) reports that currently, in addition to a large number of TT faculty, forty-two thousand adjunct faculty teach California's community college student population. In an effort to meet the Chancellor's goals, additional funding has been allocated, and distributed to California's 115 community colleges, to hire full-time TT faculty (Martin, 2018).

Context for research setting. In the Fall 2019 semester, within the research setting for this study, a multi-campus CC district in California witnessed sixteen newly hired TT faculty – on a single campus – begin their new careers. Some of the TT hires were former adjuncts and

others were hired from beyond the district's adjunct pool. The union contract for this CC district requires two currently employed district adjuncts be interviewed for every new TT position announced (SCFT, 2018). Therefore, even if one of the two adjunct interviewees is offered a TT position, the other adjunct is not, thereby remaining part of the contingent workforce. More than fifty percent of adjunct faculty are seeking TT employment (American Federation of Teachers, 2010; Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Jacoby, 2005; Ott & Dippold, 2018a).

To contribute to the growing body of research surrounding adjunct faculty experiences, the efforts in this research design support continued chronicling of adjunct faculty experiences. I gathered adjunct narratives on a medium-sized CC campus situated within a multi-campus CC district in the state of California. I thoughtfully considered and took deliberate steps to gain participants who met criteria assumed in the research question while also maintaining the integrity of narrative inquiry.

Participants & sampling. The narrowed scope of the research question necessarily requires purposive sampling; therefore, I deliberately recruited participants meeting the criteria called for in the research question (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018). Initially I sought three to five participants who were adjunct faculty teaching at a campus where they interviewed for a TT position they did not receive. I sought out participants who I believed meet the criteria, but then relied on potential participants to refer me to other participants. I also looked for participants who were reflective and willing to participate in an involved research process of sharing their story with me. Ideally, I wanted participants to be from the same campus; however, it was difficult to find willing participants. Therefore I sought out participants across several campuses but within the same CC district.

Initially, with input from my committee chairs, I wanted to gather narratives of three to

five participants. Early in January 2020, it looked as if I had three participants; however, after the second meeting with the third participant, a close family member died. Even though she wanted to continue with this project, it seemed unethical and unfair to expect her to continue at a later date. [Side Note: I do hope she and I will work together on a future project.] Ultimately, this research presents the narratives of two adjunct participants. One of whom I had a previous relationship and another I met by chance. One of the participants I had met at a conference a couple years prior. We had stayed friends on Facebook and I had watched her navigate the adjunct life. When I was trying to find participants, I reached out to the faculty member whose narrative opens Chapter One; he suggested I reach out to this participant, and so I did. At first I was unsure it would be appropriate to ask her to participate; however, Erickson (1986) states, "Trust and rapport in fieldwork are not simply a matter of nice-ness; a noncoercive, mutually rewarding relationship with key informants (sic) is essential if the researcher is to gain valid insights into the informant's point of view" (p. 142). Trust between people grows over time as they get to know one another, but if participants and inquirer already have a foundational relationship to build upon, narratives can be collected in earnest. Additionally, Clandinin, Murphy, Huber, and Orr (2009) claim that narrative tensions are the sites in which dominant and marginalized narratives clash. However, they further suggest that participants will not even reveal tension-laden narratives unless they trust the researcher. "This attentiveness to tension is an important aspect of narrative inquiry as we attend closely to the bumping places and what they help us understand about the nature of experience" (Clandinin et. al., 2009).

My second participant and I met by chance. I had attended a local conference in January and this participant was chatting with a colleague. My colleague saw me, asked how my dissertation was coming along, and I went on to share my need for participants. The second

participant, of course, overheard the conversation, as she was standing between us, and it was at this point she demonstrated interest in the research. I explained the participant criteria; she said she met the criteria; and then she handed me her email and cell phone number so I could contact her to set-up a meeting.

Ultimately, though, it was difficult to find participants for this research. Anecdotally, I found that adjunct faculty wanted to share about their interview experiences; however, when I specifically reached out to potential participants, I did not get positive responses. One potential participant was upset that I had asked her to participate. Another potential participant stated she was thinking about it, but she was uncertain how it would impact her future TT hiring opportunities. I met with another potential participant and he was interested in participating, but he did not meet the criteria. Yet, at this time, he does meet the criteria, so he could be a potential participant in a future study. I even reached out to a potential key informant who was interested in the research. Key informants have insider knowledge due to their experiences in the given context (Marshall, 1996). Even the key informant was unable to find adjunct faculty who fit the criteria and who were interested in participating in this research. This topic seems to be one that few people are willing to speak publicly about.

Data Sources & Gathering Procedures

Implied in its name, narrative inquiry necessarily requires researchers using this method to gather and co-create their participants' stories (Clandinin, 2013). To clarify my own position in the research and become as aware as possible to my own biases, I began the research by writing out my own experience as an adjunct, as Clandinin (2013) suggests. Data collection and analysis, in qualitative research, is an iterative process (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Saldaña & Omasta, 2018). As the researcher, my goal was to discern tensions in early field

texts in order to form follow-up questions (Clandinin, 2013). At multiple points throughout the

data collection process, participants review field texts and confirm or disconfirm accuracy of

those texts (Clandinin, 2013; Polkinghorne, 2007). Field texts, interim research texts, and

research texts represent both data collection and analysis (Clandinin). And that negotiation of

various texts works to temporarily solidify reality of both the participant and researcher, and can

become a site in which the inquirer reflexively explores transparency and power dimensions

inherent in the participant/researcher relationship (Lannamann, 1992). In the researcher role, I

processed initial texts, returned to the participants for member checks, and co-created and

revised texts that suited both of us.

　　　For this specific study, and through conversation with the narrative expert on my

committee, Dr. Susanna Thornhill, a unique initial plan was crafted to meet the constraints of this

proposed study as well as to accommodate potential participants' busy lives. Initially I had asked

participants to write about their experiences going through the TT interview process and their

experiences after the interview. Connelly and Clandinin (2012) suggest that each narrative

inquirer "develop the criteria appropriate to her or his work" (p. 478). These criteria stem from

the context and participant needs. Polkinghorne (2007) suggests that participants' level of

reflection is a limitation to narrative inquiry. However, at each initial meeting participants made

it clear that their preferences were for face-to-face interviews, so data collection proceeded

through interviews.

　　　When first meeting with potential participants and gaining signatures on Informed

Consent documents (see Appendix A), I asked each one to share a bit about their experience as it

related to the study (see Appendix B). This was an opportunity to ensure they met the criteria of

the study while also beginning the reflection process of their experiences. This also provided

participants an opportunity to sit with the emotions tied to their experiences prior to formally

beginning the research. The initial process was different for each of the participants. When I met

with the first participant in December of 2019, we only discussed her interest in participating. At

that meeting I sent her home with the Informed Consent and we set a meeting for January 2020.

After that initial meeting, though, I reflected on our meeting in my researcher notebook. When

meeting with the second participant, she indicated her desire to begin the interview during that

session. Each participant verbally told their stories and I recorded their stories with the Otter – a

transcription application – application using my phone. After the initial recorded interviews, I

identified the three aspects of narrative inquiry, temporality, social, and place, of each

participants' narrative by jotting in my researcher's notebook. Upon returning to my office, I

transferred the Otter transcripts to ATLASTI.ti, qualitative analysis software. Initially I thought

ATLASTI.ti might be a useful program to use in order to identify themes within narrative.

Data Analysis Procedures

After I collected verbal narratives and utilized Otter to transcribe the narratives, I created

a visual sketch of each participants' story. Visual sketches are part of the iterative process of data

collection and analysis; they serve as field texts. I created sketches of participants' events to

conduct a member check (Clandinin, 2013). With the visual sketches I was able to identify areas

of tension within each of their stories. Identifying tensions within their stories informed my

efforts to create poignant questions for the follow-up interviews (member check #1) with each

participant (see Appendix B). Table 1 delineates the procedures I took as I progressed through

data collection and analysis. These member checks were a face-to-face conversation between

myself and each participant to clarify the narrative sketch and deepen my understanding before I

crafted tentative narrative accounts.

During the first member check, I again recorded, with Otter, conversations and responses to the follow-up questions. After member check #1, I uploaded Otter transcripts into ATLASTI.ti; however, based on the member feedback, I had enough data to become a more formal analysis; I created a chronological narrative of the interviews (Clandinin, 2013). Table 1 provides clarification of the various steps I took to gather data and the iterative analytical processes.

After crafting the chronological narrative accounts, I had my critical friends read the interim research texts, the participants' narratives. Critical friends are necessary in qualitative work to help ensure the confidentiality of participants (Clandinin, 2013). However, I chose two critical friends based on their knowledge of California's CC system, communication theories, and feminist theories. Appleton (2011) suggests that critical friends with insider knowledge who also function within a feminist paradigm, provide space to challenge biases while advocating for the care of both participant and researcher. Both of my critical friends are considered feminist rhetorical scholars, which fit the criteria of this research well. Feminist scholars advocate for marginalized groups and adjunct faculty are marginalized groups. At the same time both women are published scholars, so they were invested in the integrity of the research in addition to supporting my work. After my critical friends commented on changes I needed to make to further obscure participants' identities and to remove certain events from the storyline, I met with participants a third time for the second member check. From there I made the necessary changes small changes each participant identified in their respective stories. Ultimately, my final meeting with one participant was face-to-face while the other was through a phone conversation. These member checks were to ensure I had an accurate timeline, accurate demographic information, and their blessings on moving forward.

Table 1
Timeline of Methodological Procedures

Sequence	Activity	Completion Dates
1st	Submitted IRB documents	Nov. 22nd, 2019
2nd	Wrote my about my own adjunct experience to flesh out any unidentified biases or tensions.	Nov. 22nd, 2019
3rd	After IRB approval, emailed and sent interest letters to possible participants	Dec. 6th, 2019
4th	2nd Participant signed Informed Consent (Appendix A). Thirty minute interview responding to prompt (Appendix B).	Jan. 25th, 2020
5th	1st Participant signed Informed Consent (Appendix A). Two and a half hour interview responding to prompt (Appendix B)	Jan. 31st, 2020
6th	Transcribed participants' narratives & uploaded to ATLASTI.ti	Feb. 3rd, 2020
7th	Created visual storyline of each participants' narrative, identified areas of tension, & created follow-up interview questions.	Feb. 5th, 2020
8th	Fine-tuned follow-up questions (Appendix B) based on identified tensions.	Feb. 6th, 2020
9th	Met with 2nd participant for member check (#1) and follow-up questions for 40 minute interview.	Feb. 7th, 2020
10th	Met with 1st participant for member check (#1) and follow-up questions for 60 minute interview.	Feb. 14th, 2020
11th	Wrote chronological narratives including information from participants' narratives, feedback, member checks, and responses from follow-up questions. Identify temporal, social, and location aspects in narratives.	Feb. 15th, 2020 – Feb. 16th, 2020
12th	Sent narratives to critical friends for feedback.	Feb. 18th, 2020
13th	Revised narratives based on critical friends' feedback	Feb. 26th, 2020
14th	Met with 1st participant for member check (#2)	Feb. 27th, 2020
15th	Met with 2nd participant for member check (#2).	March 6th, 2020
16th	Revised narratives based on participants' feedback	March 7th, 2020
17th	Meet with 1st participant for member check (#3) face-to-face and meet with 2nd participant for member check (#3) through phone call.	March 10th, 2020
15th	Revised based on participants' & committees concerns.	March 20th, 2020

Trustworthiness & Credibility

Research emerges within a community of scholars, and that community influences which

validity criteria are applied to research results or, in the case of this research, the measures that

were taken to ensure trustworthiness and credibility (Polkinghorne, 2007). Since narrative

inquiry falls within the reformist side – qualitative in nature – of social science, rather than the positivistic, "evidence such as personal descriptions of life experience, can serve to issue knowledge about neglected, but significant areas, of the human realm" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 472). Bochner (1985) further justifies, "the essence of man (sic) cannot be discovered by applying the method of natural science because man's essence is grounded on certain qualities – language, culture, intentionality, speech acts, and so forth – that are inaccessible to such methods" (p. 35). In light of the focus of qualitative work, understanding individual human experiences, validity threats cannot be fully removed since both participant and researcher are human, and thereby imperfect. However, threats to validity can be minimized through careful attention to the research design, ensuring methods and data flow from the research question(s), allowing readers to audits through vignettes integrated in final texts, and that the final report is presented in a professional manner (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018). Frederick Erickson (1986) further suggests vignettes enhance readers' trust in the final text as vignettes provide, "adequate evidence that the author has made a valid analysis of what the happenings meant from the point of view of the actors in the event" (p. 150). Confidence is further gained in the final text when the researcher transparently presents areas of tension when interacting with field texts (Polkinghorne, 2007). To adhere to Erickson's and Polkinghorne's trustworthiness criteria, I have included photographs of the sketches, identifying areas of tension, in Chapter Four as well as Appendix D. Furthermore, Chapter Four contains the full narrative accounts of both participants as another means to demonstrate trustworthiness.

