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Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences: Faculty Responses to the Entrepreneurial University

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Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences: Faculty Responses to the Entrepreneurial
University

by

Deanna Barcelona Bullard

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Adult, Career, and Higher Education
College of Education
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Table of Contents

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Abstract	vi
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Statement of Problem	3
Research Questions	6
Importance of Study	7
Scope of Study	9
Limitations	10
Chapter Two: A Review of the Literature	12
Academic Capitalism	14
Word Usage	19
Faculty Opinion	23
In Favor	24
Against	28
An Entrepreneurial Setting	32
Globalization	32
Neo-liberal Policy	35
A Shifting Fiscal Resource Base	37
Academic Capitalism and Faculty Work Theory	42
Resource Dependence	44
Institutionalism	47
A Dual Theoretical Perspective	50
Chapter Three: Methodology	56
About Me	57
Data Collection	58
The Sample	60
Analysis	65
Validity and Reliability	67
Chapter Four: Research Findings	71
Three Public Research Universities	72

University of Florida	73
Florida State University	75
University of South Florida	76
Forms of Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences	78
Grant Activity	79
The Research Center	88
Capitalizing the Curriculum	90
Isolated Examples	93
Other Indications of Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences	95
Recent Talk	95
Tenure, Promotion, and Hiring	97
Junior versus Senior Faculty	100
Pressures from Administration	103
Fund-Raising	105
A Market of Ideas	107
Beyond Economic Value	112
Advantages and Disadvantages	117
Advantages	117
Disadvantages	122
The Future	125
Along Discipline Lines	127
Resources in Criminology	127
Theoretical Considerations	128
Resource Dependence	128
Institutionalism	132
Globalization	137
Chapter Five: Conclusions and Discussion	140
Summary	140
Implications	141
Unevenness	142
Still Valued	143
Faculty Work Patterns	144
Traditional Academic Culture	146
Theory	147
Practice	148
The Academic Capitalism Continuum	148
Further Research	151
Conclusion	153
References Cited	155
Appendices	164
Appendix A: Interview Guide	165
Appendix B: Informed Consent	166

Appendix C: Email Drafts
Appendix D: IRB Letter of Approval

167
168

About the Author

End Page

List of Tables

Table 1: Divergent Foci of Institutional and Resource Dependence Perspectives	53
Table 2: Demographics of Participants	62

List of Figures

Figure 1: Academic Capitalism Continuum

149

Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences:
Faculty Responses to the Entrepreneurial University

Deanna Barcelona Bullard

ABSTRACT

This study explores how faculty in the social sciences experience and respond to academic capitalism. Academic capitalism is about market and market-like activity at the university and professorial efforts to secure external money. This research expands existing literature which has focused on the hard or natural sciences, and other areas more closely aligned with the market.

Thirty-seven qualitative research interviews were conducted between March and July of 2006 with professors of sociology, criminology, economics at the University of Florida, Florida State University, and the University of South Florida. Results reveal academic capitalism in the social sciences is mostly about grant activity and involves essentially no technology transfer or patenting. Further, that grant activity is somewhat sporadic, still of marginal concern, and more important to junior faculty than for tenured and senior faculty. Findings also suggest academic capitalism in the social sciences is

about a market of ideas, based on the value of positive social change and quality research, rather than economic yield. Despite their small contribution to the university bottom-line, professors in the social sciences find value in what they do.

The theoretical component of the study proposed institutionalism and resource dependence theory as useful frameworks for viewing academic capitalism. The findings confirm the usefulness of institutionalism and resource dependence theory, but also add notions of globalization. Academic capitalism is about gaining legitimacy (institutionalism), responding to external constituencies to enhance revenue flows and buffer the institution from resource reductions (resource dependence), and the influence of such larger trends as commodification in the global marketplace (globalization).

Chapter One

Introduction

There are seemingly endless, often competing demands on today's American higher education system. Conflicting missions, rising costs, increased accountability, and a diversifying student body create an endless source of curiosity for study. Through time, higher education continues to evolve by interacting with major forces such as global economics, postmodern culture, and neo-liberal politics. As a major social institution spanning significant time and space, higher education is itself a considerable force. Just as a capitalist culture and economic systems influence higher education, universities and colleges possess considerable power – economically, politically, and culturally.

One way to study the ways in which these dominant forces interact is through a concept called “academic capitalism.” Although the term may seem like an oxymoron, academic capitalism is a literal description of a growing phenomenon influencing higher education. In fact, joining the two seemingly dissonant ideas precisely captures the point (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). Among scholars of higher education, academic capitalism is a phrase used to describe current trends related to the influence of business ideals upon colleges and universities. How such an interaction is being played out in certain areas, namely the social sciences, is the primary focus of this study.

The term academic capitalism is defined as “market and market-like behaviors on the part of universities and faculty” (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997, p.11). Market refers to for-profit activity and market-like is competition among faculty and institutions for

resources. Academic capitalism is about the motive for profit-making activities that result in instructional and research products “close to the market” (Slaughter and Leslie). “Students have become consumers, colleges have turned into vendors, and research is being commercialized in applied fields marking a new era in higher education as an entrepreneurial institution” (Chait, 2002).

The manifestations of academic capitalism are numerous. Competition and market forces on campus can be seen in recent increases in campus outsourcing, student consumerism, vocationalization of the curriculum, increases in part-time faculty, and the adoption of privatized models of internal financing. Individually, this trend is manifested in such activity as competition for research and/or training grants, patenting, consulting, copyrighting, and test or courseware development. Other instances of academic capitalism range from pharmaceutical patenting and the creation of spin-off companies to the selling of university logos and sports paraphernalia. By academic capitalism, the literature also means university-industry partnerships, increases in student tuition and fees, and the elimination of programs of little or no value to the market.

Academic capitalism as it relates specifically to faculty is best defined as “a situation in which the academic staff of publicly funded universities operate in an increasingly competitive environment, deploying their academic capital, which may comprise teaching, research, consultancy skills or other applications or forms of academic knowledge” (Deem, 2001, p. 14). More specifically, academic capitalism is defined as “professorial market or market-like efforts to secure external moneys” (Awbery, 2002, p. 2).

In their analysis of academic capitalism, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) argue that, as a result of change over the past 30-35 years, faculty find themselves in a much more competitive environment that is closer than ever to the market. The most significant assertion that Slaughter and Leslie (2001) make in relation to this study is that academic capitalism is “restructuring higher education” and promoting “substantive organizational changes.” According to them, such shifts can be seen in internal resource allocation, departmental organization, growth of administration, and division of academic labor regarding teaching and research. In addition, their work focuses on a narrow range of academic disciplines.

Individual faculty members engaged in these market and market-like activities are what Slaughter and Leslie call academic capitalists. Academic capitalists are members of the faculty involved in research contracting, patenting, royalties, and spin off companies that generate revenue for the institution and in some cases faculty member as well. The literature on those participating is considerable, but little is said about faculty not directly involved. In the metaphoric brick wall of knowledge, lack of information regarding the ways in which faculty on the margins of this movement are affected causes a sizeable hole.

Statement of Problem

Capitalist pressures are inherently competitive, which means there will be winners as well as losers since market forces inevitably lead to inequities. Thus, the move towards a more entrepreneurial university means different things for different people. In other words, the influence and manifestations of academic capitalism vary along multiple lines. “Clark (1998) himself notes that academics from different disciplines may respond

differently to entrepreneurial pressures... [so] that local factors may constrain or support entrepreneurial activities” (Deem, 2001, p. 16). Globally, academic capitalism fluctuates by country. Within the United States, it is displayed differently in community colleges than it is universities, with variation among private, public, and for profit sectors. Impacts differ also among groups of individuals found within each institution. In other words, academic capitalism is pervasive, but uneven. “Engaging in academic capitalism is thus no straightforward or unidimensional phenomenon but takes a variety of forms in different disciplines and organisational settings” (Ylijoki, 2003, p. 327).

In discussing the state of affairs created by academic capitalism, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) warn, “If institutions and faculty are not successful, there is no bureaucratic recourse; they do without” (p. 11). When phrases such as ‘build on strengths’ and ‘streamline’ enter an industry, as they have in higher education, it bring with it a concern for departments or units seen, for whatever reason, as unsuccessful, or no longer relevant. Slaughter and Leslie are not the only scholars that have raised this concern. Carroll and Beaton (2000) warn that “with globalization, market-relevant disciplines and professions become favoured” depending on relevance to the market (p. 72). In discussing competition for scarce resources, Awbery (2002) writes “fields ‘close to the market,’ such as business and engineering, continue to gain power while those less close, such as liberal arts, are losing influence” (p. 4). Brint (2002) also reminds us that academic capitalism has “lead in some cases to hard times for... departments that do not appear to pay their own way” (p. 252). In discussing their results of studying “entrepreneurial faculty” in the life sciences, Powell and Owen-Smith (1998) write, “very few university based fields are likely to have the same potential for commercialization of research [as

the life sciences]” (p. 125). For all the unknowns about academic capitalism, one thing is clear. It impacts groups of individuals within higher education inconsistently.

The idea that organizational units of higher education are competing for power and resources in a capitalist market system begs the question of sustainability for those who do not function well in the existing market. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) point out that “as a result of the increasing intersection of professors *in particular fields within the market* [italics added], we see a new hierarchy of prestige and privilege emerging within universities” (p. 141). According to Young (s.d.), “Those of us doing politically unpopular projects in the Humanities and Social Sciences may find ourselves in an increasingly vulnerable position as research dollars become the new criteria for advancement or even employment” (p. 4).

A study about the influence of academic capitalism on university researchers in Finland also finds differences among units (Ylijoki, 2003). Ylijoki concludes, “Engaging in academic capitalism is everyday reality in all units but takes a diversity of forms depending on how close or distant the field is from the market” (p. 307). As mentioned, behavior deemed capitalistic inevitably creates a binary of “haves” and “have-nots.” However, the reality might be better represented by a continuum with humanities at one end the life sciences on the other with social sciences falling somewhere in between. Who falls into what category can be inferred by the following quote by Aronowitz (2000) “surely, except for those working in the applied fields of medical and business ethics, for example, philosophers cannot expect to make a living in the private sector” (p. 12). To me, this is problematic.

Further, literature on and discussion of the subject thus far has been partial, focusing on areas of the university that most naturally give rise to profit making activities. Most cases provide detailed accounts of entrepreneurial faculty activity in bioengineering, pharmacology, and computer science, with little or no mention of academic capitalism in the humanities or social sciences. The dilemma then, is that a competitive environment dictated by the market in higher education should raise warning flags to units not in alignment with that market. Is it possible that faculty work in the social sciences is marketable? It is problematic that the literature notably lacks explanations about how and in what ways that might be, especially if it impacts the alignment of power and resources within institutions.

If academic capitalism is as pervasive as some authors make it out to be, then it is imperative that we see how it influences faculty in disciplines less close to the market. Indeed, “there is a need for more empirical research on the impact of academic capitalism on the academic culture across types of institutions *and disciplines* [italics added] in order to comprehensively assess the implications” (Mendoza and Berger, 2005). In partial response to this call, the focus of this research is to explore dimensions of academic capitalism in the social sciences.

