

Searching the Academic Identity in Blending Speeches and Negotiated Tradition by the Entrepreneurial University

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Summary

Higher Education is under pressure to account for their performance, and this is affecting the academic identity. Chile is a good example because it has had one of the most studied higher education reforms, due to both its scope, and the context in which it occurred. The result is the coexistence of two discourses, the “academy” and the “entrepreneurial university”, that have created an academic identity characterized by the ways in which the speeches are appropriated, and affected the development of higher education. This study addresses the narrative of the aforementioned academic identity through the analysis of interpretative repertoires and subject positions, which construct an identity that negotiates between these discourses. The effects of academics perceptions of university identity are relevant to establish the core values in higher education.

Keywords: Academic Identity- Higher Education-Narrative Identity - Interpretative Repertoires

Introduction

The changes in the paradigm of higher education that have occurred worldwide have had an effect on the identity of the academic community that sustains them. Elements for dialog and the construction of knowledge need to be harmonized through demands for performance and self-financing (Clegg, 2008; Neelaveni & Manimaran, 2015), and with the formation of an identity oriented towards regulatory systems (Macfarlane, 2011; Archer, 2008; Carvalho, 2013; Argon, 2015). This context transformation has generated internal changes in institutions that conflict with generally homogenized policies, and have failed to articulate the individual dynamics of each institution (Suasnabar, 2001). In a context where privatization, trade liberation, and competition have molded national work, the changes that occurred in Chile after the reform of 1980 have created a system based on “entrepreneurship” (Bernasconi, Rojas 2003). A rational was imposed that allowed increase in production through a specialization of functions, reduced costs for students (SIES, 2011), and flexibility for the academic faculty (Macfarlane, 2011; Sisto, 2007). In Chile, the history of the universities is relatively short, given the advance of the Republic, the formation at a superior level becomes a driver of development facing the necessity of having a political systems that avoids anarchy (Sánchez, 2006). As such, universities were conceived as a reproductive motor of the elite (Robert, 2004), in opposition the medieval origin that is betrothed in European universities. The “Reforma Universitaria” or *University Reform* which took place from 1967-1973, rethought in Chile the co-government of professors and students, forms a continuum with the movements initiated as early as the 1920s. The *Reforma* had three goals: democratization, modernization and social commitment by the university. In the three fields there were great advances and the national university system radically changed as a consequence. With regards to the modernization, research as well as extension were developed and recognized as essential functions of the university. Also, new functions were presented, among them providing services, worker training, cultural integration, artistic creation and philosophical reflection. With the *Reforma*, the academic career notion arose and resulted in the administrative and financial organization of different institutions and placed emphasis on professor training, giving important scholarships for postgraduate studies.

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In 1971, with the coup d'état, the eight existing universities were intervened, by means of military rectors that assumed the role of university government previously distributed between diverse collegiate authorities and organisms. Public spending on education fell between 15 and 35% between 1974 and 1980, forcing universities to abandon free studies, and start to charge admission, looking for other forms of financing. Auto-financing of Chilean Universities grew from 13.5% to 26.9% on average between 1965 and 1980. The promulgation of law 3541, in 1980, established the characteristics of the new university paradigm, which was defined by its scientific mission and separated all political activism from its functions, developing an autonomy for their own values (Brünner, 1996). For universities, a scenario was generated in which resources were competitive, and awarded based on academic production criteria. Furthermore, the universities were moved into a neoliberal framework focused on the acquisition of resources in order to sustain their survival. The administrative discipline and the management that carried it out reconfigured the universities. (Sisto, 2007). A new institutionally was enacted with a corp of laws. They articulated the creation of new universities and Higher Education was massified. Subsidies from the state were reserved for public universities and an indirect fiscal contribution, is introduced as a means of incentive and award for quality. In parallel, the budget relationship between the government and the universities was modified, passing the assignation to research funds to a National Fund of Scientific and Technological Research (FONDECYT), where research projects are presented in a competitive system of judging by external experts. Transformation of the normative framework with the enactment of new laws established new forms of participation in the system, with a regulation based on autonomous actors and of predominantly technical character, linking state funds to achievements in quality assurance.