Ethical Considerations

Due to the nature of the research questions, sampling procedures, and narratives, I took steps to create and maintain ethical boundaries. I took care in navigating the inquirer/participant

relationship as well as maintaining sensitivity to the stories participants revealed (Connelly &

Clandinin, 2006). The lives of the participants and inquirer necessarily become intertwined and

the context for this study further yolks participants and researcher. Yet Clandinin et. al. (2009)

suggest it is impossible for the inquirer to distance participants, "We do not stand outside the

lives of participants but see ourselves as part of the phenomenon under study" (p. 82). Narrative

inquiry, "in contrast to the common qualitative strategy of bracketing inquirers out, narrative

inquirers bracket themselves in to an inquiry" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2012, p. 480). The

following paragraphs explain how I addressed the tension arising from working so closely with

participants, as well as general ethical questions inherent to qualitative work, by explaining my

IRB, member check, and confidentiality processes.

IRB. Before any research can began, I adhered to George Fox University policy to

complete and submit an HSRC Initial Questionnaire (See Appendix C) outlining this research.

With the assistance of my committee chairs, I detailed the characteristics of study participants,

considered any adverse effects participants might experience, and discussed the procedures used

to minimize them. I also detailed my plan to secure informed consent; it was critical to me that

participants were fully aware of how their lives might be impacted through this experience.

Member checks. Member checks serve as a way to build trust between the researcher

and the participant, between the researcher and the reader, and a means to ensure participant

confidentiality. Member checks are valuable beyond verifying accuracy of re-telling stories;

member checks serve as a way to ensure participants have opportunities to verify their

confidentiality was maintained. Throughout the course of the study, the participants and I met

multiple times. The final three meetings were member checks. The first member check (see

Table 1) allowed them to verify the accuracy of the chronology of narrative events in the form of

a visual sketch. Both participants agreed the chronology of events was accurately depicted in the sketch; however, these meetings also provided me an opportunity to clarify dates and semesters. Teaching assignments on various campuses seemed to be convoluted and conflated at times in the transcriptions. After clarifying events, I fully wrote out their narratives and emailed them to my critical friends through our personal email accounts. My critical friends pointed out titles of books and campus idiosyncrasies that might reveal participant identity to a reader. After making the changes in the narratives, I met with participants for a second time. Both participants were pleased with the written narratives, but both pointed out redundancies in my writing, so I revised again. Just to verify the final revisions, I met with one participant face-to-face and another participant over the phone. At that point, both of them were satisfied.

      Anonymity & confidentiality. Saldaña & Omasta (2018) differentiate between anonymity and confidentiality, where protecting participant identities provides anonymity; the information they share must be kept confidential. However, since I worked closely with participants and met with them several times, I knew their identities; therefore, they were not anonymous, which is often the nature with qualitative research. Yet there I took several approaches to maintain participant confidentiality in this qualitative study, namely using pseudonyms and additional researcher processes.

      I have witnessed some of my adjunct colleagues offered TT positions while others were rejected. Subsequently, I have watched all of my colleagues who were rejected, either by my committee, or another committee, return to campus in following semesters to continue teaching in an adjunct role. Protecting participant confidentiality are my most important concerns, not only because participants might be colleagues in the future, but also because I do not want any research conclusions to prejudice a future hiring committee against them. If their goal is to gain a

TT position in the future, I certainly do not want this research to prevent them from doing so. As Clandinin (2013) states, "when participants are uncertain about being too visible or too vulnerable as interim research texts are negotiated, sometimes strategies such as fictionalizing and blurring of times, places, and identities become part of the process of negotiation" (p. 201).

In negotiation with my participants' wishes, I withheld discipline-specific identifying details. Revealing discipline-specific information would provide enough clues for readers to correctly discern participants' identities. Clandinin (2013) suggests seeking input from participants for pseudonyms; in this research pseudonyms can apply to participants' names, the campus(es) on which they teach, the district for which they teach, and the geographical region in which the district is located.

With narrative inquiry I entered into an implied social contract with my participants, which necessitated care and tact when co-creating participants' stories (Clandinin, 2013). This means the research not only changed my life, it changed participants' lives; there is no way to truly objectify this work.

Accordingly, I did not ask adjunct faculty within my discipline to participate in this study for several reasons. First of all, I am their senior counterpart and assign course load, so the power imbalance would be highly inappropriate. And secondly, I would immediately have to decline serving on my discipline-specific hiring committee. Ultimately, if I declined to participate on an hiring committee within my discipline, it would become obvious to my colleagues and my dean that applicants/interviewees had been participants in my study.

Ultimately, I have kept and will continue to keep participant information confidential. I have only used my personal password-protected computer for this work, as my work computer automatically synchronizes to our network as soon as I am within range of the campus' network.

Additionally, I utilized a dedicated and encrypted USB drive for this research, which will remain in my safe until it is time to destroy it. I also have kept a key of pseudonyms in my safe to be destroyed five years after the dissertation is complete.

Plans for Presenting Results

Participants' Narratives and data analysis are presented in Chapter 4 while Chapter 5 of this dissertation includes implications and suggestions for further research. Most importantly, the final research text disseminates the narratives and thereby legitimizes meaning adjuncts attributed to their TT interview process rejections (Clandinin, 2013). The final research text, this dissertation, is a form of advocacy, as Polkinghorne (2007) suggests, as all narrative is argumentative in nature. After the dissertation defense, I plan to submit variations of the final report to relevant governmental and academic bodies for publication. At the time of this writing, it appears that my participants are interested in co-authoring submissions for publication, which indicates future steps in the advocacy work to which I am committed.

Summary

This research has been invigorating in that I recognize the gravity of the trust participants have assigned to me in sharing their stories. Revealing emotions and experiences are personal and the mere act of sharing their stories influenced changes in both participants' and my own self-concepts. We have developed a greater understanding of meaning held within narrative experiences, as all of our self-concepts evolved as participants stated, conveyed, and restated their narratives to their self, and now those who read this work (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Narrative inquiry and investigating identity are symbiotic as explained by Gubrium and Holstein (2001), "carefully attending to the social interaction and discourse of these settings reveals both the variety of identities we could, or could not be, as well as the practices by which identities are

attached to the selves in question" (p. 16). This work entails careful attention to the ethical

implications associated with holding, analyzing, and ultimately sharing, the storied lives of

adjunct faculty.

Chapter 4: Findings

Over the course of three months, I met with and listened to stories community college adjunct faculty shared about their experiences navigating the TT interview process, specifically investigating: *What narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and interactions after a failed TT interview process?* Their narratives helped me understand how the TT interview process impacted their identities and sense of institutional belongingness. From December 2019 through April 2020, I texted, emailed, chatted by phone, and sat with three adjunct faculty who have continued to work for the same community college district regardless of not obtaining a TT position. Even though I initially asked each participant to write their own story, they each chose to meet in person, which, in and of itself, demonstrated a strong desire to connect with another professor. I met with each participant at least three times in a face-to-face context. We began with an initial question and subsequent follow-up questions; additional questions, comments, or concerns – theirs and mine – were often addressed through texts and emails.

Description of Primary District

Sud Community College District (pseudonym) is a multi-campus community college district situated in the state of California. In this CC district, adjunct faculty teaching within the district must be interviewed, along with other applicants, for any available TT position. Each campus within the district is an individually accredited college. This public community college district, like many in California, is in close proximity to a dozen other public and private four-year universities, as well as a couple other community college districts. It is not uncommon for adjunct faculty teaching for Sud Community College District to teach at any of the other community colleges, community college (CC) districts, and four-year universities in the

surrounding areas. Table 2 identifies the names (pseudonyms) of all the colleges referenced in

the various illustrations and narratives offered in this chapter. To create a consistent theme in

naming institutions, I chose bodies of water as pseudonyms for all mentioned colleges. Choosing

directional pseudonyms (e.g. north, south) would not have provided enough pseudonyms for this

study as participants referenced ten different colleges and seven of those colleges are part of

three CC districts. The districts, however, are indicated with directional pseudonyms (e.g. sud,

norte, este), which have no correlation with proximity to one another nor spatial location within

the state of California. I was specific though in choosing the Spanish versions of the bodies of

water since California has a strong Latino influence.

Table 2
Colleges, Districts, & Universities

Campus Name	District Affiliation	4-Year or 2-Year
Adriatic Community College	Sud Community College District	2-year
Arktik Community College	Sud Community College District	2-year
Atlanto Community College	Sud Community College District	2-year
Caspian Community College	Sud Community College District	2-year
Pacifique Community College	Norte Community College District	2-year
Persian Community College	Norte Community College District	2-year
Med City College	None	2-year
Caribe Community College	Este Community College District	2-year
Cortez University	None	4-year
Balto University	None	4-year

This chapter encompasses the stories of two out of the three adjunct who participated in

this study. I began with three faculty; however, during the data gathering and analysis stage, one

of the participants' family members died. Even though she wanted to reschedule her follow-up

interview, I felt that it was unethical to ask her to continue with the research.

Organization of Chapter

This chapter presents each participant's narrative in turn, organized around several key

features: background information on the process involved in each participant meeting, sketches,

background information on each participant, and ending with participants' narratives. Each of

these elements was critical in presenting the narratives. Clandinin (2013) suggests sketches are

necessary field texts in the data collection process as they support the researcher's understanding

of the participant's experience. Interviews and field texts, such as the sketches, are part of the

iterative data collection process in narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2103). Although Erickson (1986)

does not specifically suggest including sketches in the final research report, he does state that

certain data should be included so that readers may "survey the full range of evidence on which

the author's interpretive analysis is based" (p. 145). To create a polished final report, as

Erickson delineates in "Qualitative Methods in Research on Teaching," June's and Micah's

narratives include their direct quotes as well as quotes from my field notes during the memo-ing

phase. Their narratives closely resemble their original verbal stories; however, in informal verbal

communication, speakers' stories ebb and flow while also going on tangents. To address

tangents, which could be confusing to a reader, I decided to represent their stories in a

chronological version. When I met with participants for member checks, and while reading their

co-created written narratives, they both verbally indicated they had remembered telling me using

those exact words. The majority of the changes I made was removing filler words that impeded

reading fluidity. Ultimately I end Chapter Four with an extended analysis, in the words of

Erickson (1986), an "interpretive commentary," of the data as it relates to June's and Micah's

perceptions of identity and institutional belongingness after their TT interviews.

June

June and I have known each other for a few years; we originally met at a conference.

Even though we had lost contact the past couple of years, we remained Facebook friends. June

was always posting on Facebook about her teaching and career wins, but she also shared her

struggles as an adjunct professor. Since I had an established relationship with June, I reached out

to her to participate in this study, especially because she had always been forthcoming with me

regarding her adjunct experiences.

June and I reconnected in December 2019 to talk about this study. We met for lunch in

the midst of Christmas shopping, caught up on major life events, and vowed to connect after the

holidays. I learned that so much had happened in the past four years since I had last seen June.

June was not only engaged to a wonderful man who adores her, but she was teaching more

classes than ever at five different colleges.

Once the spring 2020 semester was well under way, I met up with June at her nail salon.

June had an extremely busy schedule: teaching on five different campuses and trying to plan a

wedding. So, I wanted to make sure I respected her time, which meant I needed to accommodate

her prior commitments. At first, I was apprehensive about meeting with June in front of her

manicurist; I was not sure June would feel free to speak openly in front of a third person, but, as

often is the case, her manicurist knew everything about her life anyway. After collecting June's

signed Informed Consent, and her manicurist's consent, I turned on the audio recorder and June

began verbally sharing her story. June and her manicurist together identified an appropriate

pseudonym, giddily choosing June Nugent. They came to this conclusion, which made me think

they had crafted this pseudonym for other purposes during their monthly nail appointments. As I

think back to that first formal meeting, it is seems that sharing her stories in front of her

manicurist was most helpful to June. Indeed, she sought out her manicurist's confirmation when

questioning the accuracy of events and details in telling her story over the course of a two and a

half hour meeting.

After transcribing June's accounting of various events, I sketched out a chronological timeline (Figure 1). The timeline provided space to identify areas of tension in June's story, which I identified through low points (Figure 2). These sketches enabled me to discern the key turning points of June's story (Clandinin, 2013). Low points in the sketch were often associated with June's disappointment, a point that I clarified with her during our second during our second formal meeting. This meeting took place over breakfast at a restaurant situated midway between our residences. Her fiancée joined us. As her manicurist had done, June's fiancée filled in details and provided additional examples to support her story. As with our first meeting, I also recorded this second meeting. This second meeting served as a member check and an opportunity for me to clarify some of the tensions I had identified from her initial narrative. She clarified the various terms in which she began working for and interviewing for all the different institutions. Her fiancée also shared video clips of her previous students' creative works. From the first formal meeting combined with data from the second meeting, I wrote June's chronological narrative in to a cohesive text. June and I met a third time at a well-known coffee shop after I made changes to the narrative, changes based on suggestions from my critical friends. After that final formal meeting, June and I texted often and spoke on the phone at least three times. These meetings provided an opportunity for June to verify I had accurately conveyed the story of her adjunct journey prior to interviewing for a TT position and how she managed after the TT interview process was over.