Research Questions

As such, this study strives to answer two primary research questions. 1) How are professors in the social sciences experiencing academic capitalism? 2) How are professors in the social sciences responding to academic capitalism? To answer these questions, I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with faculty at three public

universities in the State of Florida, the methods of which are further described in Chapter Three.

Importance of the Study

The significance of this study is threefold. First, it seeks to fill a void in the literature. Explicit attention to faculty in the social sciences is notably lacking in writing about academic capitalism. Disciplines that are covered include science and engineering (Mendoza, 2005); the life sciences (Powell and Owen-Smith, 1998; Louis et al, 1989); and biotechnology (Zucker, Darby, and Armstrong, 2002). Slaughter and Leslie (1997) focused on units generating significant revenue from entrepreneurialism and found substantial activity in the applied natural sciences, agricultural sciences, and engineering. They concentrate on technology transfer and so the study is about departments with the most potential to transfer research from the university to industry in the form of products.

In their work on the intersections of industry and academia, Etzkowitz et al (1998) found principle strategic research alliances in areas such as genetics, combustion technology, biology, biomedicine, pharmacology, medicinal chemistry, cancer research, molecular biology, neuroscience, and dermatology. Nixon's (2003) focus is on leadership, while Bok's (2003) focus is on athletics, student learning, and basic research. These works and others are further discussed in Chapter Two.

A review of the literature shows little consideration of the social sciences. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) ascertained, "the sociology of science literature [does not] look far and beyond colleges of science and engineering, an oversight we view as problematic because we think the well-being of professional work depends on the health of the university as a whole, not only on science and engineering" (p. 202).

Second, this study hopes to expand our understanding of academic capitalism. Third, it brings awareness to those it studies about the nature of their work and potential futures of their disciplines in the developing structure of higher education. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) provide us with three ways for retaining professorial autonomy in the face of academic capitalism. First, make faculty aware of how academic capitalism is influencing professorial work patterns and the future of higher education in general. Second, hope faculty accommodate and make the best of new conditions resulting from academic capitalism. Third, work towards getting states to equally divide block grants according to number of students. The first and second point of this study's significance relates to the third in that increased knowledge and the dissemination of that knowledge will raise the level of consciousness to those it is affecting.

In an essay on university transformation, Burton Clark (2002) discusses the need for traditional disciplines (like the social sciences) to be more proactive. He writes, "They have to accept the overall need for more enterprising activities and to learn in many cases how to engage in such action" (p. 334). To not be aware of academic capitalism or, worse, to ignore it does little to promote what the social sciences represent. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) "urge academic faculty and professionals to engage more deeply in shaping and controlling both academic work and the relationship between the institutions and the marketplace" (p. 37). A primary step towards that goal is to improve our understanding of that relationship.

In sum, universities and colleges are experiencing "cracks in the ivory tower" as they move beyond traditional roles of academe and into a new phase of organizational development called the "contemporary entrepreneurial university" (Etzkowitz, Webster,

and Healy, 1998). How the various disciplines and other academic units respond will decide the future landscape of higher education. As Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) conclude, “in the face of academic capitalism in the new economy, academics and their associations and unions should consider their own participation in this process and begin to articulate new, viable, alternative, paths for colleges, universities and academics to pursue” (p. 57).

Scope of the Study

Three public research universities in the State of Florida were chosen for this study – Florida State University (FSU), University of Florida (UF), and University of South Florida (USF). The departments of Sociology, Criminology, and Economics were targeted at each institution. These three disciplines were chosen as representative of the continuum of social sciences spanning from the traditional field of Sociology, to the slightly more applied field of Criminology, and ending with the most practical and marketable of the social sciences – Economics.

Academic capitalism is a wide reaching and multi-faceted subject of study. As such, it leaves those who study it with seemingly never ending inquiries. This research chooses one area, faculty in the social sciences as a manageable part of the larger, complex whole. To focus further, this study centers on social science faculty in the public research university setting, specifically at FSU, UF, and USF.

In line with Burton Clark, this study seeks to, “aim for explanatory categories that stretch across a set of institutions, which, at the same time, do not do violence to institutional peculiarities.” So despite the scope defined here, the study still contributes to a deeper understanding of academic capitalism at large.

Limitations

Due to scope, method, and available resources, there are limitations associated with this study. Again, it covers only faculty in selected departments of the social sciences at three public research universities in Florida. Indeed, higher education goes well beyond this. Because I focus on one sector, in one state, and on a particular group of disciplines, there are limitations connected with the ability to generalize results. Much is left out of my range. Students, administrators, graduate student employees, and staff are other groups that could be considered. Further, there are questions of how academic capitalism intersects with curriculum, research, and student learning. Some of these areas are being investigated, while others are left uncharted and thus should be considered for future research.

My concentration on those in the social sciences also limits what can be said of faculty in other disciplines. As a whole, and despite their similarities, the professoriate is a fairly diverse profession varying by sector and discipline. Altbach (1998) writes, “While one may speak broadly of the American professoriate, the working life and culture of most academics is encapsulated in a disciplinary and institutional framework” (p. 274).

Methodologically, there are concerns of self-reported data and the validity of faculty responses. However, the focus of this study is essentially on perceptions and not so called truth. Like Slaughter and Leslie (1997), this study is about “faculty values, norms, and beliefs” (p. 3). So although it is important to keep in mind the strengths and limitations of self-reported data, in this case it is a justifiable method. Lastly, available

resources (time and money) prevented me from exploring institutions beyond the state of Florida.

Despite these limitations, some generalizability was sought and room for taking a broader view was maintained. For all the limitations associated with a narrow study, there are corresponding strengths. A restricted view can allow for a closer look, richer description, and depth of perspective. It is through such detailed perspective that new dimensions of the more global concept can be explored and can give further nuance to the concept overall.

Chapter Two

A Review of the Literature

Multiple interrelated areas of the academic literature pertaining to this study are covered in the following review. Those topics are academic capitalism and related terminology, varying interpretations organized in a set of pros versus cons, and proposed explanations for the ascending prominence of business ideals in the university setting. The latter has to do with globalization and neo-liberal policy, as well as higher education finance. I then provide a review of what the academic literature says about how academic capitalism effects faculty work-life. This chapter concludes with a presentation of institutionalism and resource dependence theory as the dual theoretical component of this study.

First I will provide some historical perspective. Clark Kerr (1994) wrote, “An appreciation of the evolution of higher education helps to develop perspective on contemporary issues, since historical context often reveals that our present problems are not all new ones” (quoted in Altbach et al., 1994). This is important because academic capitalism is not altogether new to higher education. In fact, for-profit ventures of the “nonprofit” public research university have been around as long as the university itself. As early as 1905, Harvard University concerned itself with the profitability of its football team, while the University of Chicago advertised to interested potential students (Bok, 2003). Ranting about the “men” who ran universities, John Jay Chapman exclaimed,

“They are in truth business men” (quoted in Aronowitz, 2000, p. 17). Such a comment could have been made in a recent newspaper editorial, but it was not; it is from 1909. Indeed, “the corporatization of the academia is old news...a Faustian bargain a hundred year in the making” (Bowen, 2005).

Another scholar concerned with the issue early on was Thorstein Veblen who, in 1918, published *The Higher Learning in America: Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*. In it, he discusses the consequences of business-like behavior in universities. He himself was not very fond of the idea, particularly because of his belief that learning is “not readily set out in statistical exhibits...and can ordinarily come to appraisal and popular apprehension only in the long run” (p. 65). Veblen’s assertion at that early time was that business principles (such as competition) are foreign to the science and scholarship of university life. The intrusion of such pecuniary motives to higher learning, according to Veblen, would only be destructive. And he warned that it would be worst for disciplines least relevant to the market.

Forty years later, historian Richard Hofstadter wrote, “It has been the fate of American higher education to develop a pre-eminently businesslike culture” (in Galston, 2004, p. 77). Like Veblen, Hofstadter felt an overly pragmatic approach to education would devalue it as something inherently worthy.

Realizing how far back such “corporate intrusion” stretches makes one appreciate just how long academic capitalism has been an issue. We might think about academic capitalism a bit differently if we realize it is a construct with a long social evolution. In other words, market and market-like behavior is not new to higher education, so much as it is a growing development. Bok (2003) sees it as a matter of size and scope, pointing

out that “universities have been much more aggressive than they previously were in trying to make money from their research and educational activities” (p. vii).

Academic Capitalism

As the primary notion being explored in this study, academic capitalism must be clearly explained. In this section, I describe what is meant by academic capitalism and how it should be interpreted for this study. The precise term “academic capitalism” is used as early as 1991 by Fromm in *Academic Capitalism and Literary Value* to describe the inherent contradictions of literary critics who use their postmodern deconstructions to gain privilege and power, as well as material success. Fromm deems such scholars academic capitalists, with an intentionally negative connotation. The material resources in this form of capitalism are the literary works the “hypocrites” produce. He calls the most spurious of them self-proclaimed Marxists, who in reality want nothing more than to ascend the metaphorical corporate ladder. Fromm’s distaste for what he means by academic capitalism is clear. Although mostly concerned with contemporary value and critique of literature, Fromm’s use of the term is not much different than how I use it here.

Academic capitalism as market and market-like behavior at both the institutional and individual level is directly borrowed from the *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University* (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). *Academic Capitalism* presents a political economic perspective of the university in today’s global world. In it, the authors connect the fairly recent upsurge in entrepreneurialism at universities to the following factors: globalization, national policy in support of applied research, and the decline in state support of universities and university research,

particularly in the form of the block grant. The book possesses solid theoretical background that includes historical and global perspectives. The authors consider seriously the policy and economy of the situation not only in the United States, but also in Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. To go even further, with each of these nations, Slaughter and Leslie put forth multiple levels of analysis that include international, national, institutional, and individual considerations. Their analyses are guided at each level by explicit theories (political economy, resource dependence theory, and professionalization).

A major theme of the book is a concern with “ongoing changes in the nature of academic labor” (p. 1). Their study covers the years 1970 through 1995 with a focus on the 1980s and 1990s. What they find is that changes in financial structure and increasing ties with industry has “radically altered the nature of academic labor: changes in what academics do, how they allocate their time” (p. 60). Destabilization of faculty labor patterns as a result of academic capitalism involves faculty moving further into the marketplace and away from a traditional positions of state subsidized shelter from pure market forces. As professionals, members of the academy have been traditionally kept cushioned from the market by the university in the spirit of academic freedom and the pursuit of basic knowledge.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) show how, for some disciplines, this is no longer the case. In large part, those disciplines are not in units associated with the social sciences. They write about this lopsided picture in an article that further develops the concept of academic capitalism as “a theoretical basis for better explaining the irregular moves toward the market by public research universities in the United States over the past 25

years” (Slaughter and Leslie, 2001, p. 156). By irregular the authors mean the unevenness with which units of an institution are engaged with the market.