This transformation of the higher education system reflects a profound cultural change in Chilean society. The concept of the "Teaching State", or the state as an educator, changed from being the provider and responsible party for education, to a concept of "entrepreneurial university" based on market rules (Bernasconi and Rojas 2003). This concept alludes to managerial practices that were introduced inside the university government, to improve their efficient access to economic resources. Traditionally it was provided by the State but in this new paradigm a "university market" emerged, a place where university services (education and research) could be negotiated, and a "Good university" was more competitive when it could win a "competitive fund". For the academics the speeches built a model where he/she is only a worker. They needed to be productive for the knowledge society: making papers, winning projects and preparing a good human capital for the economic development. In the union of these two discourses one generation of academics was formed, through the negotiation of sometimes conflicting and other times complementary elements. The aim of this study is to understand how academics resolve these elements to build their own identity, exploring their subject positions that emerge from the interpretative repertoires.

Research Design and Methodology

The study was developed in one of the eight universities affected by the 80's reform. It is a regional and private institution with public service vocation. It's a good stage for observing the speeches with antagonistic effect. All of the academic selected have a labour relation with the institution. The elected institution carries out research, teaching, and extension, and is considered a "university with vocation in public service". Each person was contacted individually in order to maintain diversity in both work disciplines and gender attributes. All individuals hold a doctoral title and range from 37 to 47 years of age. Individual interviews were carried out with each participant using the structure of active interviewing proposed by Holstein and Gubrium (1995 and 2006). This modality was chosen because it allows us to recognize the capacity of co-construction of the data (Roulston, De Marrais, Lewis, 2001). The criteria to stop the academic selection were data saturation and this occurred with eight interviews. Three guiding concepts were used to address the following questions: (i) the reasons that led them to choose an academic career; (ii) what distinctive elements they considered relevant in an academic; (iii) how they socialized in and "academic community". With these guides, was possible to establish a perimeter where them development and put in action their identity. Each interview lasted sixty to ninety minutes; the audio was recorded and then transcribed on paper. The stories are understood as part of a narrative life, as patterns of meaning from which speakers build their identity (Reynolds, Wetherell and Taylor, 2007). The analysis tools are the interpretative repertoires (Potter, 1996) and subject positions (Edley, 2001 cited by Reynolds, Wetherell and Taylor, 2007).

Analytical Methods

All the interviews were transcript *ad verbatim* from de audio recorded source. Then the text variability and its function was identified. Subgroups and categories were delimited to visualize the meanings from the academics speeches. An interpretative sight allows the emergence of the repertoires, and the subject position that they allow. The academic identity will be the result of the discursive negotiations that those positions make possible.

Higher Education in Chile

Currently, national universities are divided between the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH), which groups the 25 public traditional universities, and the non-CRUCH, colloquially called "private universities". The Council of Rectors was created by law in order to ensure excellence in the educational, scientific, and cultural activities of the country, impacting the foundations of a new political, economic, and educative culture. In 1982 a new legal structure reorganized funding through the inclusion of a competition and award system that was established as state funding (direct or indirect) (Brünner, 1996). Then, while the regulatory structure organized the universities in a production model, universities, under the neoliberal policy, moved towards a discourse of service in the name of academic tradition. This crossing of discourses generated tension that needs to be elaborated by academics in order for it to have meaning, allowing them to configure it as it is. Ultimately, these crossings are producers of subjectivity since they affect the process of thinking, doing, and feeling (Reynolds, Wetherell, Taylor 2007; Wetherell, 2008). These subjectivities become the building blocks of identity, where people negotiate between a reflective and a competitive academia.

Construction of Identity - "Being Academic"

Nowadays, academia is restricted to a group of people belonging to institutions of the intellectual elite. Becher and Trowler (2001) label these groups as "academic tribes" that exist within universities, and heirs of historically over-determined processes. These groups establish values and disvalues for the processes of inclusion and exclusion that are used in the hierarchies within the academic profession. Patterns are built that sustain the formulation of value judgments oriented towards taking, where there is an underlying circulation of power within the faculty. Therefore, the academic is built from two conflicting roots; one stemming from the idea that the university is a space for reflection and social development that only an elite will be asked to be part of, and the other, from the idea of the university as a workplace where academics are subject to conditions of performance and management. The academic discourse is generated from statutes, CRUCH guidelines, and public discourse, which allow different ways to position the academic in society. For this reason academics identify themselves as the procurers of knowledge for society, describing themselves as thoughtful and distancing themselves from the business world. Production discourse denominates this as "entrepreneurial university", which, constructed from the evaluation criteria that funding for academic work distributes, allows it to be positioned with few exceptions, the validation notion or being recognized reflect precariousness against assessment. The academics that have started their work have integrated both discourses, negotiating traditional aspects and production requirements. Culturally, they have absorbed the elements of competitiveness and evaluation, redefining them through academic liberty. The necessity of publishing, like the necessity for dialogue with others, has become a distinctive element of academia. Thus, in the mixture of these elements new and different positions are taken, starting from an interpretative repertoire, allowing the articulation of a coherent identity within the tension of the discourses. Each of the three interpretative repertoires identified take positions that allow the formation and fulfillment of an identity plasticity.