Figure 1
Chronological Events of June's Narrative
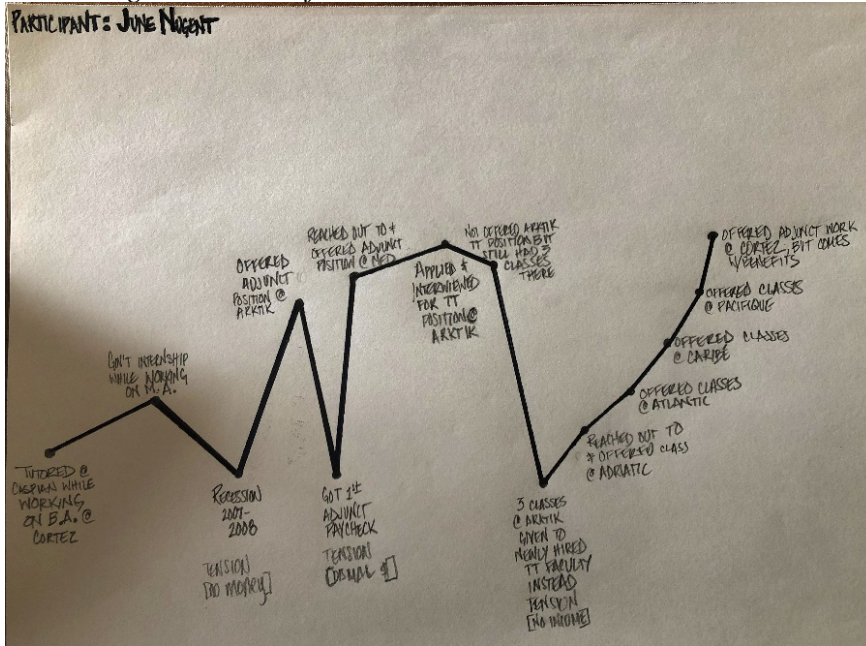
Figure 2
Explanations & Tensions of Events in June's Narrative
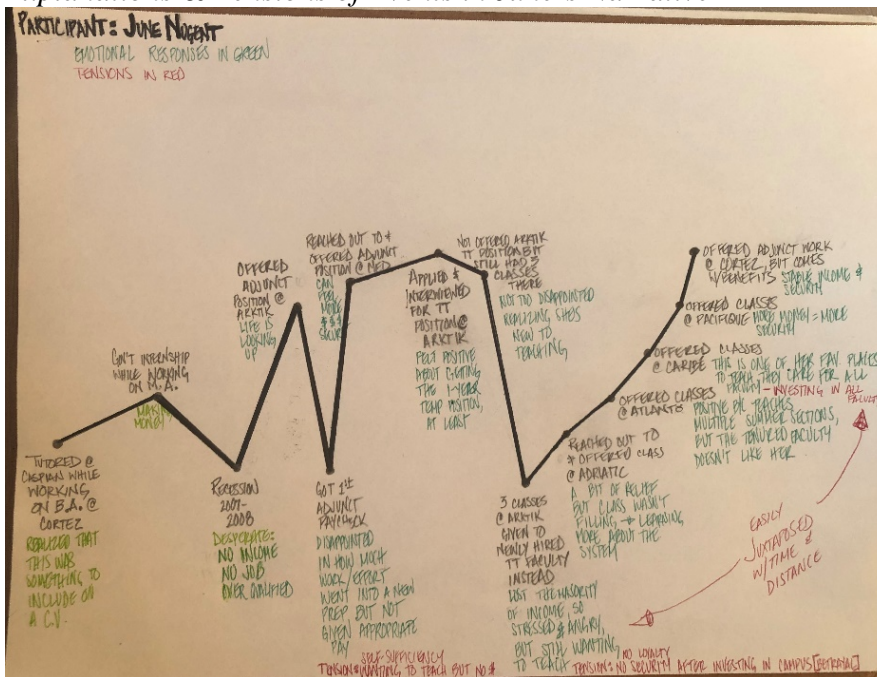
June's journey to becoming a professor has not been a linear one nor was it conventional

by any means; it was a by-product of a failing economy with few job prospects. June was a

single mom with a young child at home when she decided to return to college. For three of her

undergraduate years, June tutored students at a campus within the Sud Community College

District. Unbeknownst to June, tutoring community college students would later be viewed as

compelling work experience on her curriculum vitae. It provided her with the confidence to

apply for an adjunct position and later, she learned that it gave administrators the confidence to

offer her an adjunct position. After a brief respite from her academic journey – to care for her

ailing father – she continued her education as a graduate student. As a graduate student, June was

offered a paid internship at a government agency, which provided her with financial security in

addition to gaining work experience. However, when she finished her master's degree, she could

no longer work in the agency, as the position was only available to graduate students; it did not

turn into a permanent position.

      Unfortunately, June earned a master's degree at a point when the economy was unstable.

In 2007 the majority of Americans were impacted by a recession and housing market crash;

unemployment also reached an all-time high. June tried everything to find employment. She

went to job fairs, responded to newspaper ads, perused Craigslist ads, and attended chamber of

commerce events, willing to take any type of job in order to pay the bills. Ultimately, though, it

was one community college district's hiring event that launched June into a career in HE as an

adjunct.

      June was extremely proud and excited to share how she earned her first adjunct gig, she

remembered it clearly with very specific details. June responded to an ad in her local newspaper

calling for potential adjunct instructors to attend a hiring fair. Although it was Sud Community

College District, June was intent on working at the same college at which she tutored during her

undergraduate years. She wanted to return as an instructor to the campus at which she began her

own educational journey. Caspian City College was not hiring Social Science instructors;

however, Caspian administrators directed her to their sister college, Arktik Community College.

Filled with determination and her curriculum vitae in hand, she walked right over to Arktik's

table and gave the two Arktik deans her elevator speech. Arktik's deans were impressed with her

confidence, wit, and prior tutoring experience.

One of the Arktik deans said, "Well, we've got these classes right here."

I turned around and he was holding up that green and white dot matrix computer paper,

which they used to print the list of classes on. He pointed to the courses and then reiterated,

"We've got these two classes here."

And I said, "I'll take them both."

Ultimately, though, he ended our conversation with, "We'll be in touch." But I wasn't

disappointed. I didn't really know what to expect from a job fair anyway.

Two days later I got an email from that same dean stating, "We want to offer you a

class." I got one class and I thought, "Oh my god, it's really happening; I'm gonna have my own

college class." It wasn't really how I had envisioned my career path, but I needed a job.

Even though it was just one class, I was super excited. It was an early class too, an 8 a.m.

class, but it was the only one I had, so it really didn't matter what time of day I taught. I spent a

lot of time making PowerPoints; it was a lot of work, but I was really excited about it. Right after

Arktik offered me the course, I contacted my former professor at Cortez University; I had a great

relationship with him when I was his student. I emailed him just to see if I could run some stuff

by him, and to get his feedback on my assignments. He was super helpful then and continues to

be to this day; it's a good relationship and we continue to meet every couple of months.

After my first month of teaching, I got my first paycheck. It was ridiculous! And I thought

to myself, "Oh, I need more classes! I need to start strategizing here; I really like what I do."

That first paycheck made me realize, "This ain't gonna work." I told my former professor about the pay because he doesn't know a lot about community college; he went straight from his PhD program directly into a university tenure-track position. Regardless, he was encouraging and supportive; he wanted to see me succeed in this profession, so he began advising me. Based on that conversation we had, I knew what I had to do, so I sent a random email to one of the faculty at Med City College [a college in an entirely different district than Arktik Community College.]. I needed to earn a living and I realized that the only way I was going to be able to earn a living as an adjunct was to teach on different campuses.

June's first semester of teaching as an adjunct was an eye-opening experience. She put a great deal of effort into prepping her one and only class and quickly realized the pay for teaching one class would not pay the bills, nor was the pay commensurate with the effort required to prepare lectures, assignments, and grade the very assignments she had prepared. She quickly learned that she would need to teach elsewhere to cobble together a living wage, so she reached out to Med City College. While Med City College is about sixty miles from Arktik Community College (the other college June was teaching at), many adjuncts travel similar distances and will teach at different campuses on a single day, thereby resulting in the nickname Freeway Flyer. June was offered a class at Med City College and continued to build her curriculum vitae along with her teacher toolbox, as every campus has a different culture which provides varied classroom experiences. Even though she had limited professorial experience, June's hire at Med College, grew her confidence as she gained skills navigating diverse CC classrooms and different campus cultures.

And I started learning about the whole system, and then I started getting really disappointed. But then I thought, "No it can be different with me. I can do it. I can make it." You

need to be hopeful; you fill yourself up with all these false hopes. But I know now…and found out

that I can only have three classes per district. How do I get more? How do we get more classes?

Like I don't know!

June quickly learned and felt the highs and lows associated with adjuncting. Early in her

career she learned that adjuncts earn low pay, but more often than not, union contracts in concert

with California's labor laws prevent adjuncts from teaching enough classes on a single campus to

earn a livable income. Instead adjuncts, if that is their only profession, must teach on multiple

college campuses often more than thirty miles from one another. Since more travel between

campuses is required, adjuncts often have higher commuting expenses than their TT

counterparts, which compounds their pay discrepancies with TT. June desired a TT position

because she could cut her commuting expenses in addition to earning a higher pay rate. She also

craved the stability in predicting her course load and pay.

At Med City College they do something pretty cool, though, they have adjuncts fill out an

availability form every semester. You can tell them your availability and they match you up with

some classes that work best for your schedule. At convocation they passed around the schedule

for the following semester. I like that because at least I know they are considering me for classes.

Most of the time I have no idea. I have no idea from semester to semester where or when I'll be

teaching. This is the reality of being an adjunct, which is why tenure-track positions are so

desirable. With tenure-track positions, you know you're teaching for one college and you get to

choose the schedule you want.

A year into her new career as an adjunct instructor, Arktik Community College

announced positions for TT Social Sciences Professors. Arkitk needed more full-time faculty, so

they opened two TT positions, with one of them being a temporary one-year TT position. June

was already teaching three classes for Arktik and another class for Med, so she felt confident she

had the requisite experience and skills to apply for the position. Yet she was realistic; she knew

these tenure-track positions were few and far between, as well as highly competitive.

A one-year temp position is okay. I thought, 'Give me that experience. I'm okay with that.

I can go back to part-time afterwards, until something else comes along.' You never know, right?

So, I decided, 'I'm gonna apply!"

Just like when she attended Sud Community College District's job fair in search of an

adjunct position, June was excited at the prospect of applying for a tenure-track position. She

was hopeful and confident in gaining, the temporary TT position. She also saw the value in

performing the temporary position for a year. It would be another opportunity for her to gain

valuable administrative duty experience beyond the classroom. June noticed similar aspects

between interviewing for adjunct positions and TT positions; however, there were some

significant differences between the application processes for each position.

This was my very first time applying for a full-time position; I didn't really know how the

whole process worked, but I got the interview, which was amazing because I hadn't been

teaching that long. We had to prepare a teaching demonstration; they gave me a choice of three

topics, and I picked one. Other than that, I really didn't know what to expect. However, I

prepped for and practiced my teaching demo.

On the day of the interview I was excited. I walked into the interview room, which was a

giant classroom with seven interviewers. I don't remember anyone from the district office telling

me about a panel of people that might be interviewing me. I don't think I've ever interviewed in

front of that many people before. I assumed there would be someone from Social Sciences. I

didn't know the discipline expert on the hiring committee, and I've now learned it helps to know

the people on your committee. After all their interview questions, I did my teaching demo. I

thought I did really well; I knew my material and all my technology worked smoothly. However,

I soon learned that I didn't make the top three. Interviewing for the position was a good learning

experience though. Even though I wasn't offered the position, I really wasn't worried because I

had already been offered three classes that next semester. So I thought, "Well, you know, I didn't

get in the top three and that's okay; I have these classes and I'll just keep getting more

experience and working on it."

About a month before the next semester started [July – three months after the TT

interview], Arktik sent me an email. It stated that all my classes had been taken away. I didn't

have any classes anymore. They didn't say what happened to them; I just didn't have them

anymore. I found out later that they gave my three classes to the new full-time person they hired.

Then I thought, "Are you kidding me!" I didn't get the job, but now I don't even have my part-

time classes. I got worried, like what am I going to do? How am I going to pay the bills?

Just four years later, June found herself in the same financial position that prompted her

to begin a career with Sud Community College District, without a stable source of income. She

did not choose to leave Arktik; they forced her out. Her years of teaching there did not result in

any seniority or loyalty compared to the newly hired TT faculty member. June immediately went

into triage mode to secure classes elsewhere. She sent an email to the chair of the Social Sciences

Department at Adriatic Community College, another sister college of Caspian and Arktik,

explaining how she had been scheduled to teach three courses the following semester, but those

courses had been revoked and given to their new-hire. The chair was empathetic and worked to

find her at least one class to teach.

The one class just filled an AA requirement, so it didn't transfer to the CSU's or the

UC's. Since the course didn't transfer, enrollment was low. This is when I found out, if you don't have a minimum number of students, they'll cancel your class. So here I go again, worrying about losing another class. I had 12 students and the department chair said I needed to have 15. We kept in communication while trying to build enrollment, but ultimately he said, "Let me see what I can do." And next thing I know, he worked it out; I was able to keep that class with 12 students, but now I had to drive all the way to Adriatic Community College to do it. I guess it didn't really matter; I wasn't teaching for Arktik and it was just a few miles further to Adriatic. Regardless, I was still driving excessively for one class.