Beyond the work of Slaughter and Leslie (1997) there are other notable studies that use the term ‘academic capitalism.’ Meaning what it means here, other studies focus on a variety of particulars. For example, Nixon (2003) looks specifically at the impact of academic capitalism on higher education leadership. To him, an entrepreneurial spirit is crucial to good college leadership in today’s state of a diversified funding base, reduced state support, and increasing ties with the market. The “entrepreneurial spirit” of a college leader can be seen in full-cost recovery programming, fundraising, increases in tuition and fees, partnering with private business, and professional training initiatives among other things (Nixon, 2003).

Ylijoki (2003) also employs the term academic capitalism and applies it to university research with a focus on how university researchers deal with shifting funding patterns in higher education, in Finland. Ylijoki argues disciplinary and institutional cultures play a role in how academic capitalism is expressed. Based on her interviews with senior researchers across research settings in Finland, Ylijoki concludes that institutions of traditional academic culture are not displaced by “market-orientation.” In fact, Ylijoki finds the two co-exist. This coincides with earlier research (Gumport, 2002) as well as more recent studies like Mendoza (2005), which show how academics ideologically incorporate market and market-like activities into traditional academic frameworks. However, in maintaining a balance, tensions can rise. One researcher in Ylijoki’s study explains how competing for grants does not have to interfere with

individual interests in a pursuit of pure research, but how it is not without concern.

Ylijoki (2003) quotes the researcher as saying:

It really bothers me a bit that it lacks real genuineness. First you have to get money by some kind of trickery and then you can do what you want to and you don't have to care about the research plan at all any more. This is how it seems to be at the moment. (p. 314)

Ylijoki is referring to way monies to fund doctoral students. This protection of graduate students, which is primarily a charge of teaching, is grounded in a traditional academic value-set that must be balanced with more capitalist notions such as the pursuit of resources necessary to support professional autonomy. Academic capitalists showed a similar response in Slaughter and Leslie's 1997 study: "although they sought to expand activities deemed appropriate for their professional field, they did not see themselves as undercutting or challenging established status and prestige systems" (p. 164). As this study will show, the same goes for social scientists engaged in academic capitalism.

A case study of engineering and science graduate students in a department "heavily engaged in academic capitalism" also uses the term academic capitalism as discussed here. As part of her dissertation research, Mendoza (2005) focused on "cultural schemas" looking for any possible "cultural shifts towards business-oriented values among [doctoral] students as they go through their socialization process" of graduate school. Like Ylijoki (2003) and Gumpert (2002), Mendoza found that in settings of academic capitalism, people find ways to reconcile its demands with core academic values.

As a follow up to Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) co-authored *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy*, in which they expand the concept of academic capitalism into what they call the “academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime.” Although the “regime” has not fully penetrated the institution or its organizational field, its impacts are broad and its bases are many. They (2004) write,

Today, higher education institutions are seeking to generate revenue from their core educational, research, and service functions, ranging from the production of knowledge (such as research leading to patents) created by the faculty to the faculty’s curriculum and instruction (teaching materials that can be copyrighted and marketed). (p. 8)

A key difference between Slaughter’s work with Leslie and her work with Rhoades is what forces are seen as contributing to the “encroachment of the profit motive into the academy” (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997, p. 210). Although they acknowledge that academic capitalism is a result of national political economic conditions, also contributing in the new version are the “actions of a network of actors and organizations” that include faculty and other academic professionals who value revenue generation over other core educational missions that are part of the academy. This elaborated outlook emphasizes the role of agency, which views market and market-like activity as embedded within the system so that individuals that make it up can be seen as “actors initiating academic capitalism, not just as players being ‘corporatized’” (p. 12). However, when discussing such issues, some scholars choose to use terms other than academic capitalism.

Word Usage

Important to note regarding terminology, I use academic capitalism and its definitions of both “market and market-like behavior” and “securing external funds” interchangeably. I also use “entrepreneurialism” and “the entrepreneurial university” to refer to the same phenomenon. There is a broader body of literature about academic capitalism that does use the term academic capitalism per se, but other jargon that refers to the same issues discussed here. In fact, there are several business and market-like metaphors being used to describe what I refer to here as academic capitalism or entrepreneurialism.

For instance, Derek Bok (2003) writes about the commercialization of higher education, which he defines as “efforts within the university to make a profit from teaching, research, and other campus activities” (p. 3). In their work on connections between university and industry in research conducted in the hard sciences, .Etzkowitz et al (1998) also use the word “commercialization”. To them though, it describes the effects of capitalizing knowledge vis-à-vis intersections of academe, industry, and government. Furthermore, Vogel (2004) discusses “commercial practices in higher education,” while Scheuerman and Kriger (2004) call it “corporatization.”

Other scholars use the word entrepreneurialism to discuss the profit making endeavors of colleges and universities. Brint (2000) discusses entrepreneurialism in higher education, which he defines as “the efforts of universities and individual faculty to capitalize on research discoveries” (p. 246). In a recent editorial from *The Chronicle Review* (March 17, 2006), Bennis and Movius discuss the “rise of campus

entrepreneurship,” which they describe as a “pay-your-own-way philosophy [that] has reshaped the university” (p. B20).

Burton Clark (1998) also uses “entrepreneurial,” most notably in his work on the transformation of five European universities involved in efforts towards a more “enterprising way.” *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation* focuses on the years 1980 through 1995. In this work, Clark identifies five “organizational pathways of transformation” towards a more entrepreneurial university. Those are a strengthened steering core, an expanded developmental periphery, a diversified funding base, the stimulated academic heartland, and an integrated entrepreneurial culture. Clark shows how universities can and will continue to become more enterprising in a competitive global environment that stresses the need for an entrepreneurial response. Despite its connotation, however, Clark does not use entrepreneurship to represent “raw individualistic striving that is socially divisive” (p. 148). In his opinion, entrepreneurial refers to a way in which university autonomy can be regained as well as maintained, and a sense of community be built to benefit all.

Marginson and Considine (2000) write about “the enterprise university” which is about corporate-like executive higher education governance, in Australia, where public policy has dramatically increased managerialism at universities. They prefer the term “enterprise university” because it “captures both economic and academic dimensions” and is “as much about generating institutional prestige as about income.” They say “academic capitalism” or “corporate university” sound too unidimensional in terms of focusing on profit-seeking. For them, the enterprise university is about a “quasi-business

culture” or a public institution that borrows certain conditions and techniques of business such as competition, scarcity, marketing, and goals defined in terms of money.

For Shumar (1997) “commodification” is the chosen term. Commodification is an expression used mostly by anthropologists to “describe the relationship of more traditional communities to encroaching capitalist development” (p. 15). As an anthropologist, Shumar applies critical theory to the ideas of academic capitalism and highlights the larger global influences that commodify many aspects of our society, including higher education. In doing so, he likens the significant rise of part-time faculty in colleges and universities to the oppression of other marginalized work groups in third world countries as well as our own. Shumar argues this comparable situation, for the most part, goes unnoticed, particularly by full time tenured faculty. Shumar’s appeal is for academics to realize that the same forces operating in the “rainforests of the Philippines” are also impacting the places in which academics work. Elaborating on this metaphor, he calls academics “marginalized intellectual workers in the sweatshops of knowledge” (p. 13).

Patricia Gumport (2002) uses the label “industrial logic” in her study of the effects of the quickly expanding knowledge base on university life. Gumport argues the dominant conceptual understanding of universities has changed as a result of the overwhelming growth of information. Looking at three case studies (UC Berkeley, SUNY Stony Brook, and the University of Illinois at Chicago), Gumport concludes that earlier notions of “social institutional logic” in higher education are being replaced by an “industrial logic.” The social logic responds to societal expectations, inherently values ideals and original scholarship that is comprehensive and multidisciplinary. While an

industrial logic responds to market forces, valuing revenue-generating knowledge that aligns with demand of the market and contributes to economic development. The term industry denotes the idea that faculty and other university players act in a competitive enterprise. This “new logic” as described by Gumport has striking similarities to what is meant by academic capitalism.

In line with resource dependence theory and the work of Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Gumport (2002) lays out how institutions of higher education are being restructured due to diminished funding that requires a more “industrial” way. The idea of varying institutional logics derives from neo-institutional theory, which “provides a powerful lens for us to conceptualize how beliefs and values are anchored in the wider environment and enacted locally within organizations to obtain legitimacy” (p. 52). Gumport is clear to point out, though, that the one logic has not completely taken over the other. Rather, the two logics and other logics as well, co-exist along side one another, sometimes with tension (Ylijoki, 2003). More important to understand is the diagnostic potential of the model “for understanding the dynamics of academic restructuring in contemporary universities” (p. 56).

Louis et al (1989) discuss “entrepreneurs in academe” in their study of life science faculty in research universities. They found and tracked five “types” of “academic entrepreneurship” – large-scale science research funded from the outside, earning supplemental income, gaining industry support for university research, patenting, and commercialization or involvement with private enterprise related to research. The authors list the five types in approximate order of increasing incompatibility with traditional views so that “forming companies based on the results of research” is least

congruent with traditional academic ideals. In their analysis of the variables, they find individual attributes best predicted large-scale science and earning supplemental income. Also, local group norms are significant in predicting commercialization.

Powell and Owen-Smith (1998), who also focus on the life sciences, interview faculty about the nature of their work in response to the blurring boundaries between the university and private industry. There they find a difference between the more traditional “university researcher as a dedicated and disinterested, though passionate, searcher for truth” and the one seen in the life sciences today, “scientist-entrepreneur who balances university responsibilities and corporate activities [that] improve human health and generate revenues for the investigator, the university, and the investors” (p. 108).

As is shown, many scholars concern themselves with the notion of academic capitalism. For the most part it is a topic of recent coverage, which is most likely due to its current expansion. This research joins the rest in further exploring what academic capitalism means and how it impacts higher education. The intent is to add to the scholarly discussion, particularly as it relates to faculty in the social sciences.

Faculty Opinion

As with any issue, academic capitalism has both its critics and proponents. In thought and on paper, the opposing camps can be more easily separated and identified in an oversimplified dichotomy of pros versus cons. In reality though, the lived experience is much more intricate than that. In fact, often there is a whole group that neither denies nor supports. There are also those who simply accept academic capitalism as an inevitable outcome of the current social and economic context without making judgments about benefits or disadvantages. Nonetheless, I give substance to each conceptual

extreme in an attempt to simplify and thus, understand the different ways in which academic capitalism is perceived. In trying to understand academic capitalism, it is helpful to see both its positive contributions as well its negative effects. As Awbery (2002) points out, “academic capitalism is neither an inherent evil nor an unmitigated blessing. As a strategy with the potential to harm or benefit universities, it must be understood” (p. 2).

In favor.

Those in support of academic capitalism tout how entrepreneurialism in higher education increases cost efficiency, instills accountability, and diversifies finances. Those in favor of a business model of higher education claim modern management theories, many of which tend to focus on measuring outputs rather than micromanaging inputs, can help cut through the bureaucratic inertia that so often chills intellectual and pedagogic innovation in colleges and universities. And there is no good reason why a university should maintain an elaborate array of internal services if outside firms can perform comparable functions at a lower cost (Galston, 2004). Marginson and Considine (2000) wrote,

There is no doubt that some changes in contemporary university organisation constitute advances. In the virtues of transparency and openness, in the clarity about resource deployment, and in the greater external responsiveness are elements that we would want to take into any future discussion of the university as an institution.”