Table 1: Presents the Analysis Structure

interpretative repertoires	Subject Position	Description
The university as privileged space (The university is a space for an elite group of people, that are called upon or chosen because of their distinctive qualities)	"It was always easy to me." - the academic as a talented person.	Academics describes themselves as distinguished from a large group, usually "discovered" by some teacher, but in all cases described it as a calling and choice due to some distinctive and personal quality.
	"We have to lead our students." - The wise academic	An academic is someone "who knows" they have an exceptional command of knowledge, and therefore, is seen as a reference, either in the theme of research or in relationships with students.
	"There are always academics that show how far you can go." - the academic that goes above and beyond	The academic wants to and feels the need to transcend, either in the training of students or recognition of his/her contribution to knowledge.
	"Generate spaces of reflection, and of pluralist free-thinking." - The academic is and should be free to think, do, and say	As a legacy of the above, the academic is, and should be, free to make a contribution that he/she feels is necessary.
Knowledge is the academic's task (at the university, the basis of all work or academic life is oriented around knowledge, as a process, result, and motivation. It is from there that the academic emerges as such.	"Nobody can teach what they do dominate" - The academic as a creator of new knowledge	The academic is such in his relationship with knowledge, and therefore is a privileged creator of it.
	"To know how to teach makes it easier." - The academic is a mediator of knowledge	As a derivation of the above, everything learned needs to be shared. The academic is distinctive because he/she shares created knowledge either in training or within the community of scholars.
	"Here, in the university you cannot lock yourself in your office." - The academic establishes links (The academic shares and communicates his knowledge)	From this position, the academic is connected to a network of knowledge. Academic work is personal but must be connected to others. The sense of community is to create dialogue.
The time-space dimension is different in the university than in a company (the academic processes demand management and reflection, for which they are worthy of a different pace and environment for their development)	"The academic can make time." - The academic as a contemplative being because researching has it's own pace	The academic is a witness to a process that has it's own pace, and whereupon the academic takes a reflexive position.
	"The responsibility of being academic" - The academic rigor derived from method	The academic is characterized by rigor and method that distinguishes him/her from non-academic peers
	"One wants to stay at the university." - The academic rejects company life	Respecting the time of academic process and appropriate the rigor to do so, requires an irrevocable resignation.

Repertoire I - The University as a Privileged Space

The training of academics is related to the repertoires that are attributed to the university (Brand, 2003). Therefore, a complex identity cannot be reduced to enclosed identities, but in another dialogue can give origin to "cosmopolitan poli-identities", where each is a result of the mixture of cultural footsteps, dialects, customs, myths, and history (Alsina and Medina, 2006). Academic discourse, even for new academics, is impregnated with a tradition in which the university occupies a privileged social space. Therefore, concepts such as quality and equality have influenced policies, affecting the discussion in terms of "academic freedom" (Bernasconi y Rojas, 2003). Although there is a university reserved for a special group where the truth, and commitment to it, reaches the character of "vocation", there also exists the institutional university that is administered by and affiliated with the notion of "management". The concept of efficiency coexists with freedom. In either case, the university does not lose the idea of its space as a place of meaning, and the academic exists when relating to it. This is what Becher and Trowler (2001) denominate as the relationship between the academic tribe as a culture, and disciplinary knowledge as their territory.