After losing her three-course load at Arktik, teaching a single course at Adriatic, and then putting so much energy reaching out to department chairs, deans, and faculty within Sud Community College District, June eventually began adjuncting at Atlanto Community College. Atlanto is another sister college within the Sud Community College District. For five years June had been teaching at various colleges within Sud's district. Her student and peer evaluations at Arktik and Adriatic were very positive, but her peer evaluation at Atlanto was not so positive. Her tenured counterpart was punitive in the peer evaluation. He wrote negative comments stating that June did not have enough rigor in her classes. He also indicated that since her students overwhelmingly responded positively on their evaluations of her teaching, she must be doing something wrong. After that evaluation, he tried to avoid offering her load the following semester; she went straight to the dean asking if she would be offered a class.

Anyway, so again I contacted admin and I said, "Hey, I wasn't offered any classes and nobody's told me why." The rep told me to send her my history of teaching for the last three years. They have to offer you at least the average of what you've been offered that semester. I added it up; it was like 1.3 or something, so at least one class should've been offered. She sent

an email to the dean at Atlanto, and about a week later I was offered a class. So I have to fight.

And so now, of course, I can't give up teaching at Atlanto College.

June's students love her though. June has video of her students' final projects in one of

her courses. June allowed her students to creatively present their final papers. One of her

students wrote and performed a rap song. Another student wrote a piece for his guitar and he

played it for the entire class. She has full classes with long waitlists and students who want to

take her class specifically, but her tenured Atlanto colleague seemed to find this problematic.

This colleague also found ways to make it difficult for June to get a full adjunct course load. Last

summer she taught two full sections, each section with 120 students. Also important to note is

that tenured faculty rarely teach summer sections and summer sections are never considered part

of historical load, so essentially, June's summer schedule does not factor into how many sections

she might be offered in the future. He came from the mindset that a teacher who was so well

liked was a teacher who had low expectations for students. One of their students in common

confided in her as to why his courses might be lower enrolled then hers, and how that

comparison was impacting their relationship.

The student said, "I had to drop his class because when we came to class – it was a

Monday-Wednesday-Friday – within the first 10 minutes of class he would go down every row

and say, 'Did you read? Did you read? Did you read? No?' If they didn't read, class was

dismissed." I guess you can do that if you're full-time. If I did that, as an adjunct, I'd get an

email from the dean for sure because some student would be pissed.

With even worse treatment than the other Sud Community College District campuses, it

is amazing that June chooses to remain at Atlanto. However, if she leaves the campus, she loses

her seniority, and she refuses to lose her seniority. At this point, June only had one class at

Atlanto CC and one class at Med CC; two classes did not pay her bills. She had to find another

community college district, and the nearest one was another sixty miles west of the two other

districts. Despite the additional freeway travel, she applied and interviewed for a part-time

position at Caribe Community College. Of course, she got the adjunct position; she had years of

experience now proving she was highly capable. When she first began teaching for Caribe, she

taught on campus, but they began to transition her into teaching online courses, offering her

more freedom in addition to reducing the number of miles she put on her car. Despite all the

blows and negativity June encountered while teaching at various community colleges, Caribe

offered her an entirely different perspective.

I really like Caribe Community College. The Vice President of Student Affairs is so

encouraging. He's so positive. He's great. He wants to include everybody. He actually reminds

me of a cross between Bill Nye the Science Guy and some middle school teacher. He likes to

come up with different ways to get everybody involved and keep everybody connected. And, he

did this with a great book series. We read a chapter a week. We were assigned to read a certain

number of pages each week, and then once a week we got together for an hour. We were

supposed to meet on campus, but I couldn't do it, so they did Zoom. There ended up being 11 or

12 of us on Zoom. We all got a stipend too. It was a lot of fun connecting with the other faculty

and administration who decided to participate. And they paid us – $125 for participating for the

8 weeks. It was cool.

June appreciated the connection through Caribe Community College's book club. She

also saw this as an opportunity to be known or be seen, quite literally, by her colleagues and

administrators. Even though she couldn't participate in person, she was Zoom-ing in. At our final

meeting, and in the midst of this research, June told me that she had sent an email to the VP of

Student Affairs at Caribe detailing her appreciation for his efforts in creating community through

the book club.

Wherever I was, they would joke because I'm always moving around so much. They'd

question sarcastically, "Where's June this week?" And I'd retort, "I'm on location over here..."

One day I was at home and I think the blinds were open behind me, and so I looked like a

shadow, and they were joking saying that I looked like I was in witness protection or something.

While some colleges have offered June unique experiences, teaching as an adjunct has

offered June little stability. She applied for and interviewed for a full-time position at a Southern

California CC, but again, was not offered the job. June continued her search for stable

employment, which came from a four-year university.

I finally got into Cortez University. It takes a long time, like a year. They actually gave

me five classes last semester and this semester. I think I got so many classes there because it's

where my former professor teaches, so it's good in that respect. I tell him that I need a certain

number of units in order to keep my health insurance there. He handles the scheduling, so,

clearly, it's good to have friends or mentors on the inside. And once a hiring trend is established,

the precedent is set; the department is required to offer you the same number of classes the

following academic year.

Right now, though, I feel connected at Cortez. I'm the most committed there because I

want to keep those same classes every semester and I know they are required to keep offering

them to me. I don't have a contract there yet, but that's an option available to adjuncts, unlike

the community colleges where we are hired on a semester-to-semester basis. At Cortez you're

not eligible for a three-year contract until you have worked there for six years. I feel really good

now, like I'm working towards something stable, and, honestly, pretty soon I'll have the

contract; I'm halfway there.

June sees herself as most connected to Cortez University, but she is just as committed to Caribe Community College. The connection June feels with her students at Cortez is similar to the connection she feels with her colleagues at Caribe. Talking about that experience with me prompted her to share her gratitude with Caribe's VP. The VP in turn sent that email to the college's president and the president wrote June the most endearing response; she said they were grateful for their adjuncts and would do whatever they could to create an equitable space for adjuncts to teach and learn. June still teaches her one class for Sud Community College District, even though they have never offered her a TT position, have taken away her course loads, and written punitive peer evaluations – though her student evaluations are strong, she now focuses her adjunct energies at the colleges where she finds financial stability and feels appreciated. June is still seeking a TT position. She did apply for another TT position at an entirely different California community college; however, the Corona Virus pandemic of 2020 put a hold on many new faculty positions, so it remains to be seen as to how this will effect June's search for TT employment. Institutional belonging is clearly important to June; however, in this narrative her professorial identity is not quite fleshed out. In the analysis section of Chapter Four, I will further delve into negotiated changes in her professorial identity.

Micah

Meeting Micah was completely by chance. I ran into one of my colleagues at a conference as she was chatting with Micah. My colleague asked me how my dissertation was coming along, and I explained that I was still looking for participants. My colleague volunteered to participate; however, she did not meet the research criteria. Micah, who was standing right there overheard our conversation and interjected that she met the criteria.

Micah wrote her cell number along with her email address on a piece of paper and handed it to me. I texted her that night to set up an appointment and we agreed to meet ten days later at a coffee shop. In preparation for the meeting, I printed off the informed consent and ensured my cell phone was charged, in the event Micah was agreeable to my recording our conversation. At our first official interview meeting, after running through all the necessary procedures, Micah confirmed that she was prepared to participate that very afternoon; and so began our journey into her community college interview experiences.

I asked Micah to choose a pseudonym; however, she said she would leave that up to me. (Micah was officially "Participant #3" until after our second formal meeting.) After transcribing the recording from that first meeting, I sketched out a chronological timeline of the events in her story (Figure 3). From there I identified tensions in her story through the observable low spots in that timeline (Figure 4). When we met for our follow-up interview, I confirmed with Micah that, first, she was satisfied with the pseudonym Micah Onassis. We also clarified whether my understanding of the chronology of events was accurate; and then, finally, we explored the areas of tension in her story. She loved the idea that her pseudonym was affiliated with a rich Greek shipping tycoon. She agreed with the chronology of events detailed in the sketch and then she answered all of my follow-up questions.

After transcribing the follow-up interview and writing out her narrative, we met once more after so she could verify the written narrative as well as my preliminary analysis. During each of our meetings, she verbally wove the details of her story, highlighted with her insightful commentary. She openly and honestly explored the myriad of feelings associated with the challenges she faced as an adjunct who desired a TT position.

Figure 3
Chronological Events of Micah's Narrative
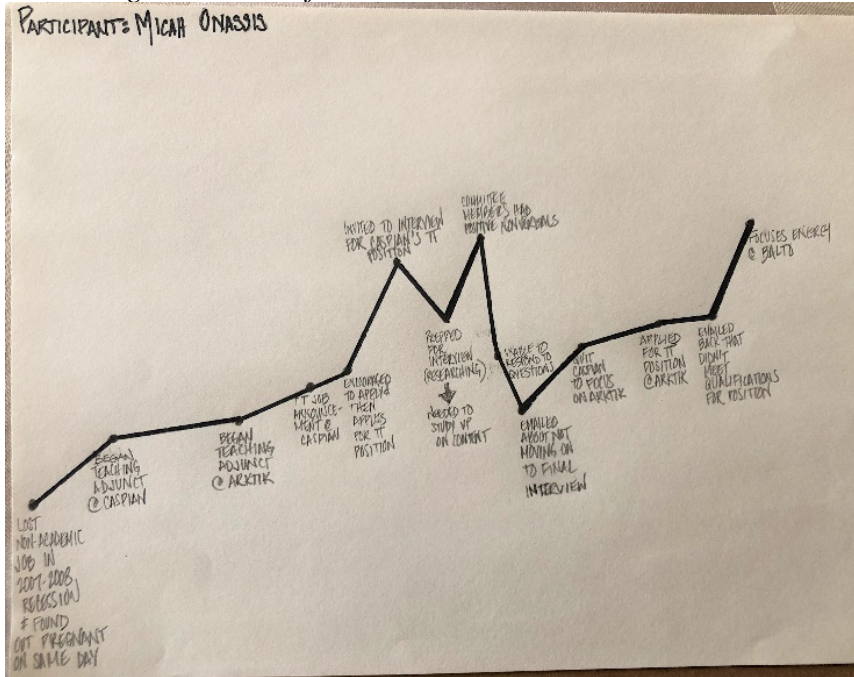
Figure 4
Explanations & Tensions of Events in Micah's Narrative
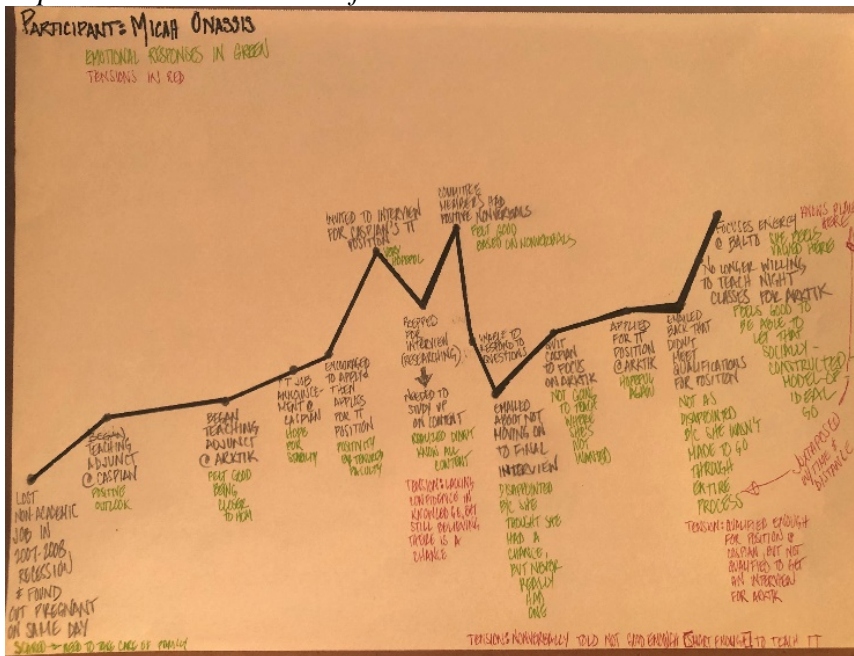
Micah's teaching experience, like June's, began with Sud Community College District over ten years ago. Micah's entry into the professoriate was unconventional, but her passion for teaching and pedagogical skills have grown over the past decade. Micah has multiple degrees, which afforded her a career in an unrelated field prior to the field in which she gained her first teaching position.

Micah and her partner lost their jobs on the same day in 2008 due to the financial crisis that gripped the country the prior year. On the day she and her partner lost their jobs, she also found out she was pregnant with her first child; she felt an even stronger impetus to find immediate employment. Even though Micah had a career in a S.T.E.M. field, she had the requisite degrees to teach Social Sciences at the community college level. She went ahead and interviewed for an adjunct position at Caspian City College, and thus began her adjunct faculty career. She later applied and interviewed for two TT positions at two different colleges within Sud Community College District, receiving neither position.

At the time of this study, Micah had already been teaching as an adjunct for ten years at Caspian City College and a year at Arktik Community College. She had a young child, so it never really bothered her that she was only working part-time; however, she noticed that tenured faculty had a higher status than adjunct faculty at both community colleges. The tenured and tenure-track faculty seemed to have more rights and more influence in decision-making at all levels. So when Caspian City College announced the open Social Sciences Professor position, Micah felt like she and her family were ready for her to take a TT position, and she applied for it.