As the later section on higher education finance supports, block state support of higher education is shifting. As a result, institutions are facing an increasing need to

expand and diversify their funding base. From this perspective, entrepreneurial universities are strategically poised. Academic capitalism and entrepreneurship widens the financial base of an institution, providing more in the way of discretionary funds and less reliance on government support. As a response option, entrepreneurship increases university autonomy while reducing dependence on government. Some say “academic capitalism is needed to link the institution with its external constituents” so as to better serve the public (Awbery, 2002, p. 6). Brint writes, “The new university is not just inevitably more entrepreneurial than the old but also more responsive and stronger because of it.”

In a case study investigating the influence of academic capitalism on academic culture and norms in a department with significant industrial research ties, Mendoza and Berger (2005) found “faculty unanimously considered the negative sides of industrial sponsorship [as part of academic capitalism] minimal compared to the benefits that these partnerships bring to the department, their academic careers and students” (p. 17). The ten faculty members interviewed in Mendoza and Berger’s study believed that ties with industry via research do not have to stand out against traditional academic ideals like good teaching and a concern for students, particularly graduate students. The group of faculty in Mendoza’s study believed that the right partnerships with industry can be “a win-win situation for both academia and industry, in which students are educated, basic science is conducted and technology is transferred to industry” (p. 20). Additional wins are resources, power, and the prestige faculty can gain with such partnerships.

This means that as long as academic values are considered and honored, entrepreneurial behavior of academic groups maintains its legitimacy. The goal is to

reconcile business-like values with those of academia in pursuit of the best of both worlds. Entrepreneurship at the university does not have to be detrimental. On the contrary, when done according to academic codes of ethics, academic capitalism creates opportunities for support and positive change in higher education. Burton Clark (1998) declared:

Effective collective entrepreneurship does not carry a university beyond the boundaries of academic legitimacy, setting off a down-market cycle of reputation, resources, and development. Rather, it can provide resources and infrastructures that build capability beyond what a university would otherwise have, thereby allowing it to subsidize and enact an up-market climb in quality and reputation. (p. 5)

Those in favor of academic capitalism believe that to survive in today's world, universities must compete in the dominant game of corporate culture. In other words, universities must adapt. Proponents argue that beyond simple reasons of response (adaptation), the university should be leaders of social trends. A benefit of embracing the corporate model is an awareness of market position and thus better control of it.

A 2001 study in China found empirically based benefits of applying the principles of the market to higher education. In 1994 the World Bank recommended Chinese higher education move away from the existing centralized model and towards a more decentralized, open market system of colleges and universities. Acting on those recommendations, China moved forward with a privatization reform of its higher education system. In his study, Wang (2001) found greater autonomy and efficiency of

the individual university in the new more entrepreneurial setting. Whether or not this is inherently good or bad, it was seen as positive.

This positive spin is prevalent among supporters of private for profit institutions such as the University Of Phoenix (UP). One study on the university looks at the tensions UP faces as an anomaly in the higher education organizational field, yet with increased footing and influence (Embree, 2001). Those tensions Embree examines are non-profit versus for-profit, retail versus wholesale, and tenure versus non-tenure. Via her research, Embree suggests non-profits observe and even mimic the likes of UP so that they remain competitive in the global capitalist system. Another study on UP concurs, suggesting the benefits seen there should be applied to community colleges (Bugay, 2000). Bugay concludes that to better meet the needs of the adult learner, community colleges might better serve themselves by becoming more customer driven, like UP which fully takes advantage of corporate ideals.

The pro-academic capitalism setting requires business savvy campus administrators. Dr. Constantine Papadakis at Drexel University in Philadelphia is a leading example of this. He was recently the subject of an article in a Wall Street Journal article called “How Dr. Papadakis Runs a University like a Company” (Wysocki, 2005). The answer is by employing “fancy” marketing techniques, digitizing coursework, and refusing to increase the per student annual library services budget. Despite critics, Papadakis “quintupled the university’s endowment to \$470 million, doubled undergraduate enrollment to 9,800 and recorded an \$83 million surplus in 2004 on revenue of more than \$500 million” (p. A13). With a salary of \$805,000 a year, the former Bechtel Corporation refers to students as customers, and has in his office a Cretan

knife he metaphorically uses to slash budgets. In his inaugural address he is quoted as saying: “Make no mistake, higher education is a business.”

However, Mr. Papadakis does not represent the majority of leaders in higher education. Besides those that argue academic capitalism is beneficial, there is a strong lobby that argues the influence of market ideals on the university.

Against.

Across the landscape of higher education literature, there is no shortage of works expressing concerns about academic capitalism and all it signifies. Those in opposition to market and market-like behaviors put forth an overall critique of neo-liberal tenets, which tout market forces and put “consumer choice as the foundation of economic power” (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 58). A market driven university threatens the production of knowledge, is inconsistent with the traditions and foundations of higher education, and changes the ways of governance.

In terms of the perceived threats to the production of knowledge, the competitiveness inherent to academic capitalism truly flies in the face of the university’s role in the free and open exchange of scientific inquiry that entails colleagues verifying and replicating each other’s work. “Scholars especially in the traditional disciplines, have deliberately chosen academic life in preference to the ways of commerce, in part because they look upon the search for truth and knowledge as a worthier calling than the quest for material wealth” (Bok, 2003).

Market intrusion into the scientific process is a long held fear among academics. As far back as Socrates, acceptance of fees for teaching was seen as a threat to “the quest for truth” (Galston, 2004, p. 77). Today, the issue becomes a fear of universities’

partnerships with companies through which they have patent and license deals that might compromise the results of scientific research. “As MIT biology professor Jonathan King has reported, many who deliver papers concerning scientific research at scholarly meetings may omit information on patent grounds, thereby closing intellectual communication” (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 48). There is concern that as higher education continues to experience capitalist pressures, knowledge becomes information and information becomes a “commodity to be manufactured, packaged, bought, and sold,” while “intellectual work [becomes] a matter of good being cost-effectively manufactured on a production line” (Bertelsen 2002).

Still others oppose corporate models because they believe such a mode of operating is incongruent with the traditions of higher education. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) talk about faculty culture as “inimical” to business culture. The general line of reasoning here is that academic capitalism is an intrusion of values and beliefs that are inappropriate considering the setting of higher education.

A central tension in the entrepreneurial university is the need to reconcile new managerial values with traditional academic values. Academics are quite properly suspicious of the jargon and outlook of a hard managerialism imported from industry without regard for the vast, fundamental differences between university and non-university forms of organization (Clark, 1997)

Birnbaum (1998) writes, “there is no metric in higher education comparable to money in business, and no goal comparable to profits” (p. 11). He goes on to say, “because most institutions of higher education lack a clear and unambiguous mission whose achievement cannot be assessed through agreed upon quantifiable measures such

as ‘profits,’ the processes, structures, and systems for accountability commonly used in business firms are not always sensible for them” (p. 27). In other words, “the corporatization of the university may be good for the spreadsheet, but it augurs badly for education” (Aronowitz, 2000, p. 88).

In a piece titled *Why Can't a College be more like a Firm?* Gordon Winston (1997) says “We can ill afford to be wrong about the economic structure of higher education, confusing it with a for-profit industry” (p. 5). This is because, as Winston points out, in higher education when universities profit, those profits do not make the stockholders rich. The stockholders in this case are the public which includes students and parents. Winston says college enrollment is expected to expand upwards of 30% in the coming years. He points out that any good business would be thrilled at the prospect of gaining millions of new customers. For higher education, however, this is cause for concern. This is because more students “mean more costs but not much more income.” So in response to Winston’s initial question why can’t a college be more like a firm? The answer is because it operates in a slightly different market than corporate America – one that is, in many ways, publicly subsidized. Further, income for institutions of higher education combines donative (endowment, gifts, and government support) with commercial sources (tuition and fees) so that the true cost of an education is subsidized. Winston reports that “in 1991, the average student at the average U.S. college paid \$3,100 for an education that cost \$10,600 to produce” (p. 2). This is made possible in higher education only because its social utility makes it worthy of subsidization.

Those opposed to what might be seen as a corporate intrusion of higher education, promote what others see as overly idealistic notions of academia. The argument that

entrepreneurialism undercuts core academic values can become a heated topic and characterizes the kind of iconoclastic view of academic capitalism taken by those who perceive it as a threat to the traditions and foundations of American higher education. “Aware of the growing income gap, humanities and social sciences departments are increasingly subject to the logic of the market, seeking to strike their own Faustian bargains with capital” (Young, 2005, p. 6). Notions of the academy as a sacred place are long held and it might be because it is so very different from other organizations.

Those in higher education who resist corporate influences also fear the market will dictate decision-making, displacing the judgment of scholars in matters of university governance. Long ago, similar concerns were raised by Thorstein Veblen (1918) who “railed against the effects of boards of trustees increasingly made up of businessmen whose interest was focused on efficiency and who did not understand the unique nature of the academic enterprise” (Birnbaum, 1988). In discussing the impact of academic capitalism on curriculum and instruction, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) point out that decision-making about such issues is increasingly dictated by considerations of the market. Faculty members heavily engaged in academic capitalism are also not as inclined to get involved in institutional governance matters because of their externally oriented focus on the market. This combined with greater oversight from administration, trustees, and elected officials displaces some of the decision making at the cost of shared governance. In response, challengers call to organize, cease the intrusion, and fight for a democratic university.

In sum, academic capitalism invokes varied responses. The challenge is to maintain a balance so that “the ways of the marketplace are neither consistently useful

nor wholly irrelevant in trying to improve the performance of research universities” (Bok, 2003, p. 32). As a strategy, academic capitalism has the potential to either help or harm universities, but it is up to members of academia to sort between the two. In part, this research contributes to this important process since “only in this way can the advantages and disadvantaged be understood and a conscious effort... [be] made to avoid or lessen negative impacts” (Awbery, 2002, p. 13).

An Entrepreneurial Setting

Throughout this discussion so far, causal theories of academic capitalism from multiple scholars have been mentioned. This section explores what is driving the rise in entrepreneurialism in colleges and universities. Globalization, neo-liberal policy, and a shifting fiscal resource base have all been cited as possible forces, although most likely it is a combination of all three plus additional unknown factors. Mendoza and Berger (2005) summarize academic capitalism as public universities’ response “to external forces of globalization by maintaining and expanding revenues critical for the organization through market-like behaviors in times when state funding is more and more scarce” (p. 2). Slaughter and Leslie (1997) argue the growth of global markets, national policy directed at applied research, and the decline of the block grant are primary forces sustaining academic capitalism.

Globalization.

Wesley Shumar (1997) argues global economic pressures that have commodified our culture have also commodified higher education. Such global economic pressures are about the power of transnational corporations that “define (and encourage others to define) everything, all aspects of social life, in instrumental economic terms” (p. 3).