The speakers indicate this relationship using expressions such as “academic responsibility”, “rigor”, and “academic excellence”. The academic is referred to as someone who is linked to knowledge, having “satisfaction” in what they do, and mixing in the notion of production. The effective university appears when assessment and competition are the terms that describe it. The reference is external, such as when Edith expresses “I can be talking nonsense over and over, but since I have a PhD, there is a status”. The speakers refer to themselves in different ways in this crossing of discourses: Academia versus Institutionalism. They adopt different positions that ultimately determine identity based on a repertoire. For them, the university is established as an elite area, and members are not there by chance. In the discourse, the university is resented as a rector of human evolution, and a space for reflection and disciplinary development (Derrida, 2001, cited by Sisto, 2007). There are four subject positions adopted by the academics. From these, academics construct a notion of the world where the university becomes a micro-space reserved for them. Academics reveal in their discourse a lack of orientation towards what literature has called “the commercialization of the university system” (Carvalho, 2013, Sisto, 2007), since they present themselves in a classic position of academia.

a) “*It was always easy for me.*”- Subject positions 1: *The academic as a talented person*

From this position in all the interviews speakers present themselves as demonstrating a special talent that in some cases reinforces the idea of being selected, discovered, or called to enter academia. It is presented that entering is through invitation and as a discovery, and the notion of it as a voluntary act closely linked to the repertoire of freedom, which persists in the discourse.

Extract 1: In this extract Angelina refers to herself as someone not interested in being part of academia, but she was called upon/discovered.

-Now, at what minute, now that you mention it you are a professional engineer, when did you begin to see your... your academic future as something real in your life? I mean, when did you move from something professional to the academic area? [...] Because I imagine that the first year of school you did not have...

- No, no,no,no, no. Actually, that happened because of a teacher from the Institute of Mathematics, who was, coincidentally, my head teacher in primary school, I was in my fourth year at the university and he practically forced me to become a teaching assistant. And... I always refused, because I considered that... that it was not something I liked, I mean, I never thought or imagined becoming a teacher before. However, this was a rewarding experience, and from that moment on I started to teach. I graduated in '98, the same year as the famous Asian crisis, when it was really... ehhh... really hard to find a job and ... the first opportunities that I had were on the one hand consulting, and on the other, teaching. However, at that time, I had already realized what I wanted to do. Honestly, in relation to the academic stage, when one talks about teaching in research, what I really prefer is... teaching classes.

The expression “But at that point, I had realized that it was what I liked” allows her to reinforce the idea of choice. From the narration of this biographical trajectory emerges an identity linked to the notion of “talent”, the academic then connects himself to the discourse of the university as an institution of the elite, and is positioned as someone, that in front of other options, (“the first opportunities that I had were on the one hand consulting, and on the other, teaching”) decides.

a) “*We need to lead our students.*” - Subject positions 2: *The academic as a wise person*

The academic-teacher is presented as a guide in an asymmetrical relationship with the student. This relationship becomes stressful because, while the student is described as having needs, he is simultaneously a critic of the teacher, who has positioned himself as “the expert”. So, while “teaching” is constructed as an altruistic academic action, the “apprentice” is described as demanding. This extract takes the position of the teacher has the so-called “expert of knowledge”.

Extract 2: Angelina expresses her relationship of teaching to her academic work..

-So do you perceive the academic role as someone that guides them...as someone that can help them to follow a certain path?

- Exactly. As an obligation, because I demand it of you, and due to their lack of motivation and their apathy, but that should not be my role.

- Then what should your responsibility be?

- To transfer knowledge, I mean, not like here, like, like a teacher, let's say, in the moment I get into the classroom with the kids I should teach, I should teach them or give them the tools so that later they can succeed in their career. Eh, by the way, I am the teacher of the introductory subject of Food Engineering, so my responsibility is pretty much that, I need to give them all the tools and vocabulary so they can start building their...their knowledge in the school of...[deleted name]

b) "There are always academics that show you how far you could go." - Subject positions 3: The academic that goes above and beyond

The university is still thought of as an elite trainer, which creates tension with the widespread growth of education. This generates a complaint in the academic-teacher against an external demand for results that do not depend on him/her.

Extract 3: In this extract, Adolfo comments on how his vision of being a teacher has changed.

- And now?, how do you see it now?

- It has changed a lot, in the sense that in the beginning the researchers did absolutely nothing, since our goal was teaching, to generate eh.. postgraduate degrees, to create curricula and new careers such as Technical Engineering in '94 and Civil Engineering in '98. During the year that civil engineering was created, we mostly gave emphasis to postgraduate studies, thus, I went to Valparaiso for two years to study Computer Engineer at the University of Santa Maria.

- Did you study at Santa Maria?

- Yes, to get a masters.

-Tell me more please, what else did you do?