I applied for the full-time Social Sciences position at Caspian City College, and, of course those very rarely open up. I think this was about three years ago. It was very exciting because I had a CV going, and it was at a point in time when I was looking to apply for full-time

jobs. I thought, "Why not! I've been doing this for over 10 years now; now's a good time to just

maybe branch out a little bit." So I applied at Caspian because that's where I began teaching

anyway. I knew the department chair at that point in time, and she was very encouraging; she

originally interviewed me for the adjunct position. When this tenure-track position was

advertised, it felt like a good thing to do, especially because the chair at Arktik College - I was

working there also at that point - encouraged all of the adjuncts to apply.

I did end up applying. I actually got a call back saying, "We'd like to interview you,"

which was really unusual because I didn't think I'd get through; I didn't think I had enough

experience teaching or the desired credentials. It just seems like such a tough process, which it

is. So I prepped for it because I knew that I didn't have much of a research background. I spent

quite a bit of time researching topics in order to prepare for the interview.

Since this was Micah's first tenure-track interview experience, the process was new to

her. She presented a ten-minute teaching demonstration after being interviewed by a committee

of five people. Her interview ended with a writing prompt and she found herself wholly

unprepared for the writing prompt.

I had a pretty positive view of the actual interview process. The interview committee was

really encouraging; their body language was very positive, smiling and nodding and so on and

so forth. The lesson part went pretty okay too. I kept my teaching demo pretty simplistic because,

realistically, community college students wouldn't have had much exposure to Social Science

concepts prior to college, and I wanted to keep the demo pretty authentic for the context. Then

there was the final question, which led to the writing prompt, which was the research question.

Of course, I had no clue how to answer the question, and I said so. I followed the administrative

aid to a separate room where I had access to a computer to type up my answer. I did type what

little I knew, and the committee members were aware that I didn't have a background in research. This is also why I was surprised they even invited me to interview in the first place. I was the last interview of the day, so I just left a bit deflated after trying to respond to the research question.

In the course of the two-hour interview event, Micah went from confident to insecure. Her interviewers offered her positive nonverbal feedback and that positive vibe is still something she remembers. However, when it came time for her to convey discipline-specific knowledge through the writing prompt, her confidence waned as she realized she lacked that knowledge. Yet Micah still believed she had a solid chance at getting the position; she had been invited to interview even though the interview committee was aware of her credentials delineated on her curriculum vitae. For Micah, this was enough to keep hope alive while waiting for a call for the final interview with the college president.

About two days later – the Monday after the interview – is when I got the email saying, "We're sorry, but you will not be continuing on with the process." And, of course, it was very much of a blow because that was my first major interview, and during the actual interview and teaching demonstration, it had seemed like such a positive experience. I felt like they shouldn't even have called me – they knew I didn't have the background to begin with - giving me the idea that I might have some hope of making it. I also later heard that a relative of someone on the hiring committee was offered and accepted the position. I don't know if that's true or not, but that's what I heard from one of the other adjuncts who teaches with me at Balto. If they had someone else in mind for the position, why call us in for an interview?

Once I got the rejection email, I moved away from Caspian City College, especially because I was slowly transitioning to Arktik Community College – I live closer to Arktik anyway.

I was scheduled to teach classes for Caspian that fall, but I pretty much said, just take me off the

roster. I thought to myself, "Why stay where you aren't valued?" The whole thing was a real let

down. In many ways, almost like a betrayal. I want to teach, I love the subject matter, but then at

the same time I'm being told, "we will hire you as adjunct but you're not good enough to be full

time." So, with that, I moved over to Arktik Community College. I was done with Caspian City

College.

Micah stopped teaching for Caspian altogether and never looked back. She continued

teaching community college, but only at Arktik. When Micah decided to focus her energy only at

Arktik, she was offered a full adjunct course load. Micah did not believe Arktik was inherently a

better environment than Caspian, but at least it was closer to her home. And being closer to the

campus meant less time commuting, which in turn, gave her more time with her family.

Unfortunately, Micah found Arktik's culture a bit oppressive.

When I began to work here at Arktik College, I would see administrators walking outside

to check that we were keeping our students to the last minute. It got to a point where I got so

paranoid that I would email the dean, to say "Hey, I left five minutes early. Please don't dock my

pay." It also got to the point where I felt like I was being watched and that I was forced to

unnecessarily keep students. As an adjunct, you have to prove your value down to the last minute

because everything is counted. If a tenured instructor let their students out early, no one would

be concerned. In fact, tenure would protect that instructor if anyone did notice or complain.

Within a year of her transition to the new campus, Arktik posted a job announcement for

a TT Social Sciences Professor. All the adjuncts were encouraged to apply, so Micah went ahead

and applied despite her concern about the problematic culture. Micah had been longing for a TT

position because she recognized there was institutional "status" associated with the TT positions.

She believed that in a TT position, she would have an entirely different experience; her work within the institution would be valued and her expertise would be appreciated. While administration micro-managed her classroom management as an adjunct, Micah noticed that Arktik's tenured faculty appeared to have much more autonomy, and that was something Micah wanted. So despite the rejection from Caspian's interview committee, she decided to apply for Arktik's position.

I sent in my CV and the cover letter; the chair of the Social Sciences Department was very supportive, and he wrote me a lovely letter of recommendation. After I sent the application packet in, I got an email saying I didn't meet the requirements, which was really funny because I thought I did. How could I not meet the requirements? I was teaching for them already as an adjunct. Aren't the requirements the same? I also found it odd that Caspian and Arktik posted similar job announcements, but Caspian found me qualified to interview, yet Arktik did not. So, essentially, I didn't even get to interview there. However, this time around, it was a little bit easier, because, at least, I didn't get called for the interview. It made life a little bit easier because I didn't have the whole build-up and then let-down after the interview process.

Even though applying for the Arktik TT position was not as disappointing as interviewing for the Caspian TT position, disparities between these application/interview processes became obvious to Micah. She questioned the legitimacy of the process, a process that was the same for both colleges because both colleges are part of the same college district, Sud Community College District. Given the shrouded interview process and obvious discrepancies in interview decisions, Micah began to question and problematize additional events at Arktik.

It didn't surprise me that no one from the adjunct pool was picked for the Arktik position; the person who came in was from out of the area. I haven't met the full-time faculty hire yet, but

after learning who it was and looking at their credentials, I thought, "Of course, you have a

PhD." That's kind of the same narrative, again, "You're good enough to teach adjunct, but if you

want full time, you have to have a PhD." And to me it implies that those of us who don't [have a

PhD] are less than in some way, even though we are as passionate, if not more, about teaching.

This has left me with a very bad taste in my mouth. I only teach one class now for Arktik. It used

to be two classes a semester, and then I went down to one. I didn't want to do any more. I was

scheduled to teach two classes that fall the new tenure-track faculty was hired, but they were

both night classes. And I thought to myself, "I'm not gonna do night classes." That's just one less

thing for me to do.

Right about the time Micah learned she wouldn't be interviewed for Arktik's TT position,

her daughter was diagnosed with leukemia. Teaching at nights became impossible for Micah. In

fact, her "daughter's diagnosis reframed things." The job, the status associated with a TT

position, the classes, none of it mattered to her if she lost her daughter. She began to care less

about the things and places that failed to provide value in her life. She actively sought out

opportunities that supported her worth as a human, a lifelong learner, and as a professor. The

inconsistences between the colleges within Sud Community College District, along with the

second rejection, and her daughter's illness, influenced her decision to focus her teaching

energies elsewhere, at Balto University.

I actively and ultimately made the switch to Balto University. I began teaching more

classes there. So I have spread myself out, but I'm mainly at Balto because I feel like I know

where I stand there. From my point of view, it's about keeping your finger in different pies just to

be safe. In 2008, with the whole recession, my partner and I were both laid off, and so our first

experience with unemployment got me very jittery. Also there are no false promises of applying,

interviewing, and getting a tenure-track position here [Balto University]; everyone knows a doctorate is required, compared to Sud College District, which is very unclear. And then with Sud, it's like you're not good enough, so why bother. I don't feel that I have to watch my back at Balto either; I can fully concentrate on my teaching rather than watching the clock.

I find myself giving a lot more effort at Balto University, which I don't like to say, but I still love the class that I teach at Arktik Community, but the rest of it [beyond the classroom] is "meh." I really love the message of community college. I love that we're giving opportunities to students who might not get these same opportunities elsewhere. They're really not doing well by the faculty that teach there; systemically there are problems. I'm still loving my class and my students, but beyond that, it just feels like I have nothing to give. There's no extra that I would like to give because why would I?

My best experience has been at Balto University. It's the place I have felt the most valued. As an adjunct at Balto University, I was paid for professional development and I was even given an iPad. It's not that I'm just there for the money or for the iPad, I'm actually using it each semester to make life a little bit better for my students…class is more interesting. At Balto, I'm in the same professional development events as tenured and tenure-track faculty. They treat us similarly in that respect. They want us to be the best instructors possible and they give us all the necessary tools to do it: the training, the tools, and the payment. That makes me feel valued. I don't feel valued at the community colleges.

Even though I'm part-time at Balto, I know there's security in devoting my time to that campus. I can count on being offered classes based on seniority. At Arktik I come in; I teach my class; I interact with my students; I do my best in the classroom; and then outside of it, I just say, "goodbye." I don't like that about myself, how I react to the circumstances, but it's not like

Arktik offers us paid professional development, or any professional development for that matter. And, ultimately, Arktik didn't believe I was qualified for the tenure-track position, so how can they be okay with offering me classes every semester?

This semester, Spring 2020, Micah is teaching five classes at Balto University and one class at Arktik Community College. Her goal is no longer to gain a tenure-track position, her goal is to find meaning and value at the HE institutions. She finds satisfaction as an adjunct at Balto because they show value to their adjuncts with paid professional development opportunities, thereby placing value on the work of the teaching professor. To Micah, Balto also shows value to their adjuncts with extended employment contracts, which offer a sense of financial security and a commitment between the organization and the adjunct. Micah sees Balto attaching status to their adjunct faculty through year-long contracts thereby minimizing the status difference between tenured professors and adjunct professors.

Analysis – Interpretive Commentary

This research began with the question, *what narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and interactions after a TT interview process?* Through June and Micah's narratives I gained insight into the two sub-questions: *how might their narratives speak to their professorial identities?* And *how might their narratives speak to their sense of institutional belongingness?*

June and Micah began teaching at the college level for similar reasons and within a similar context; however, each has approached their individual journey differently. Yet both women saw value in developing – and maintaining – relationships with colleagues. In this next section, I clarify how Micah's professorial identity was significantly impacted through the interview process. I juxtapose Micah's perception with June's perception of her self-concept

through the interview experience. The final aspect of this section addresses the second research question which focused on institutional belongingness. This narrative inquiry suggests June tended to focus more on belongingness, or lack thereof, as a result of interview experiences where Micah hardly addressed institutional belonging as a concern, only in the context of understanding the rules or norms of the institution.

  Professorial identities influenced by interview process. The first sub-question guiding this narrative inquiry was *how might their [participants'] narratives speak to their professorial identities?* June and Micah's TT interview experiences influenced their professorial identities differently. Micah's informed her professorial identity by comparing herself to the newly-hired faculty member's credentials while June's identity was influenced by a sequence of events following the interview. In their professor roles, June and Micah considered themselves life-long learners. Professional development opportunities are ways in which professors continue to learn while further developing their research and teaching craft. Both participants took advantage of professional development opportunities that colleges outside of Sud Community College District offered them. Without prompting, they both spoke about paid professional opportunities, so clearly this was important since it was a salient theme. They believed it was important to fine-tune their teaching craft while also improving the lives of their students. June and Micah felt more connected to and appreciated at the institutions that positively fed their professorial identities; for June this happened at Caribe Community College. Micah indicated how Balto University positively impacted her professorial identity after the TT interview process at Arktik. The following paragraphs focus on how each participants' identities shifted in relation to their interview experiences.

  Waiting for a TT position to be announced, and then going through a TT interview

process, significantly impacted Micah's identity, specifically her professorial identity. Generally, faculty believe they are hired based on their intellect, knowledge of discipline area, and areas of expertise (Bergom, Waltman, August, & Hollenshead, 2010; Childress, 2019). At the community college level, faculty teach lower division or general education coursework, so depth of expertise in a subject matter is not necessarily relevant in teaching course concepts. Breadth of knowledge in a subject matter is more useful when teaching community college students.

Micah wanted a TT job because it offered stability and a status; however, she was unsure about her area of expertise. However, Caspian's hiring committee invited her to interview for the position, and it was at that point she believed she was qualified for the position. She believed that if she had not been qualified, she would not have been invited to interview. The invitation to interview positively influenced her self-concept about her expertise. This shift in her identity is evident with her statement, "The committee members were aware that I didn't have a background in research. This is also why I was surprised they even invited me to interview in the first place."

Micah's confidence in her intellect shifted again when Caspian sent her the rejection email. Not only did her confidence go down, but her identity as a competent academic was negatively impacted, which she expressed in her comment, "the whole thing was a real let down. In many ways, almost like a betrayal. I want to teach, I love the subject matter, but then at the same time I'm being told, 'We will hire you as adjunct but you're not good enough to be full-time.'" Caspian's overall messaging through the interview process served as an identity threat, which, ultimately was the impetus for Micah to fully cut ties with Caspian City College. She heard Caspian loud and clear, "…you're not good enough to be full-time."