These forces, according to Shumar, impact developing and developed countries alike with little or no prejudice toward type of industry including American higher education. He thus comes up with the idea of the commodification of education in his study of “marginalized intellectual workers in the sweatshops of knowledge” (p. 13). The “marginalized intellectual workers” are part-time and temporary faculty who are marginalized because of pressures of the marketplace. “Academic capitalism as a response to resource dependence is not just the predilection of local university administrators. It is a response that is taking place around the globe” (Awbery, 2002, p. 6).

Carroll and Beaton (2000) have also looked at the effects of capitalist globalization and neo-liberal policies on the public university. Their summation is that the “current transformation of higher education forms part of a larger complex of neo-liberal hegemony which asserts that public institutions are best operated on market principles” (Carroll and Beaton, 2000). Higher education, like many industries is impacted by this. They write:

It is well known that the rise of neo-liberalism and the internationalization of economies have altered the power of corporate capital and the ability of states to regulate business and maintain social services. As global markets discipline state practices, public institutions such as universities adopt as their *modus operandi* business principles increasingly detached from democratic accountability. The privileging of markets has increased the acceptance of corporate ideals in organizing both society and public institutions. (p. 72)

For them and others, academic capitalism is a part of a much larger trend influencing societies and the world in general. As Aronowitz (2000) aptly points out, “far from the image of an ivory tower where, monk-like, scholars ponder the stars and other distant things, the universities tend to mirror the rest of society” (p. 11).

In line with resource dependence theory, Gumport lays out how institutions of higher education are being restructured due to diminished funding and as a result are expressing an increase in industrial logic. Her idea of institutional logic comes from neo-institutional theory, which she says “provides a powerful lens for us to conceptualize how beliefs and values are anchored in the wider environment and enacted locally within organizations to obtain legitimacy” (p. 52). Gumport points out though that the one has not completely taken over the other, but rather these two and other logics as well exist along side one another, existing often among tension.

For Readings (1996), it is higher education’s focus on excellence that drives notions of academic capitalism. Inherent in its title, Readings’ book *The University in Ruins* argues why he thinks the university is in ruins and what faculty must do to prevent its demise. The downfall, according to Readings, is a result of how business-like universities have become in response to accountability trends of “excellence.” His underlying message is clear. The university that was built on the power of the nation state and the need to protect national culture is obsolete in today’s global world of transnationalism. He also associates this shift with the rise in postmodernism, which brought a plethora of voices to higher education’s intellectual domain. According to Readings, the university’s fixation with creating and preserving culture has been replaced

by a focus on excellence. This new obsession is the fault of the current climate of global capitalism of which the university is a part.

Excellence, according to Reading (1996) has no intellectual reference point and that, for the university, is problematic. It is problematic because instead of grounding the concept in intellectualism, excellence is seen as defined by business which makes students into consumers and graduates into quantifiable objects. Reading suggests universities are businesses competing with other businesses and being evaluated in business terms. In business ideology, accounting principles prevail and to Readings, this represents a downward trend in higher education. Readings proposes three phases in university history of which the last is most market oriented or business-like. Those are the University of Ideas, the University of Culture, and most recently the University of Excellence. Readings says the latter focuses on an idea devoid of meaning (excellence), which is contained in an era dominated by a consumerist ideology.

Neo-liberal policy.

Related to globalization and consumerist ideology is neo-liberal policy. Neo-liberal refers to an emphasis on free market forces and economic growth with liberal meaning “in the sense of no controls” (Martinez and Garcia, 2000). According to Martinez and Garcia the main points of neo-liberalism include the rule of the market, cutting public expenditure for social services, deregulation, privatization, and individual responsibility over the public good. This movement can be seen at multiple policy levels. An illustration in higher education in the United States is federal financial aid which is given directly to the student who becomes a ‘mobile consumer’ in a free market.

An example at the federal level is the Bayh-Dole Act. Signed into effect in 1980, this legislation allows universities to create patents for marketable discoveries made using funding from the government. Prior to the act, the federal government owned inventions made with federal funding at universities who then licensed the inventions free of charge to any party wishing to use them. In sum, the law moved ownership of the inventions from the federal government to universities. With the right to license, universities gained a way to profit. Applying economic rational to the operations of education is a global trend that often called decentralization or deregulation. However, for the purposes of this study Bayh-Dole serves as a worthy American example.

A well documented study of the deregulation of higher education is *The enterprise university: Power, governance, and reinvention in Australia* (Marginson and Considine, 2000). Based on interviews with senior university administrators at 17 Australian universities, the study reveals that the rise of an “enterprise university” is due to neo-liberal changes in federal policy starting in the 1980s. However, it is important to note that these “neo-liberal policies have been enforced with greater rigour in Australia than in the USA” (p. 54) and that the shift towards a market approach in the US has been “fostered by a strong private sector” (p.58).

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argue Bayh-Dole and other legislative acts at both the federal and state levels promote the commercialization of research and partnerships with industry that, in part, fuels academic capitalism. As a result, institutions develop policies and organizational units that in turn support the activity. However the findings of this study make clear, this does not relate to the great majority of academic capitalism in

the social sciences. The implications of Bayh-Dole are relegated to patent producing disciplines such as chemistry and engineering.

A shifting fiscal resource base.

It has become common knowledge that the percentage of universities' budget provided by state legislatures is on the decline (Galston, 2004). Further, "despite a 3.5 % increase in spending on higher education, state and local support per student hit a 25-year low in the 2004-05 fiscal year" (Fischer, 2006). As a result, universities are forced to "seek outside sources of funding such as corporate contracts, faculties rental, and outsourcing to compensate for the unpredictability of state and local support" (Galston, 2004, p. 79).

Present-day financing of higher education involves increasing costs, shifts in public funding and an increasing reliance on private monies. A focus on the finances of higher education yields an evolving picture of how universities receive support and from what sources. "Despite the significant and growing role of higher education in a global economy, federal and state funding have been steadily decreasing in the last few years pushing higher education institutions to seek other sources of revenues in order to survive" (Mendoza and Berger, 2005 p. 2). As Awbery (2002) states "public higher education institutions have become dependent on income sources beyond the federal government, and that process is already changing the roles, rewards, and structures of academic institutions" (p. 2).

Some say education's golden age of public support, growing enrollment, and increasing federal support for research is over (Altbach, 1998; Shapiro, 1992). This is particularly when you consider the demands of enrollment growth and economic

inflation, which negates the recent improvements seen in state support for universities in 2004-2005 (Fischer, 2006). As a result, faculty members are becoming more entrepreneurial in an effort to gain resources to support their activities. “Administrators and boards have turned to marketing strategies to make up for lost revenue through increased enrollments, tuition increases, and business partnerships” (Awbery, 2002, p. 10). The faculty has turned to competition for research and/or training grants, patenting, consulting, copyrighting, and test or courseware development. The ability of colleges and universities to generate money drives the belief on the part of state Legislatures that when times are tough, higher education can take a budget hit better than others.

There appears to be ample evidence to support a negative correlation between the condition of a state budget and support for public higher education. In good times, higher education tends to be well funded. While in times of shortage, state support for higher education has shown declines. When state budgets are tight, the need to fund big ticket items such as K-12 education, healthcare, and corrections tends to outweigh the needs of higher education. This is because higher education can, at least when compared to K-12, Medicaid and Medicare, or other public goods find ways to support itself. Thus, Hovey (1999) calls higher education the state balancing wheel. In doing so, he ties state government support of higher education directly to the conditions of a state’s financial climate.

Hovey’s report, put out in July 1999, entitled *State Spending for Higher Education in the Decade: The Battle to Sustain Current Support* is a detailed study of state support for higher education in the United States. The picture painted is daunting and he warns that difficult times lie ahead. Using baseline budgeting assumptions that are

also used by the U.S. Congress for its budget, Hovey predicts “that even with normal economic growth over the next eight years, the vast majority of states will face significant fiscal deficits” (p. vi). Of course, differences exist among states depending on tax structure, spending needs, and varying economic growth rates.

Among the 50 states, Florida came in at 42nd in year eight of fiscal projections, which yielded an 8.8 percent shortfall. Hovey says there are two potential ways a state can deal with such a shortfall, neither of which is likely in Florida. One is to raise taxes and the other is for states to favor higher education over other programs. It was the latter that occurred in the 1970s and early 80s, when according to Aronowitz (2000), tax revolts were the “major component of absolute and relative declines in state budget allocations for postsecondary schools...which almost everywhere focused on and affected state and local expenditures for public goods such as education, health, and social services” (p. 80). Make note, Hovey’s predictions turned out to be wrong. A plush 2006-2007 budget year in Florida resulted in an 8.5% *increase* in state spending for public universities. However, this does not account for the rise in enrollments nor inflation. Overall, state support for higher education continues to shrink as a percentage of a public university’s budget. In response, higher education has expanded its sources of funding to include more federal and private sector reserves.

With the relative decreases in state support for higher education, the need for universities to secure funds from other sources has increased. As a result, state and federal funding of universities is a greatly diminishing part of universities’ resource base (Breneman 1993). As Barr points out, “[there] has been less and less direct support for public institutions of higher education and increased expectations that such institutions

develop new ways to get resources necessary to operate the enterprise” (p. 7). The transfer in the burden of cost from the government to the institution has created a need for academic capitalism. The needs of the institution are then passed on to its members. Students face increasing tuition and faculty experience changing work patterns.

Whalen warns that “institutionally generated income is very different from revenue obtained from governmental sources [since] its generation is dependent on the initiative and effort of operating units and individuals within the organization, not on central direction” (p. 129). As a result, internal distribution of funds with no consideration of who contributed what may be challenged. This makes for a competitive environment of funding within institutions, one that is also clearly a part of academic capitalism.

A symptom of this shift in funding is the Responsibility Centered Management (RCM). Essentially, RCM is a decentralized approach to funding associated with higher education that empowers deans and other mid-level management and makes units responsible for their own financial management. In this system, revenues that are generated by a unit stay in the unit. Costs are also the responsibility of the unit and “under RCM, all costs associated with conducting teaching, research, and public service activities are recognized [as] academic units are assessed or charged for academic support services, library and computer services, student services, general administration, space, and related physical plant costs” (Whalen, 1996, p. 136). In operating as independent financial management centers, units of colleges and universities begin competing against each other for their fair share of what central administration has to offer. This turns the “academy internally into a competitive marketplace for centrally allocated resources”

(Slaughter and Rhoades, 2000, p. 48). It is an environment based on external market values and represents academic capitalism at its best.

Cross-subsidization is a more traditional mode of the internal financing of higher education. For example, “a university ‘taxes’ its law school or its business school to provide extra resources for its education faculty or divinity school” (Bok, 2003, p. 164). Such subsidizing is common because faculties of education and divinity add to a school’s reputation and sense of tradition – common signifiers of worth before academic capitalism. The impact of academic capitalism on institutional finance is that it produces “fresh revenue and initiate[s] new internal distributions of funds in universities favoring units close to the market” (Bloland, 1999).