-After that, I focused on participating in conferences, and there, we realized that there were Chilean seminars about computation, and that it was important to publish on a national and also international level. Since then we started to participate in international conferences, principally in Latin American, such as CLEI, which is the Latin American Conference on Information Technology.

The narrative describes doing something is more and more related to "the outside", and it is "outside" that the research, the notion of participating in disciplinary spaces such as conferences, and the expression of "publishing at a national and international level" implies a change: from an academia that you choose, and one that demand it of you. The university as a place of transcendence starts making demands, connecting with the discourse of efficiency where the speaker refers to aspects such as "production" and "being validated". The academic as a subject of the elite hides to make the way for one who struggles; in some cases he has to compete, or in others be accepted. This position is built from the effective university, but is rationalized from the university as academia. Knowledge is valid when it is recognized as such.

c) "Create spaces for reflection, and for pluralistic, free-thinking." - Subject positions 4: The academic is and should be free to think, do, and say.

Academics value and promote freedom of doing and thinking, making a clear distinction between "traditional universities" and "the others". A compromise between excellence and freedom seems to be part of the construction that participants make of their identity. Academic work is characterized by its own guidelines. Due to the ability to "choose" the academic life, it seems that the university should reward this decision. This autonomy, conveyed as a "university without conditions" according to the notion of Dariela, is ultimately constrained by demands. The phrase "I think you have to visualize conflicts, the theoretical conflicts should not be hidden, I mean, I think it does not make sense not to be declared as, as an option. To keep an apparent calm" is significant. This notion of freedom is expressed by others interviewees as the coexistence of multiple views, differing from it as a component of university life, freedom is the ability to coexist with a different "other".

Extract 4: Dariela strongly expresses the idea of freedom,

-At first sight, what was the perception of academics?

In general they were people from the left side, speaking openly and directly, but eh... in general it wasn't an open place where you could discuss it, no, actually, I had problems with the director of postgraduate studies, because he was the director of the PhD in Art History, and he never accepted what I had proposed as my thesis project, even though it got accepted before, so the fact that I was accepted and then rejected became a permanent conflict.

- What an interesting comment. So if I am clear, what you are talking about has to do with the freedom that you are looking for in academia. How would you elaborate your academic training?
- Wow, look, I believe that the institute of philosophy at the Catholic University, is a tremendous plus, that's how I've seen it since my undergraduate degree, eh... While in my postgraduate degree I have always been able to research what I want, the way I want. Unfortunately, that did not happen in this other university, and sometimes it is hard because they talk about universities having lines and because of those lines teachers do not want to work overtime or review any thesis that has nothing to do with their way of thinking. I believe we have that opportunity here.
- And in this freedom we are exploring now, do you think there are also certain demands?
- From the students or academics?
- From the students, the academics, and the institution.
- Personally, I would like more critical problems to be discussed, especially relating to the church and gender roles, for example, which is something I am very interested in. I think you have to visualize conflicts, the theoretical conflicts should not be hidden, I mean, I think it does not make sense not to be declared as, as an option. To keep an apparent calm, I would like it to be much more explicit.
- Do you see your research as something powerful?
- Yes, I think it will be very powerful one day, yes

Another academic, comments how her professional life has changed upon entering into the academic world. It is very interesting how she distinguishes (after the interview) that even though she started teaching, talking about research is what finally builds her notion of being an academic. When talking about academic demands, she says "academic excellence, rigor, academic rigor, seriousness, scientific curiosity, yes totally, now that you mention it, that's it."

Repertoire II - Knowledge is the task of the Academic

In this repertoire academics give their own interpretation from two points of view, the production of knowledge usually related to the act of researching, and the transmission of knowledge in relation to the professional training and the disclosure of research results. The central role of the university is well known for revolving around knowledge, and the institution is declared as being devoted to the study that enables the discovery and communication of the truth, through the cultivation of science, arts, and technical skills. This contributes to human culture procuring its own, integral development². It is from here that academics appropriate a task of knowledge, building, transferring, sharing, and finally owning a knowledge that represent authority and status in society. Here, academics are described from three subject positions.

a) "No one can teach what they do not dominate.". Subject position 1: The academic is the creator of new knowledge.