Hoetler's (1983) identity and role research suggests a positive correlation between identity salience and a positive "evaluation of one's performance within the roll" (p. 145).

Academic interviews are performance-oriented; the interviewee must provide a lesson on a discipline-specific concept. Since Micah perceived the rejection from the interview committee as a negative evaluation of a professorial performance, this lowered her salience of professorial identity. Yet this introduced cognitive dissonance for her, as someone who must continue to perform professorial duties. She experienced the inconsistency between what one believes about self and what one is being told about oneself. Cognitive dissonance necessarily requires an individual to cognitively reframe events or change behaviors in order to minimize the dissonance (Westerman, Bowman, & Lachlan, 2017).

When another interviewee was hired for the Arktik TT position Micah applied, her self-efficacy as an academic was negatively impacted again. She clarified this when she spoke about the qualifications of the newly hired faculty member.

> *I haven't met the full-time faculty hire yet, but after learning who it was and looking at their credentials, I'm like, "Of course, you have a PhD." That's kind of the same narrative, again; you're good enough to teach as adjunct, but if you want full time, you have to have a PhD. And to me, it kind of implies that those of us who don't [have a PhD] are less than, in some way, even though we might be just as passionate, if not more, about teaching.*

Micah's quote called into question her academically related self-efficacy as she grappled with the underlying message inherent in the campus' new hire, PhD's are preferred. As Bahktin suggests (1986), "these words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate" (p. 89). Hoetler's (1983) work also speaks to Micah's experience

Much of this evaluation is based on perceptions of others' appraisals (of self) and

comparisons of self with others. These evaluations, either directly or indirectly, involve

the roles one enacts and uses for defining oneself, providing the necessary points of

reference for cognitive organization. Thus, the process of self-reflexity can be viewed as

being structured by the role relationships internalized by the individual, overlaying the

structure of social networks. (p. 146)

 Inherent in Micah's comment was how she "assimilated" the sentiment conveyed when another

interviewee was hired, a person with a PhD. It makes sense that the PhD interviewee would have

a more focused research area compared to that of an interviewee with a master's degree. Implied

in Micah's statement is the fact that a PhD spends more time in college; therefore, the PhD learns

more discipline-specific information. In this case, then, Micah perceived her knowledge base as

inferior to that of the PhD. Since HE faculty identity is so closely tied to their intellectual

capacity (Bergom et. al., 2010; Childress, 2019), Micah saw this rejection pertaining to her

intellect rather than any other factor (i.e. pedagogy/andragogy).

Where Micah's identity threat came from a new set of beliefs that she did not have the

depth of knowledge as the new-hires, June did not necessarily feel her identity threatened when

the job for which interviewed was offered to another faculty. In fact June seemed to view that

first TT interview as a learning experience. Like Micah, June initially, had low expectations for

getting the TT position. "this was my very first time applying for a full-time position; I didn't

really know how the whole process worked, but I got the interview, which was amazing because

I hadn't been teaching that long…Other than that, I really didn't know what to expect." Once she

received the rejection email, June continued to maintain her positivity with the statement, "Well,

you know, I didn't get in the top three and that's okay; I have these classes and I'll just keep

getting more experience and working on it." June's perception of this situation seemed to

positively feed her identity as a life-long learner; life-long learning is characteristic of professors (Bergom et. al., 2010). Framing the interview process as a learning experience diffused the negative connotation of a rejection email.

However, the sequence of events following the rejection (losing course load and trying to piecemeal a living wage together with a single course on one campus and a single course another campus) provided space and time for her to compare messaging from other college campuses, which contrasted with the messaging from Sud Community College District. For example, when June began teaching at Caribe College, she became part of the campus' professional development book club. The book club was a paid professional development opportunity and the book focused on trauma informed teaching in HE. As June told her story, it became clear to her, and to me, that Caribe quenched her thirst as a life-long learner. During our second interview, the brunch, it was clear that her passion for teaching was fueled by the book club experience, most notably because she spent (at least fifteen minutes of our conversation) discussing the details of the book and the collegial relationships she developed through book club interactions. June also believed the book was positively influencing her teaching, so much so that she shared the book with me so I could read it. Sharing her narrative with me while running through impactful events provided June with the context and space to evaluate her campus experiences in relation to one another. The very act of telling her story gave June the space to identify events, like that at Caribe or Arktik, which positively or negatively contributed to her identity as a life-long learner – a true academic. As Kraus (2006) suggests identity is an ongoing process; every interaction, whether it is a professional, personal, impersonal, intrapersonal, opens a door allowing conceptual changes to occur. Therefore conveying narratives after an event (or events) have occurred provides that opportunity to construct, reconstruct, and/or renegotiate one's identity.

Belongingness situated in narratives. The second sub-question I focused on in data

collection and field texts was, *how might their [participants'] narratives speak to their sense of*

institutional belongingness? Levine and Moreland (1994) suggest that institutional

belongingness is established when institutional members feel valued by the organization and buy

into an organization's culture. Community is an important aspect of any organization, whether it

is an academic, religious, or familial organization. Building connections with organizational

members inherently creates a sense of community. In listening to June's and Micah's narratives,

it was clear that institutional belongingness, a sense of egalitarian community between all

constituency groups, was important. June focused her narrative on the qualities that created a

sense of institutional belonging and Micah used her narrative as a space to juxtapose how one

institution demonstrated value compared to another institution.

It became clear that June never felt a sense of belonging at any college within the Sud

Community College District; she saw herself connected to the HE institutions where she has

formed interpersonal relationships. A sense of community and belonging came from the

institutions where she was able to become known. For example, June recognized how Caribe's

PD book club was as an opportunity to build connection with other institutional members. Not

only did the PD book club provide an opportunity to develop her professor role, it provided an

opportunity for June to build her social network. She remotely participated with her colleagues

and was able to develop relationships. Knowing who people are and building relationships was a

theme that June addressed when she discussed her TT interview experience. She felt she was at a

loss when she did not know the discipline expert on the hiring committee. Yet she spoke

profusely of the impactful organizational work of Caribe's VP of Student Affairs. In fact, it

appeared that this narrative inquiry helped her fully realize the level of belonging she felt at

Caribe. After our second interview she emailed the VP at Caribe sharing that very sentiment. He

in turn forwarded that email to the President of Caribe who reached out to June affirming her

importance to their institution.

When teaching on multiple campuses, as adjunct faculty often do, it is easy to become

invisible to others. June found that the book club Caribe Community College facilitated was an

opportunity to be known or be seen – quite literally – by her colleagues and administrators.

> *Wherever I was, they would joke because I'm always moving around so much. They'd*
>
> *question sarcastically, "Where's June this week?" And I'd retort, "I'm on location over*
>
> *here..." One day I was at home and I think the blinds were open behind me, and so I*
>
> *looked like a shadow, and they were joking saying that I looked like I was in witness*
>
> *protection or something.*

Evidenced in her recount of this event, administrators, faculty, and staff knew her name

and were aware of her routine when she was Zoom-ing in for the chapter debriefs. Furthermore,

they knew her name and referenced her by name. Names are indicative of a person's identity,

and the fact that her book club addressed her by name indicated they see her as a person.

Ultimately, though, other faculty, administrators, and staff felt comfortable enough to joke

around with June during the book club debriefs and vice versa. The joking around conveyed a

sense of familiarity with one another and a warm organizational culture.

June also talked about how her relationship with her former Cortez University professor

positively influenced financial stability, "I tell him that I need a certain number of units in order

to keep my health insurance there. He handles the scheduling, so, clearly, it's good to have

friends or mentors on the inside." And here, again, June referred to the benefits associated with

developing interpersonal relationships within her academic community. Being part of an

academic community is a theme June carried through her narrative. It was evident in the Caribe PD book club story, the story about interviewing for the TT position, and when she reflected on her relationship with her former professor.

Micah perceived a sense of belonging and community in the institution that valued her professorial identity. That sense of value came from stability in employment, a decent wage, and an institution that invested in her development as a professor. Through Micah's narration she clearly identified Arktik's problematic campus culture, which made it difficult for her to feel like a valuable member of that community.

Financial security, job stability, and investing in institutional members was, and continues to be, important to Micah. She clarifies how professional development opportunities add value through skill development and egalitarian opportunities for all faculty regardless of status:

> *At Balto, I'm in the same professional development events as tenured and tenure-track faculty. They treat us similarly in that respect. They want us to be the best instructors possible and they give us all the necessary tools to do it: the training, the tools, and the payment. That makes me feel valued. I don't feel valued at the community colleges.*

Micah does not feel valued at the community colleges, specifically Arktik, because she witnessed administration treating adjuncts and tenured faculty differently, and treating others differently influences division, rather than community, amongst an organizational group. Micah had first-hand experience in dealing with discrepancy in classroom management. In the quote below, she recalled an event and how she responded to a pervasive negative culture at Arktik Community College.

> I would see faculty walking outside to check that we were staying to the last minute. It

got to a point where I was so paranoid that I would email the dean to say "Hey, I left five

minutes early. Please don't dock my pay." It got to the point where I felt like I was being

watched and that I was forced to unnecessarily keep students in the classroom even

though class was not officially over. You have to prove your value down to the last

minute because everything is counted. If a tenured instructor let their students out early,

no one would be concerned. In fact, tenure would protect that instructor if anyone did

notice or complain.

Additionally, a positive campus culture is obvious when organizational members are

aware of norms and rules in addition to following norms and rules. Even though Micah knew she

did not have a chance of getting a TT position at Balto University since a master's degree was

her highest level of education, she perceived Balto's campus culture more positively due to the

transparency in the rules and norms. Micah clarified her attitude towards Balto's campus culture

in comparison to Arktik's culture:

> *Even though I'm part-time at Balto, I know there's security in devoting my time to that*
>
> *campus. I can count on being offered classes based on seniority. At Arktik I come in; I*
>
> *teach my class; I interact with my students; I do my best in the classroom; and then*
>
> *outside of it, I just say, "goodbye." I don't like that about myself, how I react to the*
>
> *circumstances, but it's not like Arktik offers us paid professional development, or any*
>
> *professional development for that matter. And, ultimately, Arktik didn't believe I was*
>
> *qualified for the tenure-track position, so how can they be okay with offering me a couple*
>
> *classes every semester?*

Arktik's mixed messages and unclear norms and rules created an unsatisfactory work

environment for Micah. The additional cognitive load required to understand how the campus

functioned made it difficult for her to feel like she belonged. Micah found peace in Balto's transparency thereby cementing her commitment to Balto.

Summary of Findings

June and Micah offered their narratives to support the research question: *What narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and interactions after a failed TT interview process?* While June and Micah had different academic and career backgrounds, they both entered into their adjunct careers at a time when the United States' economy was failing. After an unsatisfactory TT interview, June and Micah began to notice disparate treatment and status between tenured or TT faculty and adjunct faculty. June and Micah decided to expend more of their energy at the colleges and universities that seemed to value their part-time faculty. Neither of them indicated they felt valued by Sud Community College District, despite the fact this is where they both began their teaching careers. June identified Caribe Community College and Cortez University as two colleges who saw her and valued her presence in their academic community. Micah clearly stated her energy was devoted to Balto University because they invested in her professional development. Ultimately, though, they sought out teaching assignments at colleges valuing their professional roles on campus. In Chapter Five I discuss the significance June's and Micah's narratives offer to faculty identity and institutional belongingness before addressing the study limitations and areas for further research.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study focused on the stories adjunct faculty told about how they negotiated self in HE institutional spaces after a failed TT interview. This study specifically addressed the following research questions: *what narratives do adjuncts create/live when negotiating institutional spaces and interactions after a TT interview process*; *how might their narratives speak to their professorial identities; how might their narratives speak to their sense of institutional belongingness?* In an effort to understand the cognitive processes adjunct faculty took to negotiate identity in their places of employment, I worked with two participants to co-create narratives about their experiences, which were presented in Chapter Four. Both participants worked in California community college districts requiring hiring committees to interview adjunct faculty currently employed in that district, along with other candidates, for any TT positions. In this chapter, I present the implications of this narrative inquiry, limitations to this study, as well as practical recommendations for practice.

Implications

As prior research has indicated, adjunct faculty seeking TT positions find themselves in a precarious position. To piece together a livable income, CC adjuncts teach on multiple campuses for lower wages, log more commuting hours than their tenured colleagues, teach more than the average number of students and perceive themselves as marginalized in a two-tiered system (AFT, 2010; Childress, 2019; Jaeger & Eagan, 2009; Kezar & Maxey, 2014; Ott & Dippold, 2018a). This means faculty must patiently work under oppressive conditions while waiting for TT positions to become available. Additionally, the percentage of TT positions has been declining in favor of utilizing a contingent workforce (American Association of University Professor, 2017; American Association of University Professors, 2019a; Childress, 2019; Kezar,

DePaola, & Scott, 2019). These conditions have created and reified a two-tiered system which has called into question the impact TT interviews have on professorial identity and institutional belonging.