There is concern that the tradition of cross-subsidy in higher education financing is directly threatened by the influx of academic capitalism. Latest trends show signs of privatization and decreasing internal cross-subsidization. This “every-tub-on-its-own-bottom” approach creates a very competitive atmosphere, which is a hallmark of academic capitalism. Galston (2004) aptly describes the cause for apprehension, “Some valuable academic activities will never be able to pay their own way, while others can do so only by changing their *modus operandi* in ways that will knowingly distort their mission” (p. 78).

In sum, there are many variables involved in the entrepreneurial university. Issues of globalization, neo-liberal policy, a diversified resource base, and national trends of accountability are discussed in the literature. The results of this study add three more variables to the possible list – administrative pressure, rising costs, and political

environment. Next, I will discuss what the literature has to say about academic capitalism and faculty work-life.

Academic Capitalism and Faculty Work

On her internet home page, Sheila Slaughter writes, “The globalization of the political economy at the end of the twentieth century is destabilizing the patterns of university professional work developed over the past hundred years.” Some of those changes include increased competition for grants, as well as pressure to apply for grants and other external resources. This leads to a greater focus on external constituencies, a more applied research agenda, and the pursuit of support services such as technology and graduate assistants beyond the department. We might also predict a move towards an emphasis on personal gain over traditional modes of collegiality and shared governance. With this expansion of self-interest comes “less allegiance to the institution as faculty increasingly view themselves more and more as independent entrepreneurs” (Awbery, 2002, p. 5). Etzkowitz et al (1998) write that as a result of these trends, “The role of the professor has already been subject to considerable revision through the working out of a new balance among teaching, research, and invention” (p. 16).

With academic capitalism, there is an emerging framework of prestige and privilege among professors that shows academic capitalists on top (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). Aronowitz (2000) concurs when he writes:

The individual who pursues knowledge for its own sake or for human betterment may still perform this work on her own time. But in their official roles, faculty are more than ever urged, cajoled, and even threatened to direct their scholarship and

research to the ever-decreasing pots of grant gold on penalty of losing resources such as computer time, assistants, equipment, promotions, and tenure. (p. 67)

Further, academic capitalism forces faculty to spend more time on the upkeep of external partnerships, which in turn diminishes the amount of time spent on instruction and other internal academic activity. With the importance of pursuing and maintaining external funding, the reward system that prizes such activity is further enhanced at the cost of quality instruction. When “faculty members are under pressure to pursue external resources,” they “have less time to devote to instruction” (Awbery, 2002, p. 5).

How academic capitalism affects professors in the social sciences is the primary purpose of this research. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) mention that academic capitalism can indeed be seen in places like Archeology or Criminology, but perhaps that activity is less research product related as it is about selling services. The example they provide is a sociologist who conducts research surveys for various external agencies. They predict that faculty far from the market, like in some of the social sciences, might teach more while faculty in fields close to the market will focus on research. Awbery (2002) also predicts increased teaching loads from faculty in fields “further from the market.” Little beyond guesswork was found about how academic capitalism intersects with faculty work-life in the social sciences. To augment this thin knowledge base, I chose to specifically study social science faculty in three public institutions in Florida and interview them about issues of academic capitalism and the new, more entrepreneurial public research university.

Theory

Although many theories, models, and philosophies influence this study, its main theoretical framework involves two social science theories. Those are institutionalism and resource dependence theory. First, I discuss each separately since they represent different intellectual histories and ways of explaining. Second, I compare and contrast them and discuss how a dual theoretical perspective might inform this study.

Resource dependence.

Within organizational analysis, resource dependence begins with the perspective that an organization is “dependent” – quite literally – on external resources that influence the organization through support and constraint. This means organizations are affected by their evolving environment and the changing availability of resources within that environment. A good metaphor for resource dependence theory is the old saying, “He who pays the piper, calls the tune.” In other words, the one controlling the money (or other resource) holds the power and the ability to influence organizational decision-making. More generally, resource dependence theory is “based on the premise that internal behaviors of organizational members are understood through the actions of external agents” (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978, p. 2).

One very influential book on the subject is Pfeffer and Salancik’s *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective* (1978). The authors make a strong case for an external control perspective of organizations and the power of social constraints on organizational action. In the vein of ecological points of view, Pfeffer and Salancik look at environmental factors of organizations and put a heavy emphasis on contextual analysis. The book’s stated purpose is helping managers see that

organizational survival and success has to do with the ability to deal with and manage external resource and support sources. They write, “A good deal of organizational behavior, the actions taken by organizations, can be understood only by knowing something about the organization’s environment and the problems it creates for obtaining resources” (p. 3).

While arguing for such an external laden approach to business and other organizational endeavors, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) radically claim that leadership often has little effect in making a difference as internal actors are influenced by an externally controlled environment. Resource dependence assumes “organizations are other directed, constantly struggling for autonomy and discretion faced with constraints and external control” (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 7). Therefore, according to resource dependence, the improvement of an organization is not always achieved by internal adjustments or the quality of managers. Administrators face serious constraints in their ability to control organizational behavior – many of which are beyond their control. Pfeffer and Salancik summarize, “the point is that behaviors are frequently constrained by situational contingencies and the individual’s effect is relatively small” (p. 16). And they cite ample research empirically backing their claim. For example, a study by Lieberman and O’Connor (1972) looked at 167 companies and partitioned variance in sales and profits to four variables – effects of economic year, industry, company, and administrators. The study concluded that “the administrative effect was dwarfed by the impact of the organization’s industry and the stable characteristics of a given organization” (p. 16).

“Resource dependence theory holds that the internal behaviors of organizational members are understood clearly only by reference to the actions of external agents,” (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). This suggests that higher education when starved of crucial resources will seek out new sources of funding. Resource dependence is one explanation of academic capitalism, particularly when viewed as a result of a shifting resource base. Slaughter and Leslie spend considerable time on this very point. They write, “Our central thesis at the institutional level is that organizational relationships are determined or are affected importantly by the changing financial environment” (p. 224). Academic capitalism as a response to fiscal restraint is explained by resource dependence as a theory that anticipates an organization will take on characteristics of external organization on which it depends.

This resource dependence take on academic capitalism is reflected in the following quote from Burton R. Clark (1998). “Ideas become realistic and capable of some steering as they reflect organizational capability and test environmental possibilities; new organizational ideas are but symbolic experiments in the art of the possible” (p. 143). Slaughter and Leslie’s point is that changes in ways of funding or changes in resource dependence are what is steering alterations in higher education, particularly the rise of academic capitalism. Academic capitalism through a lens of resource dependence focuses on government pressures and the external market, which encourages market-driven research and activity over basic or pure research driven by personal desire or disciplinary inquiry. Resource dependence also allows for “active participation in influencing the environment,” so that the power and control travels on a two-way street (Bloland, 1999, p. 115).

Institutionalism.

Institutionalism has a wide and deep history in social intellectual thought, going back to at least the 1880s (Scott, 2000). At a broad level, institutionalism is basically a theory or approach to social analysis used to predict organizational behavior. It is also a significant body of literature spanning multiple disciplines such as sociology, political science, economics, organization studies, and anthropology. The reason for such prolific application of institutionalism may be the pervasiveness of institutions in social scientific thought. Institutions represent regularized and legitimizing processes within and among organizations. They are political, social, historical, and economic and include the family, governmental agencies, markets, and professions to name a few. One simplified explanation of institutionalism as a social theory is that it “emphasizes a ‘constant and repetitive quality’ to organizational life, with homogeneity and stability” (Levy, 2004).

An institutionalist perspective suggests organizations act in response to gaining legitimacy. Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (p. 574). Basically, it is a collective idea of what is proper or valued.

In introducing the theory of institutionalism, it is helpful to first explain the theory of behavioralism - a 1950s-60s movement of the social sciences. Behavioralism focused on the observable behavior of individuals to help understand social phenomena. It is a positivist approach or method of generating predictive statements about group behavior from the observation of individual action. A corresponding notion is rational choice theory, which claims individuals act according to weighed out cost and benefit analysis.

In response to rational choice and behavioralism, institutionalism questioned whether or not we could really make inferences about collective phenomena from individual behavior. The institutionalist premise (like that of many other critics of behavioralism) was that individual behavior was often less than “rational” and that questions rational choice theory. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) note:

Behavioralists viewed institutions as epiphenomenal, merely the sum of individual level properties. But their neglect of social context and the durability of social institutions came at a high cost, especially in a world in which “social, political, economic institutions have become larger, considerably more complex and resourceful, and prima facie more important to collective life.” (p. 2)

The debate was one seen roughly elsewhere in the social sciences in the form of agency versus structure – agency as in individuals or “agents” of change and structure as in institutions. Whereas the behavioralist school placed the individual as central (agency), the institutionalist emphasized cultural and normative forces (structure). The agency versus structure dialectic now focuses on how human behavior creates institutions and how institutions in turn limit/control individual behavior.

An institutionalist view emphasizes structure, norms, and other macro level constraints. The institutionalist critique of behavioralism wondered how expressed behavior (what was observable) differed from real preferences, begging the question, ‘does behavior really reveal what people truly want or desire?’ Institutionalists concentrate on the normative, which is about behavior and other decision making influenced by the standards and prescriptions of institutions, whereas the rational choice theory says behavior and decision making is dictated by individual cost-benefit analysis.

In institutional theory, structure or organizational action is a function of institutions and it includes three main mechanisms of isomorphism: coercive (pressures from those in power, as well as ethical, cultural, and societal expectations) mimetic (modeling or patterning), and normative (professionalization and socialization). In higher education there are coercive forces of government, mimetic templates from successful competitors, and normative pressures of prestige. However, it “can be difficult to distinguish between these different forms” (Marginson and Considine, 2000, p. 183). Citing DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as well as Zucker (1977), Oliver (1991) writes “institutional theory focuses on the reproduction or imitation of organizational structures, activities, and routines in response to state pressures, the expectations of professions, or collective norms of the institutional environment” (p. 149).

However, “institutionalists” vary in their relative emphasis on micro and macro features, in their weightings of cognitive and normative aspects of institutions, and in the importance they attribute to interests and relational networks in the creation and diffusion of institutions” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). It is therefore important to flesh some of this complexity out by being clear about what I mean by institutionalism. At heart, institutionalism puts heavy emphasis on shared social processes that dictate organizational behavior in the form of norms, rules, and agreed upon social meanings. The invisible pressures of doing things for prestige or just because they are “natural” acceptable social behavior is how institutionalism explains organizational change.

Without the application of such concepts as isomorphism, we “lack a proper overall understanding of the evolution of higher education, and the policy issues that confront it” (Levy, 2004, p. 17). The question is how much of academic capitalism can

be explained by coercive, mimetic, or normative processes of isomorphism as proposed by institutionalism. Coercion could be seen as pressures coming from other outside organization on which higher education is dependent (i.e. government or industry). Mimetic forces as ambiguity of goals (Zha, 1999) are characterized in higher education as an institution with multiple and often competing missions and goals. However, normative forces of institutionalism are what most intrigue me in thinking about the response of social science faculty to academic capitalism. This is because normative aspects of institutionalism focus on established norms and professionalization – two leading characteristics of faculty in a university.