In this position, the academic is known as the expert, not for their expertise to do something, but for the rigor and method that is needed to be an academic. In the university, the focus of all work or academic life is oriented around knowledge, as a process, results, and motivation. It is for this reason that the academic emerges as such (Rowe and Brass, 2008). On the one hand the academic is the owner of knowledge, it is an active process first, in terms of authority (there is a domain), and getting involved. The academic has to explore ("it has to do with finding an explanation of how things are, and then being able to communicate something"). Secondly, the academic extends knowledge to the field of communication, linking transmission with teaching, hence, positioning himself/herself as a teacher with the goal of transmission ("nobody can teach what they do not dominate").

Extract 6: Antonio, in the following extract, configures these three positions using his own image, and the image of his family.

- So, how do you link all of this with teaching, which meant a lot to you in the beginning, and researching, which seems to be something really important for you now? And how do you combine them?

- Yes, of course, I believe that nobody can teach what they do not dominate, and in order to dominate a field, you should have knowledge generation processes, or at least wonder what it is.

² This is established in the general statutes of the institution

Because, even though my father is not a teacher, a formal teacher, he is a very good communicator of what he likes, and my mother has spent her whole life teaching; then in relation to management or construction of knowledge, I do not think that I have ever seen communication separated from that knowledge

b) "To know how to teach is to make things easier." Subject position 2: The academic is a mediator of knowledge

The academic is positioned in a traditional role that integrates teaching, research, and extension (Macfarlane, 2011). In every case, the interviewees showed preference to the field of research instead of extension. In this excerpt Abel overlaps both discourses: academia is a place that exists in the university, and where knowledge created has to be transmitted. Thus, the function of teaching has returned as a way to transfer knowledge.

Extract 7: Abel is asked about the significance of being at the university.

- To be an academic, somehow, seems to happen because you are in the place where you could become one.
- The only places you can find academia in Chile is in the universities, I do not see academics in enterprises, no.
- But, maybe [become one] if you could research in an institute, an institute for investigation.
- Well, certainly, if there were an institute for research, I would certainly be part of it, but still be connected to the university. I insist it does not make sense to research if you do not transfer what you know, and the only way to do that is through the students, in the classroom.

c) "to demonstrate that he does research and that his jobs are referenced" Subject position 3: The academic shares and communicates his knowledge.

The academic positions himself/herself as a supportive articulator of knowledge since it is no longer enough to participate in the creation of knowledge. One must also diffuse it among peers, which is linked to the role of teaching. This fact, considering that flexible work has externalized such a role, is the result of a legacy of the traditional view on academics (Collinson, 2004). This identification is also linked to certain constructions of power, since from this solidary action comes the action of former labor networks oriented towards production requisites. Identity defines this a demand of the entrepreneurial university and it is meant as an act of sharing. Regarding knowledge, Abel describes himself from the academic point of view as a solitary being, with the notion of sharing being defined as part of the knowledge process and a basis of academic work ("Here we do not hide information. If a friend knows something, he sees you, explains it to you, and teaches you."), though you also have to make yourself seen. The link between a reflexive, caring, and communicative academy is observed, "it teaches" though the personal undertaking "to be recognized", and publish online, are elements of the discourse more focused on the production. He is positioned in a philanthropic act relating to the knowledge that flows through the academy, as opposed to the company. In academic work, motivation and commitment to others, as part of interpersonal relations, becomes an essential framework for the creation of identity. The sense of community, of peers, and of the school is referred to by individuals interviewed as an essential concept in their lives as academics (Martin and Dawson, 2009).

Extract 8: Abel highlights the relationship of sharing among academics.

- The decision of doing a PhD is not easy, that is what I mean... you have to know what you lose and accept that.
- So what do you get from all of this?
- A more personal satisfaction, I mean, there is something, "we always laugh at with Juan Pablo" which is like egomaniac, he likes to be quoted, likes to show his work, and demonstrate that he does research and that his jobs are referenced, there is also something from that point of view (hits and steps).
- That last comment is very interesting, and to whom do you mean?
- From your peers. What you are really looking for is to find approval from your peer, that is the truth.
- And in the relationship with peers, you are going to have some peers that you are close to and those who you aren't, right?
- Yes, but in general the environment is like... is like, there is academia, at least I don't... I see it as there is not like a company in which you have to hide information, not here at least. If a friend knows something, he sees you, explains it to you, and teaches you."

There is a self-learning, and by being an academic you never stop learning. So, there is a more global view of the academic task, this is identified as a citizen of a broad context, mainly influenced by the way in which universities in Latin America have addressed the Bologna process started in Europe (Robertson, 2009).