Implication for institutional belonging & connection. Institutional belonging and commitment, while different constructs, form a symbiotic relationships. These participants' stories reveal that adjunct faculty can be negatively impacted by these experiences, depending on how they frame the event and the point in their career in which this rejection occurred. Since they teach on multiple campuses, adjuncts can easily compare institutional norms and practices across their various HE employers. Reflective processes like narrative inquiry enable them to identify positive value-laden experiences amongst the various campuses on which they teach. This is consistent with Kezar's (2013) research, who found that adjuncts actively compare experiences at the various campuses at which they taught.

These participants' stories suggest the possibility that faculty who are overlooked for a TT position, are less committed to maintaining a part-time course load and will ultimately seek employment at other colleges. When people feel like they are part of an institution, they are more likely to feel committed to that institution; there might be a greater sense of loyalty (Seipel & Larson, 2018). However, this study suggests that adjunct faculty felt more committed to HE institutions that (1) maintained transparency in the path to TT employment; (2) offered economic stability; and (3) included adjunct faculty in professional development (PD) opportunities in which tenured faculty also participated. While prior research does not address transparency in hiring processes, previous research accounts for the significant impact PD opportunities play in a sense of belonging for adjunct faculty. Often HE institutions fail to invest in PD for adjuncts; only prioritizing TT or tenured faculty (Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Gehrke & Kezar,

2015; Kezar, 2013). Adjunct faculty felt comfortable investing more time and energy into an institution that invested in them. PD opportunities also provide spaces for adjunct faculty to develop their social networks. Levin and Shaker (2011) found that contingent faculty identify as a professor; therefore they expect to be offered the same opportunities as other professors. Yet when adjuncts are not offered the same PD opportunities, they see themselves as not belonging to the institution's "professorial" group.

Implications for professorial identity. Levin and Shaker (2011) suggest that institutional practices shape the identities of adjunct faculty "and the incongruities in their experience illustrate a permeating culture of self-doubt and self-questioning" (1464). This is consistent with the findings in this study. Adjunct faculty identities are dualistic in that they are in tension with one another, as professors, they feel satisfaction, but as a member of the professoriate, their self-esteem is negatively impacted by experiences such as the ones narrated here (Levin & Shaker). Several factors influence negotiation of professorial identity and a few are addressed in the implications for this study: reason for entering career, phase in career, and campus messaging.

Adjunct faculty who enter the professoriate later in life negotiate identity differently in relationship to significant campus events. Consistent with Childress's (2019) research and Barkley and Broderson (2018) research, many adjunct faculty enter the professoriate later in their careers; they did not plan to become college professors. However, the adjunct faculty in this study who significantly shifted careers had a greater cognitive load when negotiating identity than adjunct faculty who were just beginning in the professoriate. This is consistent with some of the conclusions that Kezar (2013) drew in her study. Changing professions later in life may require adjunct faculty to do a greater amount of identity work: minimizing identity associated

with previous career and building new identity related to professorial role.

As evidenced in June's case, when adjuncts new to the professoriate experience rejection in a TT interview, they do not necessarily perceive it as an identity threatening event. They are in the early stages of their career and therefore the early stages of negotiating a professorial identity. The rejection is perceived as a learning event – learning the rules to the game – and fulfills part of the professorial identity as a lifelong learner. This is consistent with findings from Kezar (2013) and Childress (2019).

Adjunct faculty with more than ten years of experience in the professoriate might find meaning elsewhere in their lives and stop searching for TT positions. This is consistent with findings in Jacoby's (2005) research; part-time faculty may not be seeking TT positions because they are discouraged "after years of frustration" (p. 146). Kezar (2013) found that adjuncts who focused more on family priorities, like raising young children, were less likely to be concerned with disparities between themselves and their tenured colleagues. Their professor identity was not their most salient identity. Essentially, it is important to consider the impetus for faculty desiring a TT position when considering how adjunct faculty's identity could be impacted as a result of a failed TT interview. As Levin and Shaker's (2011) research suggests "their institutional experiences negate their development as professionals, and their occupational conditions are viewed as beyond their control" (p. 1480). Ultimately, other factors, aside from a simple rejection, influence adjuncts self-concept; identity work is influenced by: context and the types of opportunities available for adjuncts to develop their professorial identity and career phase (early vs. mid-career).

Limitations

Research is always limited by the questions guiding the inquiry and proposed

methodology. This narrative inquiry focused on two female participants, both of whom taught within the social sciences, with the ultimate goal of simply exploring their experiences.

Two participants. While it is acceptable to have fewer participants when using qualitative methods, this study ended with two participants. Initially my goal was to include three to five participants. Yet the two participants' narratives yielded compelling data. Broad generalizations are difficult to identify from the experiences of two participants, but that was never the goal of this study.

Female participants. Secondly, this study was also limited by participants' gender. Females have unique experiences in higher education, oftentimes quite different from their male counterparts. Female faculty members also have different life experiences (e.g. single mom), and life experiences influence human perception. Also, traditionally females have been socialized to build power through social connections; this factor may have influenced participants' desire to meet face-to-face and the salience of Caribe's book club to June's experience. Ultimately, working within a feminist paradigm honors the value of adding women's voices to this research, but a feminist approach also recognizes that there are other gendered voices not represented in the findings.

Participants from social sciences. Another limiting factor for this study was the participants' field of study. Both participants taught courses within a discipline housed under social sciences. Social sciences adjuncts' TT interview experiences might be different than those experiences of adjunct faculty teaching in the hard sciences, professional departments (business), or humanities for that matter. Eagan, Jaeger, and Grantham (2015) found that adjuncts working in education, business, journalism, etc. tended to be more satisfied with their working conditions compared to those in the humanities and social sciences disciplines. Essentially, participants in a

certain field may already come to the research with a negative attitude towards campus

conditions.

Recommendations for Practice

Based on the experiences of the faculty participants in this study as well as prior research,

there is plenty of room for improvement in HE's hiring practices. While all the recommendations

might not work for every type of HE institution, if all HE institutions implemented a small

change at some level, future and current adjuncts might become more aware of the realities of

the TT interview process. Below are some practical ways for HE institutions to become more

transparent and collegial.

For aspiring TT faculty. It is clear that adjunct faculty might be unfamiliar with the TT

hiring process, so it is important for adjunct faculty who are interested in TT positions, to

become involved in campus processes. Becoming proactive in learning how a campus functions

may be beneficial for future TT job opportunities. Some campuses offer small stipends for

adjuncts to participate on various committees. Even though time to participate in these activities

might be limited, building relationships with tenured committee members and administration can

help reduce uncertainty about potential hiring committee members' personalities, campus

culture, and campus goals. Ability to speak to a campus' culture and goals increases potential

during job interviews. Additionally, participating in these activities demonstrates that adjunct

faculty are committed to the institution and improving their leadership skills, campus-related

administrative knowledge, and teaching craft.

Furthermore, adjunct faculty should consider teaching on multiple campuses, but not all

within the same district. Teaching on multiple campuses can be time consuming, so it is

important that adjunct faculty be intentional with the campuses on which they choose to teach.

Learning about campus and departmental cultures will provide insight into when new TT positions might be available. Teaching on multiple campuses provides adjunct faculty an opportunity to compare campus cultures, rules, and norms. Teaching on multiple campuses, as Kezar (2010) points out, provides adjuncts an opportunity to find campuses that are more concerned with their professional growth. If one campus treats faculty better than another campus, then adjuncts may not even bother applying for TT positions on those campuses.

Ultimately, adjunct faculty seeking TT positions at the CC level might be served well by earning a terminal degree. Even though terminal degrees require additional time devoted to studies, terminal degrees often result in higher pay for adjuncts. Adjuncts with terminal degrees may find opportunities increase if they are competing with PhD's for TT positions.

HE institutions clarify interview process. Based on themes that emerged from participants' stories, HE institutions can improve their TT hiring process by clarifying the process, specifically the steps in the process and how hiring decisions are made. Various facets of the hiring process (interview, teaching demo, number of interviews, and number of interviewer on the panel) should be included in the TT job announcement. Fully informed applicants can prepare accordingly. Another aspect to clarify for TT interviews is to explain how hiring decisions are made. If the hiring committee prefers specific credentials or experience, it should be clearly stated on job announcement, thereby applicants can avoid a false sense of hope.

Consistent hiring practices within a district. While each college within a district has its own unique culture and accreditation, a certain level of consistency in hiring practices within a community college district would be beneficial to both applicants and the district. Applicants and interviewees would know what to expect when they apply/interview for a subsequent position on a sister campus. Even though tenured faculty are typically responsible for hiring new TT faculty,

TT faculty can work with their discipline-specific colleagues on their sister campuses in order to calibrate expectations for new hires. This serves the district well, as adjunct faculty would have fewer points to compare experiences among sister colleges and may express positivity about the district, potentially leading to commitment to the district.

Provide workshops on TT interviews. In order to offer potential faculty a solid chance at gaining a TT interview and performing well in an interview, HE institutions should offer workshops on how to navigate the TT interview process. TT searches are costs CC districts a substantial amount of money. Faculty sitting on committees often must cancel classes or get paid for work done off contract (e.g. work done on weekends). While each college manages their TT application procedures differently, there are some aspects of TT interviews that are consistent across all HE institutions: the application process, the interview, and the follow-up interviews. In multi-campus community college districts, HR is usually located at a district office anyway, so a district level, as well as a campus level, workshop would benefit applicants. Workshops can cover the important components necessary for cover letters, CV's, letters of recommendation, and submitting transcripts. Participants in this study suggested they were unaware of the various aspects of an academic interview, so clarifying how to navigate a teaching demonstration as well as answering questions would serve applicants well. Essentially, the types of questions that might be asked during a TT interview. Finally, preparing adjunct faculty for TT interviews would benefit a campus. If adjunct faculty from a campus are interviewing for a TT position, hiring in-house might improve overall campus culture. The campus would spend less time and money socializing and orienting that new faculty member to the campus culture.

Socialize adjuncts into departmental & campus community. Ultimately, socializing adjunct faculty into their discipline-specific departments is ideal to create a sense of belonging

and build interpersonal relationships. A sense of belonging may result in a greater sense of

commitment, as evidenced in June's narrative. Providing adjunct faculty opportunities to develop

interpersonal relationships with their discipline-specific colleagues allows adjunct faculty to

know who their audience might be in the event they interview for a TT position.

Ultimately, though, if the position is offered to someone other than the adjunct

interviewee, the adjunct may be more likely to stay on the campus if there is a perceived sense of

belonging. A familiar face on campus is oftentimes exactly what marginalized student

populations need in order to feel connected and empowered to remain enrolled in college. For

example, the professor in Chapter One who talked about his quinceñera, has been teaching for

the same campus for years even though he was never offered a TT position. He has done his own

processing, but what is most important here is how his students perceive him. His students

strongly connect to him, so much so that he is one of the few faculty on campus who regularly

receives gifts, notes of appreciation, and, from what I have witnessed, verbal expression of

gratitude. If our campus lost this instructor, we would be losing a man with whom many of our

students connect. As a caveat, losing great instructors who connect with students was evident in

the narratives of Micah and June; it happens and it is a loss for students.

Re-Socialize. According to the work of Levine and Moreland (1994), when an

institutional member is not assimilated, the organizational member should be re-socialized. After

a failed TT interview, it is clear from June's and Micah's experiences they did not feel like an

institutional member. Therefore, campuses should consider resocialization practices when trying

to retain adjunct faculty who were not offered the TT positions. This may look similar to an exit

interview without the interviewee actually exiting the institution; it could be a conversation with

administrators and tenured colleagues. When re-socializing adjuncts who were not hired for the

TT position, on a smaller scale, departmental representatives could work with adjunct faculty members who were overlooked for the TT position to understand how the interview process affected them. These conversations serve multiple purposes: showing care and concern for the adjunct faculty and gaining insight as to how the department should move forward in maintaining relationships with the adjuncts. On a larger scale, divisions could reach out to those adjuncts who were rejected by specifically and individually inviting them to participate in professional development activities in addition to other campus activities.

Contributions to the Research

This study added a small bit of insight into the growing literature on adjunct faculty experiences. While data supported previous findings related to factors influencing adjunct faculty perceptions, prior research had not investigated the experiences of adjunct faculty who had gone through a failed TT interview process. The majority of the related research just tends to focus on variations of adjunct faculty who desire TT positions rather than focusing on how adjunct faculty use narratives to explain why they made behavioral and cognitive changes after a failed interview process (Childress, 2019; Eagan, Jaeger, & Grantham, 2015; Jacoby, 2005; Levin & Shaker, 2011; Ott & Dippold, 2018b). The findings in this study address how adjunct faculty negotiate identity and institutional belonging through interpersonal and intrapersonal narratives. Perceiving a rejection email as negative can influence adjunct faculty to decline classes on one campus in favor of another campus; that rejection is perceived as an identity threat and not being valued by the institution. As this study suggests, adjuncts will stop investing energy in an institution if they perceive the institution does not value them.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study contributed a small slice to the ongoing discussion surrounding adjunct faculty

conditions. As is often the case with research, additional questions emerged when analyzing the data. Qualitative and quantitative methods can be used to further explore salient concerns with regards to adjunct faculty interviewing for TT hiring positions.