A dual theoretical perspective.

The combination of institutionalism and resource dependence as a collective explanatory model has been applied before. For instance, Tolbert (1985) examines differences in administration among public and private institutions of higher education using a combined perspective of institutionalism and resource dependence. She points out that when viewed together, they should not be seen as antagonistic. Rather, each highlights a different perspective, while simultaneously contributing to a more holistic picture of this study's focus. For Tolbert (1985), "the central premise of this [combined] approach is that dependency relationships can, over time, become socially defined as appropriate and legitimate" (p. 1). In this case, shifting funding patterns as a case for academic capitalism can be attributed to resource dependence until such activity become institutionalized, at which point institutionalism kicks in.

Christine Oliver (1991) expands on this idea challenging the claim that compliance is the only potential response of organizations in an institutionalist

framework. In doing so she responds directly to those major criticisms of institutionalism that question its suppositions of the passive role of organizations. For Oliver, resource dependence can provide a range of potential organizational resistance strategies in institutional environments as a theory that considers “strategic noncompliance” in response to external pressures. To her, institutionalism and resource dependence are “convergent insights” that help explain organizational behavior, particularly the likelihood of resistance and conformity to institutional pressure. In this way, resource dependence theory highlights and complements assumptions associated with critiques of institutionalism, so that using the perspectives together strengthens predictability.

Oliver’s research suggests that possible alternative strategies depend on the nature of institutional pressure, which varies by cause, constituents, content, control, and context. She concludes, “Investigation of these factors might shed additional light on the forces for resistance versus conformity in institutional environments” (p. 173). In sum, “institutional theory can accommodate interest-seeking, active organizational behavior when organizations’ responses to institutional pressures and expectations are not assumed to be invariably passive and conforming” (p. 146).

In 1999, Ase Gornitzka looked at organizational change in higher education as a result of governmental policies using this same dual theoretical mode. For Gornitzka, resource dependence represents a focus on external control and dependencies, while internal power and control is represented by neo-institutionalism. Combining the two, he claims, is “key to understanding and specifying the process of environmental effects” (p. 8). Gornitzka calls this an “integration” approach. Its strength lies in its ability to incorporate the possibilities of both external and internal forces together.

Also worth mentioning is Kirby-Harris (2003) who calls his approach of combining institutionalism with resource dependence a “hybrid framework.” To him, resource dependency views organizations responding in an “economically rational manner to external economic influences” and neo-institutionalism claims organizations act according to a “normatively rational manner to external social influences” (p. 358). Ultimately, both perspectives are useful in Kirby-Harris’ (2003) study on a young university response to government in the recently independent Namibia in South Africa.

The following theoretical questions are part of this study. How does institutionalism inform the results of the study? How does resource dependence theory inform the results? Lastly, what does a dual theoretical perspective produce in trying to explain the intersection of academic capitalism and faculty in the social sciences? Academic capitalism is an organizational change in higher education of which social science faculty are a part. Where resource dependence theory helps me understand why there is an increase in academic capitalism (looking primarily outward), institutionalism should assist me in my exploration within the academy (a look from within). However, both have internal and external components of their perspective as well and both deal with the environmental influences of an organization.

In sum, resource dependence represents a more recent theory of organizational studies with a tradition of focusing on external constraints and resources. The more traditional perspective of institutionalism instead highlights cultural components that make up the social construction of an organization as well as its institutional field’s shared ideas of what is normal and appropriate. While resource dependence can be associated with Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) and the concern with relationships between

discrete organizations, institutionalism is connected with the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1991) and Meyer and Rowan (1977) who focus on appropriateness and legitimacy. One very easy to read break down of the “divergent foci” of resource dependence and institutionalist theories is the following table adapted from Oliver (1991).

Table 1

Divergent Foci of Institutional and Resource Dependence Perspectives

Institutional Perspective	Resource Dependence Perspective
Institutional environment	Task environment
Nonchoice behavior	Active choice behavior
Conforming to collective norms and beliefs	Coping with interdependence
Invisible pressures	Visible pressures
Isomorphism	Adaptation
Adherence to rules and norms	Management of scarce resources
Organizational persistence	Reduction of uncertainty
Habit and convention	Power and influence
Social worthiness	Resource mobilization
Conformity to external criteria	Control of external criteria
Institutional interests	Political interests
Compliance self-serving	Noncompliance self-serving

Note. From “Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes,” by C. Oliver, 1991, *Academy of Management*, 16(1), p. 147.

Despite these differences though, resource dependence and institutional theories can also be convergent (Oliver, 1991). Those convergent assumptions are: organizational choice is constrained by external pressure; organizations are interconnected; survival is dependent on responses to external pressures; all organizations seek stability, predictability, and legitimacy; and finally, all organizations are interest driven. So even though both theories look toward the external environment of an organization, the loci of power (culture versus resource) varies as well as the process of interchange (exchange versus isomorphism). When applied to higher education, institutionalists emphasize “myths, meaning, and values,” while a resource dependence view would highlight “efficiency, autonomy, and exchange” (Oliver, 1991).

As two main theories helping to explain organizational change, resource dependence and institutionalism share two basic assumptions – organizations are limited by external demands and organizations must adapt in order to survive. Yet, these two grand theories deviate in the mechanism by which this change occurs as well as the extent to which an organization will change in response to its environment. Despite similarities and differences, each theory represents a perspective worth considering. Further, I expect the reality of organizational change to yield examples of both perspectives depending on point of view, time of study, or angle of analysis.

In theoretical terms, there are a number of potential conclusions one can make from the data. For instance, if the results show the professors are being more entrepreneurial because of monetary and other resource constraints, resource dependence is operating. If, on the other hand, data exhibits entrepreneurial activity in response to pressures from administration or peer institutions, it is institutionalism at work.

Furthermore, signs of resistance would lead me to give weight to new institutionalism, which emphasizes notions of agency. Or there may be signs of both institutionalism and resource dependence, in which case a dual theoretical perspective would best fit.

In fact, the results showed the latter with signs of both resource dependence and institutionalism at work. Respondents were looking toward entrepreneurial activity because of administrative pressures (institutionalism) as well as in response to the increasing need to generate money in order to do what they do (resource dependence). This finding, along with the others, is more fully explored in Chapter Four.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter lays out the research design used for this study. It includes discussion of the qualitative research design along with some philosophical underpinnings of the approach, research methods, data sources, data collection, and data analysis. This chapter also covers issues of reliability and validity, which for qualitative studies is about trustworthiness and credibility. As a reminder, the research questions are: 1) How are professors in the social sciences experiencing academic capitalism? 2) How are professors in the social sciences responding to academic capitalism?

Due to the questions' open-ended and exploratory nature, I decided to use a qualitative research design. Creswell (1998) suggests allowing methodology to derive from the line of inquiry and lists seven reasons for choosing to do a qualitative study. The first one regards the type of research question. Questions that begin with *how* or *what* suggest an exploratory nature. The second reason to adopt a qualitative approach is when the topic is one that "needs to be *explored*" (p. 17). This means variables are not easily known or identifiable and theories are needed to explain behavior. Creswell's third reason is the need for a "*detailed view*" or what anthropology calls "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). The fourth reason emphasizes the need to study in the "*natural setting*" as opposed to a controlled experimental approach. In line with Creswell's guidelines, this study was driven by two related, exploratory research questions looking for how work in

the social sciences is affected by academic capitalism. It sought a detailed view via information produced by the qualitative research interview in a natural setting.

A fifth reason for choosing a qualitative research design is that the researcher may prefer to write in what Creswell terms a more literary style. This includes the use of “I” and notes of personal standing to contextualize decision-making. Creswell’s sixth reason is about the availability of time and resources, while the seventh is based on consideration of audience.

About the Author

Particularly in qualitative research, “researchers, in continuously interacting with those being researched, inevitably influence and structure research processes and their outcomes – through their personal and professional characteristics, by leaning on theories and methods available at a special time and place in the (sub-) cultures, disciplines, and nations” (Mruck and Breuer, 2003, p. 1). There are at least a couple of relevant disclosures in this regard.

First, I am an anthropologist. This means I tend to take a global approach and think along cultural lines. For me, this is not the first time I have used qualitative research interviews to conduct research. Second, I was familiar with all three study sites before the start of this study. I received my undergraduate degree from FSU and my Masters degree is from USF – both in Anthropology. My doctorate will also be from USF. Although I never attended classes at UF, it too is a familiar campus as I have found myself visiting friends there and conducting work. I am less familiar with Gainesville, but Tallahassee and Tampa Bay are places with deep roots and networks for me. I know all three campuses well and have acquaintances in all three cities. This made data collection easier

than it could have been had I been in unfamiliar territory. In fact, one of the reasons I chose UF, FSU, and USF as sites to study was partly due to the convenience of familiarity and geographic distance since I am a resident of St. Petersburg, FL.

Such factors, along with others, combine to form a perspective from which this study has developed. As Peshkin (1988) points out, “subjectivity can be seen as virtuous, for it is the basis of the researchers’ making a distinctive contribution that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected” (p. 18).

Data Collection

The primary means of data collection for this study was the qualitative research interview. Steinar Kvale (1996) wrote “the research interview is a conversation about the human life world, with the oral discourse transformed into texts to be interpreted” (p. 46). At a most basic level, we know what we know by communicating, through conversation and talking. To Kvale, the qualitative research interview is a professional version of that very fundamental way of knowing. He says the qualitative research interview is methodological, ontological, and epistemological. That is, empirically grounded, a source of knowing, as well as a way of knowing. Kvale poses a simple, yet valid question regarding this point, “If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?”

The qualitative research record shows that when done right, data from the qualitative research interview can be bountiful. Rubin and Rubin (2005) point out that the qualitative interview can be like “night-vision goggles, permitting us to see that which is not ordinarily in view and examine that which is often looked at but seldom seen” (p. vii).

I chose a semi-structured approach to interviewing, which is a method that allows participants to discuss what he or she feels is most important within guidelines established by my general questions. The openness of a semi-structured interview allows for some flexibility, while the guiding questions provide some constancy. It also allows the researcher to deviate from the interview guide when the participant mentions something of relevance and further explanation/information is needed. Since this method entails some unpredictability, interviews can vary in content, depth, and length. In this study, the interviews ranged from 12 minutes to just over two hours – a large span that shows the variety a semi-structured interview can achieve.

I designed the interview guide specifically for this study. It can be found in Appendix A. Topics included the professorship in the social sciences, work life, resource generating activities, business models in higher education, entrepreneurialism, marketability, and department involvement in university wide strategic directions. It also called for the demographic information of institution, gender, discipline, rank, and time at university.

I developed the wording of the questions and probes with the help of edits suggested by my dissertation committee as well as respondents in two pilot interviews. I made revisions to the original guide that was part of my dissertation proposal according to the feedback provided by the committee and pilot interviewees. For example, initially I was going to ask faculty about their research interests. The committee and pilot interviews agreed it was not relevant to the study, so it was removed. Another example is to switch the term “profit-making” with “resource generating” to refer to activities relevant to academic capitalism.