Repertoire III - The Time-Space Dimension is Different in the University than in a Company

Academic processes require some management and reflection which makes them deserve a different pace and environment for their development. The third repertoire complements the other two, where the temporal relationship is different, characteristic of a more reflective task whose motivation is altruistic (create and transmit knowledge), though it is also constrained by requirements of validity and recognition. In some interviews participants mentioned that the time to obtain a "publication ISI" was not considered at the time they were being evaluated. Punnett (2008) states that despite the fact that forms of labor flexibility are present in universities, they have lowered the job stability of the academic, and publishing requirements are seen as a way to job security; the author refers to them as "academic challengers". The academic then configures himself/herself in defense of a production that is not governed by an imperative of quantity, seen as a classic look at a reflexive work from the requirements of rigor, and a method that does not allow urgency. The speakers separated themselves from their professional peers, because they are motivated by knowledge. In this repertoire three positions were identified. The first views the academic based on a delivery basis, where time is given to the process, not the outcome. In the second, this temporality is justified by the existence of method, and a necessary and unquestionable rigor for an academic community. And, the third articulates the other two, since living in the academic space is an act of irrevocable resignation.

a) "The academic can make time." Subject position 1: The academic as a contemplative being, because researching takes its own time.

Macfarlane (2010) reviews how the emergence of a specialization in the functions university can change the academic identity to a professional identity in many of those working in higher education. However, the identity of the academic persists in a tripartite role of research, teaching, and extension. This academic appropriates processes whose times are characteristic to academia, and it is because of this an element of tension was created in some interviews, arguing that required results were not always on time. Orlando expresses the need for entertainment, relating it to availability, in the narration the academic is broken down into different times, hence the notion of leisure. The time of the academic is unstructured, but follows the pace of the academic process. Other participants refer to it as "a necessary timing for research" and that most of the time they spend their holidays and weekends doing it not because there isn't enough time, but because the pace is different. Space and academic time is different from its business counterpart. It is mentioned in other interviews that companies care about "applicability" impression, which the academic does not share. Orlando states it as the "capacity and willingness to be an academic all the time."

Extract 9: Orlando expresses that being academic is a gratuitous act.

- As an academic (6 seconds) I believe that I would look for commitment, I do not think that I would make a list about academic excellence or how much they know. I would ask for dedication, commitment... the word is too manipulated, so I am looking for something else (smiles), however, this pretty much has to do with the availability, because many times even includes the possibility of inventing, it requires leisure, but leisure that gives way to creative leisure, for example: let's go and draw on Saturday, for example, on the hills of Valparaíso, things like that. Thus, to go on a Saturday, outside of the academic schedule, to draw in Valparaíso, requires availability and energy to do it. An artist wakes up on a Sunday and starts painting, he does not work office hours, that is what I call gratitude, the capacity of being an academic all the time, not only in the classroom, but because he is building at home and at work, maybe the word academic is strong, but this is the way it is.
- What other word would you like to use instead?
- Ehm... (5 seconds) not teacher for sure, mmm... (3 seconds) I am not sure, honestly. (5 seconds) It can't be the word teacher because it immediately has certain operative characteristics that I do not like, let's use the word proactive academic instead.

In this description, the discourse of the academy takes supremacy, leisure time to invent is a time that is not subject to effectiveness, however, he takes the speech of production at a later stage of the interview and expresses "what I see inside of the organization chart is what we could call a real academic, an academic who reaches a number of parameters... my criticism is perhaps that there are many immeasurable parameters needed to build a good academic". Therefore both discourses are organized, where even more components are recognized that can also be subject to evaluation.

b) "The responsibility of being an academic." Subject position 2: The academic works with rigor and method

The academic rigor and the existence of method are recurring issues in the description made by the participants themselves, this is also linked with the institution in regards to the perception of prestige over other universities described as less serious. Describes what it means to find a firmer, but not exclusive, point of view. In the interviews, academics refer to a community of speakers, where the worth of their voice comes from the rigor and method they address the creation of knowledge ("there are people with different readings, with different readings, and with different approaches but from the rigor of science").