Increase discipline-diversity of participants. This research could be enhanced and expanded by reaching out to participants from diverse disciplines. The original three faculty participants all taught within the social sciences field. It is important that all disciplines are represented on the question, rather than relying on voices within a specific field. Possible participants teaching within S.T.E.M. related disciplines may have entirely different experiences related to the TT interview process. S.T.E.M. faculty might have a different perceptual approach to analyzing their social worlds, which in turn would provide unique narratives.

Defining and articulating transparency in hiring. It would also be enlightening to better understand how adjunct faculty characterize transparency in TT hiring practices. Researchers could use interviews or even open-ended survey questions as the means to identify defining characteristics of transparency as it relates to hiring. Focus groups would be another way to get at characterizing – "transparency" – as it relates to hiring processes.

Quantitative researchers in the fields of education, organizational communication, and psychology could utilize cause and effect instruments to determine if there is a relationship between an institution's transparency in hiring processes and whether or not it leads to a sense of adjunct faculty's sense of institutional belonging or commitment.

Faculty participants in this study did not appear to feel valued within a community college district that lacked transparency in their hiring processes. Therefore, quantitative researchers might be interested in correlational investigations between an institution's transparency in its TT hiring processes and with adjunct faculty's perceptions of value.

Value & commitment. Both participants in this study specifically pointed out that they were more committed to institutions that valued their growth as professors. Thus, quantitative researchers could investigate relationships between adjunct faculty's perception of value and their level of commitment to the institution, thereby offering an opportunity for generalizability given the data. Qualitative researchers could explore the various ways in which adjunct faculty feel valued by their institutions.

PD & value. Ultimately, both faculty participants in this study felt valued when their institutions offered them paid professional development opportunities. To determine if there is any significance in a relationship between paid PD opportunities and adjuncts' perceptions of value, quantitative researchers could investigate this relationship with correlational instruments. Results of the data analysis from this type of study could offer some generalizations for recommending best practices.

Reflections

As a former adjunct I entered this research excited to hear whether my personal narratives might be confirmed. However, the most fascinating aspect of this study has been listening to the stories that June and Micah shared with me. I believe that they shared many events in their narratives with others; yet I perceive that in sharing it with me, they had another opportunity to negotiate their professorial identities and build community. June and Micah also shared how they had aspirations to get a doctorate, and do similar work to what I have been doing here, which made this whole process even more significant. They both viewed a doctorate as an important piece of their academic and professional journeys, whether it was to fulfill life-long learning goals or professional goals. Given that one of the participants felt "less than" compared to her colleagues with doctorates, I continue to wonder if sharing her academic goals with me was

another opportunity to shape her identity and journey as an academic.

Finally, I remember my last summer up in Newberg, Oregon, as I read and studied on research methods. Clandinin (2013) wrote about how the lives of the researcher and participants can become intertwined and I truly did not believe that would be an issue for me. I see now what they meant, I anticipate June and Micah continuing to be a part of my life (and me in theirs) in some way or another. Ultimately, though, I look forward to supporting both of these women in their professional journeys, especially if it entails co-authoring a publication resulting from this work. Our lives are inextricably linked and, to me, this is part of the process of narrative inquiry as well as the product of narrative inquiry.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent

Appendix A

Research Participant Informed Consent

Prospective Participant: Read this consent form carefully and ask as many questions as you like prior to deciding to participate in this research study. You are free to ask questions at any time before, during, or after your participation in this research.

Project Information

Project Title: *When's the Payoff?: Narrative Inquiry into Adjunct Faculty Experiences*	Project Number:
Researcher and Doctoral Student: Tiffany Sarkisian	Organization: George Fox University
Location: Newberg, OR	Phone: 559-908-6074
Committee Chairs and Members: Gary Sehorn, Karen Buchanan, Scot Headley, Susanna Thornhill	Organization: George Fox University
Location: Newberg, OR	Phone: 503-554-2853

1. PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY

I am a doctoral student at George Fox University and working to complete my dissertation, the final research project. The focus of my study is adjunct faculty experiences and I am only seeking a few participants for this study who meet very specific criteria. I hope to learn more about your experiences going through a tenure-track interview process and then continuing to teach as an adjunct on that same campus even though another faculty member was offered the tenure-track position. Specifically, this research study is exploring how adjunct faculty perform and tell stories related to their experiences post tenure-track interviewing processes. More specifically, this study is seeking insight into how, what, and why adjunct faculty share certain aspects of their stories after the tenure-track interview event.

2. PROCEDURES

- I will first invite you to write your story about your last tenure-track interview process and email me your story when complete.
- After reading your story, I will create a visual storyline and send (via e-mail) or share in person (off-campus at a convenient location – possibly Starbucks); at that point I will seek your input to ensure I accurately interpreted your chronology of events. I will also ask follow-up questions. This meeting (or Zoom conference) should take no longer than an hour.

- From that point, I will fully write out a chronologically organized story addressing context and interactions, which will then be sent to you for confirmation (or not) of accuracy.
- After verifying accuracy and making any necessary changes, I will have a "critical friend" review the stories to ensure there aren't any details that could possibly reveal your identity in the final report (dissertation).
- I will write one final story and send via email or a face-to-face conversation in order to ensure you are satisfied with your story and how it's portrayed. This would also be an opportunity to indicate you are no longer interested in having your story included in the final report.

- Duration of participation.
  - I believe this study will last for about five (5) months.
  - It will begin in December 2019 & be completed by May 2020.
- Monitoring during and after the study.
  - At any point you are free to remove yourself from the study and all of your submitted information will be destroyed.
  - You are free to reach out to me (cell or email) at any time in the study for any reason.
  - Over the course of the five months, I hope to meet, minimally, three times either face-to-face, through Zoom conferences, or by email, whichever is easier for you.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORT

The risks for participating in this study are minimal; the following types of risks, however, are no greater than a participant may experience when conversing about these details with a friend.

- **psychological** - rejection informs self-concept, and the research question requires you to reflect on an event that may be perceived as rejection.
- **inconvenience** - currently you may be teaching several classes on multiple campuses; therefore the time you devote to this study is time you cannot devote to your family and/or teacher preps/grading/reporting.
- **economic** – talking about this research with others could make its way back to administration or colleagues and negatively impact future job prospects.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS

- You will have an opportunity to process your adjunct experiences and tell your side of the interview story.
- Your story could inform departmental or campus changes to improve adjunct conditions. Furthermore, the researcher hopes that your story would appeal to policy makers who might have the power to improve adjunct working conditions.

5. FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

- You will receive a $25 gift card to any place of your choice after completing the follow-up interview.
- You can expect to spend five (5) to ten (10) hours of your time writing about your experience and responding to questions about your experience; therefore, this study will cost you your time.

6. AVAILABLE MEDICAL TREATMENT FOR ADVERSE EXPERIENCES

- This study involves minimal risk; therefore, there are no medical benefits to participating in this study.
- However, in the event counseling is necessary and you are a student at Fresno Pacific University (559-453-8050), sessions are available for $5 in their On-Site Counseling Program. Alliant International University Psychological Services (559-253-2277) offers sliding scale services performed by doctoral level therapists.

7. CONFIDENTIALITY

- Your identity in this study will be treated as confidential. The results of the study, including data and memos, may be published for scientific purposes but will not give your name or include any identifiable references to you. You and your specific site will remain anonymous.
- However, any records or data obtained as a result of your participation in this study may be inspected by George Fox University's Institutional Review Board, or by the persons conducting this study, (provided that such inspectors are legally obligated to protect any identifiable information from public disclosure, except where disclosure is otherwise required by law or a court of competent jurisdiction. These records will be kept private in so far as permitted by law.
- Identifying information such as names of people as well as campuses will remain confidential with participant/researcher created pseudonyms. A key of participants' names, campus' names, and names of other people mentioned in the narratives will be kept locked up in the researcher's personal home safe. The researcher will use a password protected personal computer for all documents. Additionally, all meetings with participants (except the initial meeting) will occur remotely through Zoom or at an off-campus site, such as Starbucks.

8. TERMINATION OF RESEARCH STUDY

You are free to choose whether or not to participate in this study. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate. You will be provided with any significant new findings developed during the course of this study that may relate to or influence your willingness to continue participation.

In the event you decide to discontinue your participation in the study, please notify me, Tiffany Sarkisian, of your decision or follow this procedure below, so that your participation can be orderly terminated.

- Email tiffany.sarkisian@gmail.com with the phrase "I no longer want to participate in the study" and ensure your name is clearly indicated somewhere within the email. – OR –
- Mail a note with your name and signature to PO Box 323, Fowler, CA 93625 stating that you "no longer want to participate in the study."

In addition, your participation in the study may be terminated without your consent in the event there is a conflict of interest.

9. AVAILABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- o Any further questions you have about this study will be answered by doctoral student:

  - Name: Tiffany Sarkisian
    Phone Number: 559-908-6074
  - Email: tiffany.sarkisian@gmail.com

- o Any additional questions can be answered by my dissertation Committee Chair:

  - Name: Dr. Gary Sehorn
    Phone Number: 503-554-2853
  - Email: gsehorn@georgefox.edu

10. AUTHORIZATION

I have read and understand this consent form, and I volunteer to participate in this research study. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form. I voluntarily choose to participate, but I understand that my consent does not take away any legal rights in the case of negligence or other legal fault of anyone who is involved in this study. I further understand that nothing in this consent form is intended to replace any applicable Federal, state, or local laws.
Participant Name (Printed or Typed):
Date:
Participant Signature:
Date:
I agree to be digitally recorded (audio/video, depending on the context) in follow-up interviews/meeting.
Participant Name (Printed or Typed):
Date:
Participant Signature:
Date:

Appendix B: Questions Guiding Data Collection

Appendix B

Questions Guiding Data Collection

Initial Questions to Guide Participants' Writing

The following serves as a guide for participants to write their narratives:

In a short story, around 1,000 words, please write the narrative of your experience applying for, interviewing for, and then ultimately not being offered the tenure-track position.

Potential Follow-Up Questions at the Second Meeting

Data collection and analysis, in qualitative research, is an iterative process (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Saldaña & Omasta, 2018). Clandinin, a highly regarded narrative inquirer, asserts that the researcher must discern tensions in early field texts in order to inform follow-up questions. Therefore, the following questions are reflective of my "best guess" based on probable responses gathered in the initial data collection.

1. Think back to your experiences prior to the interview process.

   o How did you and your students characterize your "teacher-self"?

   o How did you conceptualize yourself as a colleague to other faculty?

2. In reference to your narrative,

   o how long did the process take?

   o how did you feel when applying for the position?

   o how did you feel upon hearing you would be interviewing?

   o how did you feel after the interview?

   o how has your role in your campus community changed or stayed the same, even if they are perceptual changes?

o   how have relationships with colleagues, administration, and/or your students

changed or remained the same as a result of this experience?

3. Which colleagues/administration/students do you interact with on a regular basis?

o   What did you share with them about your interview experience?

o   What types of reactions did you get after sharing?

4. Which colleagues/administration/students do you interact with only periodically on

campus?

o   What did you share about your interview experience?

o   What types of reactions did you get after sharing?

5. How or where do you see yourself fitting into the campus community now and how do

you see yourself fitting into campus culture in the future?

o   What does your future on this campus look like to you?

6. How does being an adjunct inform your campus relationships?

o   How would you describe your relationship with your students prior to the

interview?

o   How would you describe your relationship with your students after the interview?

o   How would you or how have you shared your interview experience with your

students?

o   How does teaching as an adjunct inform relationships with full-time faculty?

o   How does being an adjunct inform relationships with other adjuncts on campus?

7. Talk about your interactions with administrators on campus.

o   Are there any administrators with whom you feel connected to? Why or why not?

- o How do you typically interact with administrators? How often do you interact with administrators? Has this changed since your interview?

8. What metaphor correlates with the tension I noticed in _____ part of your story?

9. Was there another time in your life in which you felt the same as _____ in your narrative? What was that event and how was it resolved?

10. Who else have you shared this story with?

- o How did they respond?

Appendix C: Institutional Review Board Documents

Appendix C

Institutional Review Board Documents

GEORGE FOX UNIVERSITY HSRC INITIAL REVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE   2191107   **Page 7**

Title: When's the Payoff?: A Narrative Inquiry into Adjunct Faculty Experiences

Principal Researcher(s): Tiffany Sarkisian (EdD Student)/Dr. Gary Sehorn & Dr. Karen Buchanan (Committee Chairs)

Date application completed: November 20,2019
(The researcher needs to complete the above information on this page)

COMMITTEE FINDING: For Committee Use Only

☑ (1) The proposed research makes adequate provision for safeguarding the health and dignity of the subjects and is therefore approved.

☐ (2) Due to the assessment of risk being questionable or being subject to change, the research must be periodically reviewed by the **HSRC** on a _____ basis throughout the course of the research or until otherwise notified. This requires resubmission of this form, with updated information, for each periodic review.

☐ (3) The proposed research evidences some unnecessary risk to participants and therefore must be revised to remedy the following specific area(s) on non-compliance:

☐ (4) The proposed research contains serious and potentially damaging risks to subjects and is therefore not approved.

_____   12/4/19

Chair or designated member   Date

Appendix D: Field Texts – Sketches of Chronological Events

Appendix D

Field Texts – Sketches of Chronological Events