Extract 10: Patricia tells of her experience of being "enchanted" with academic life. In this excerpt she

- Because it was already a different as a school, even though they had a lot of teachers with a classical and traditional viewpoint, when we were there we had a lot of active movements asking for academic excellence and they shut down the school for that same reason (smiles). So that was a little bit of a traumatic experience as a school, but it was also an opportunity that presented a conflict, that same conflict that made me emigrate and try other possibilities, because the Chilean reality is not enough, the school one either, but I thought "well, I have to bet on my own capacities".
- Do you feel that going through that experience, even having to deal with the school shutting down, has characterized what it means for you to be an academic?
- Yes.
- How has it formed you?
- For sure, I mean academic excellence, rigor, the academic rigor, seriousness, and scientific curiosity. Yes totally, now that you mention it for sure.
- And how do you...?
- I mean, I imagine the university is not full of people... that I am here to make friends, or have the same visions as my boss because there are people with different points of view, different approaches, but from the rigor of science.

c) "One wants to stay at the university." Subject position 3: The academic rejects company life

In the words of academics, the university contradicts the space of a "professional life", where the option of an academic life is positioned from a vocational nature, thus speakers have "rejected" what is considered "working as the others". Therefore, the university becomes a community with a valued membership that lies in the recognition of what other peers do. Orlando mentions that a questioning exists, that there is a crucial time in which academic life is a decision, an idea supported by saying "in my situation I had a different path". The business sector is seen as a different world to that of academia, which does not harmonize with its vocation to research (Brunner, 2003). This trajectory is seen as long, slow, and difficult.

Extracto 11: Orlando is questioned about the possibility of going back to a non-academic work.

- Have you ever thought about working in the private sector?, Or did you already leave that behind?
- In the beginning, I was worried about my future, it happened while seeing how classmates, from the same year of architecture, were getting their degree and went off to work. But, in my situation everything was different, I stayed and remained in academia for a long time, even though I felt that I was locking myself into academia. Also, you wonder about your professional experience, which is something that is necessary to teach. Nevertheless, I believe that the school a few years ago, let's say five years ago, succeeded in creating an experience in technical assistance, it was very discreet and without very professional projects, in personal terms, but mainly related to social impact, such as: the underground project of the fifth region, and projects with the city hall of Valparaiso. Actually, I was part of one in 2005 or in 2006, which was related to community centers in the same place and dealt with consulting services at that time called Valpomio o PRDUV (Recovery and Urban Development Plan). In that city, I had the opportunity to find my own profession, a very interesting profession because it was interdisciplinary, we worked with psychologists from a school, engineers, and we created a team. To respond to that professional requirement, I personally had the opportunity to face a totally different experience, I was in charge of citizen participation, I learned a lot and I had the opportunity to show all of what I learned through teaching and working with degrees. For example, some architects, two students of the program and I, have just finished creating a participative process in San Fernando, with very good results. So, teaching also feeds the professional experience, I see the professional experience, but from my teaching identity. It is not hard for me to separate this in strict terms since, for example, I am a teacher of the university, school [deleted names] and after six I go close myself in a room, where I do whatever is necessary to make money.

Academic position is constructed in contrast to the professional, not from doing, what refers to as “an encounter”, but as a different experience of doing that is more evident in the last lines where he expresses “I do not want this” as the end of a process that begins when he says “I remained”. Thus, “becoming an academic” also involves “not making oneself”, where all participants mentioned that in the professional world, they could be economically more stable by “being a manager”, “make more money”. However, all of them also confirmed during the interview that they do not regret what they are doing.

Conclusions

The identity of the academic results from the duality of discourses that came to be due to the reform of 1980. One traditional concept about the universities is mixed with the modern speeches about competition and results. The neoliberal ideas demand from the academics a behavior oriented to the ratios and economics impact. The tradition alludes to the true as the unique master. Young academics need to travel between them and find their identity. In the current context of multiculturalism, globalization is found to have classical notions of the university in order to build a network of discourses from which the academic constructs an identity. Young academics are inheritors of one reformed university system and they live between the past voices and the neoliberal context. They require the negotiation of the individual tensions of these crossings, and the articulation of an identity that allows the academic to be consistent in how he/she lives with these tensions. This identity is formed from different positions, which may respond to the needs of the environment, and also to the needs of each individual, without having to confront any of the dominant discourses. It is interesting to prove that the changes in the system of higher education have been profound, but within academics many elements of the traditional visions about them still exist, opening the question of how much has the university actually changed. It is possible to say that is in younger academics where there are speeches in conflict, given that in the universities affected by the Chilean reform, they have their identities in a crossing line. They need to negotiate a field of possibilities, and who is the academic it is not completely resolved.

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