The two pilots were conducted with professors at USF – one from Social Work and another from Anthropology. These test runs were good practice for following the interview guide and learning the technology. Even more helpful was the fact that both participants had extensive research interview experience and thus, were able to provide knowledgeable feedback. The pilots were transcribed and reviewed by my advisor, who also provided feedback on how questions were posed and how interviewees responded.

All interviews were digitally recorded using a mini, hand-held, digital voice recorder. The digital audio files were transferred to my computer where I was able to play them back to transcribe. Most interviews took place in the professors' offices on campus, although on a few occasions, the interview was conducted over lunch or coffee.

Advantages of in person interviewing include more accurate responses due to natural context and lower interviewer workload, symmetrical distribution of interactive power, greater effectiveness with complex issues, better response rates, and more thoughtful responses (Shuy, 2001).

Informed consent was obtained using a form approved by the Institutional Review Board at USF. This form is included in Appendix B.

The sample.

The goal of data collection was to elicit potential patterns of experience and interpretation and to produce knowledge that is descriptive and analytic across institutions. As such, I used purposeful sampling as a method for recruiting study participants.

In purposeful sampling, participants are chosen for a specific purpose. Also known as judgment sampling, Bernard (1994) describes the method as when “you decide

the purpose you want an informant (or a community) to serve and you go out to find one” (p. 95). It is important to note that purposeful sampling requires the researcher to make key decisions, decisions that must be made clear to his or her audience. Creswell (1998) points out, “researchers designing qualitative studies need clear criteria in mind and need to provide rationales for their decisions” (p. 188).

In this case, the defined group was social science faculty at UF, FSU, and USF. What I call core faculty members includes tenured or tenure earning faculty, but there were a few lecturers that ended up in the mix. At each of the three institutions, I gained access to three departments (Sociology, Criminology, and Economics), creating a total of nine units.

UF, FSU, and USF were chosen because they are the three top public research universities geographically accessible to me as a resident of St. Petersburg, FL. For purposes of generalizability, they were also chosen because they behave similar to other large public universities active in research and market and market-like endeavors. As research extensive universities, they are also the three Florida public institutions most likely to be involved extensively in academic capitalism.

The social sciences I chose to explore are sociology, criminology, and economics. According to Classification of Instructional Programs (CIP), social sciences are defined as those that focus on the systematic study of social systems, social institutions, and social behavior. Sociology, criminology, and economics are all considered social sciences according to CIP and the National Center for Education Statistics. These three social science disciplines were chosen based on three basic criteria. First was representation at all of the three institutions. Second, the number of faculty in each department was

sufficient to recruit participants. Third, they typify a variety of social sciences as representatives of the continuum that spans from the traditional field of Sociology, to the more applied field of Criminology, and ending with the most market- aware of the social sciences – Economics.

My goal was to interview five faculty members in each of the nine units, resulting in a total of 45 interviews. I refer to them as units because one is actually a “school” (The School of Criminology and Criminal Justice). Since the total number of tenure or tenure earning professors in the nine units was 176, 45 would make 25% of my defined sample. However, after transcribing 37 interviews and doing some preliminary analysis, I felt I had reached a point of saturation. The redundancy in responses signaled the end of finding new themes and thus I judged that further interviewing would yield no new information.

The demographic breakdown of the final 37 participants is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Demographics of Participants

	<u>FSU</u>	<u>UF</u>	<u>USF</u>	<u>Total</u>
Demographic				
Gender				
Male	12	7	8	27
Female	3	4	3	10
Time at University				
Less than 6 years	5	3	5	13
6-15 years	3	4	3	10
16-25 years	3	1	3	7
26-35 years	2	1	0	3
Over 35 years	2	2	0	4
Rank				
Lecturer	3	0	0	3
Assistant	0	2	4	6
Associate	3	4	5	12
Full	9	5	2	16
Department				
Sociology	5	2	3	10
Criminology	5	5	5	15
Economics	5	4	3	12

I employed random selection to determine which of the total 176 professors I attempted to recruit. For confidentiality, each faculty member was assigned a number from 1 to 176. Those numbers were grouped by department and university and then five from each unit were randomly chosen. The corresponding names became the first round of names I contacted. I used envelopes, one for each of the nine units. Each envelope contained small pieces of paper with numbers that corresponded to the ID numbers.

I made contact using a series of three draft messages, which can be found in Appendix C. An initial email was sent and if there was no response after one week, I followed up with the second message. If after two weeks, the second attempt did not yield a response, then the third and final email was sent. When it was clear the third message would not yield a response or if the faculty member refused, then that person was taken out of the sample and the next random number was chosen from the appropriate group.

In total, I contacted 88 professors, 24 of whom never responded, 19 refused and 37 accepted, initially or during follow-up, for a 42 percent response rate. Many of the non-participants were unavailable during the summer semester, working from home, off doing research, or out of town. One accepted, but never showed up for the appointment and another expressed interest but never scheduled.

Like the institutions, the nine departments chosen for this study, are both similar and different. Some were established a long time ago (FSU Sociology in 1918 and UF Economics in the 1920s) and others more recently (USF Criminology in 1972 and UF Criminology in 2004). Criminology departments are generally younger considering they

are a discipline that in many ways stemmed from the much older discipline of sociology. All nine of the departments offer both MA and Ph.D. programs. The size of the faculty was also relatively similar, ranging from 15-25 members. The number of undergraduate majors, at the time, was fairly low for economics, yet it was relatively high for criminology, numbering over 1000 undergraduate majors at FSU and USF.

As mentioned, criminology at FSU is actually a school – the FSU School of Criminology and Criminal Justice claims to be one of the oldest criminology programs in the world with one of the oldest Ph.D. programs in the United States. The US News and World Report 2007 Edition of America’s Best Graduate Schools ranked the FSU School of Criminology as the 12th best, and the Criminal Justice and Department of Criminology at UF as the 13th best Ph.D. in Criminology program.

Analysis

Analysis of the transcripts produced by the interviews was a guided process informed by the research design and theoretical framework that combines institutionalism and resource dependence theory. To analyze the data, I chose a hermeneutical approach or what Kvale (1996) calls “meaning interpretation.” This is when “the researcher has a perspective on what is investigated and interprets the interviews from this perspective” (p. 201). In such a case, the researcher must read between the lines and “work out structures and relations of meaning not immediately apparent in a text” (p. 201). I chose this approach because academic capitalism as a term is not readily understood or used in circles beyond scholars of higher education. The ideas of academic capitalism may be expressed, but it is not likely the expressions use those words or the theoretical formulations surrounding it.

Consequently, I was vigilant as the one interpreting subtleties of the interview text. Likening the words of interviews to numbers in statistics Kvale writes, “Precision in description and stringency in meaning interpretation correspond in qualitative interviews to exactness in quantitative measurements” (p. 32). This is where resource dependence and institutionalism became useful because together they form a theoretical stance from which the results were interpreted. However, there is a fine line between data guiding theory and theory guiding data. So although I considered resource dependence and institutionalism as I went about dissecting the data, the findings reveal much more than what fits within that specific theoretical point of view.

Transcripts of the 37 interviews conducted for this study totaled 118 pages of single-spaced text. Using a simple categorization and sorting approach, the transcripts were condensed to 43 pages. There are many ways this can be done, but the overall goal was to collect passages and put them into meaningful groupings. This is called indexing or coding, which reduces data to manageable and organized parts. I took a rudimentary approach by using symbols to represent each theme I discovered during transcription. As I transcribed each interview, I took notes on commonalities related to the research questions. Each theme was randomly assigned a symbol that I used to index the transcripts. I then used Microsoft Word to copy and paste sections of coded text into documents categorized by theme, although the raw data (full transcripts) was left intact in a separate document and indexed for reference purposes.

Each of the groups of passages categorized by theme was individually analyzed and further distinctions were teased out within and among them. The roughly grouped excerpts from the transcripts were first examined without identifiers to focus on meaning

and intention of the quote. Then, discipline and institution (and in some cases rank) were entered and I re-analyzed the data looking for possible demographic trends. During this process, another large amount of text was removed to isolate the best said and most representative quotes. In fact, another ten pages was removed in the hopes of creating a concise, yet representative picture. I then internally analyzed each cleaned up section organized by theme and came up with some further distinctions by building categories within categories. Throughout the writing process, quotes were sometimes reassigned as further nuances became apparent in the text. And the process of eliminating unnecessary information continued.

Overall, I was inclusive in my scope in order “to avoid anecdotalism, identify negative instances, produce quasi-statistics, and thereby represent without analytical bias the full range of phenomena in [the] data set” (Seale, 2002, p. 653). As Kvale (1996) points out, “focus should be on nuanced descriptions that depict qualitative diversity, the many difference and varieties of a phenomenon, rather than on ending up with fixed categorizations” (p. 32).

Validity and Reliability

“The complexities of validating qualitative research need not be due to an inherent weakness in qualitative methods, but may, on the contrary, rest on their extraordinary power to picture and to question the complexity of the social reality investigated” (Kvale, 1996, p. 244). For any research study, consideration of methods must address validity and reliability. The quote from Kvale nicely expresses how complex, yet fruitful a valid and reliable qualitative study can be. Because reliability is the responsibility of the researcher in qualitative work, it is closely related to issues of

trustworthiness and ethics. Validity, on the other hand, refers to logical, justifiable, and/or reasonable and sound statements or actions. When viewed in this way, validity is exposed as something argued for and agreed upon.

In seeking truth, validity and reliability should be of utmost concern. However, in deliberation of what they mean, we must first address what is meant by truth. Is truth some objective knowable reality waiting to be discovered as positivists believe? Or is “truth” something local and constantly changing as postmodernists believe? The question then becomes, is truth absolute or is it relative? Like Kvale (1996), I took a middle ground approach that rejects the “notion of an objective universal truth... [accepting] the possibility of specific local, personal, and community forms of truth, with a focus on daily life and local narrative” (p. 231).

There are several ways that a researcher assures validity and reliability in a qualitative study and they occur throughout the research process, from formulating a research question to making recommendations based on analysis of data. Kvale (1996) provides ample advice on how to do this. To start with, theory and related research questions that begin the study must be sound, as does the research design. While interviewing, validity is raised in terms of trustworthiness, interview proficiency, and the ability to be open and hear what the interviewee has to say from their perspective. This requires good listening skills, clarification of confusing points, and honest transfer of audio to text. To ensure validity of a study, researchers must be aware of “whether the questions put to an interview text are valid and whether the logic of the interpretations is sound” (p. 237). This is of course based on a transcript that stays true from oral to written text. Even at the end stages, a researcher must interject a concern for validity when

reporting results that provide an accurate account of the findings and how he or she came to such conclusions. Kvale stresses the point that, “issues of verification do not belong to some separate stage of an investigation, but should be addressed throughout the entire research process” (p. 235).

To help ensure the validity of this study, I sent a summary of the interview transcript to each participant for corrections, feedback, and further comments. This is one form of “member checking,” which is a means of verifying information by confirming responses and/or rephrasing answers back to the participant for clarification. The same was done during interviews, where exchange was enhanced with impromptu probes used as needed to stay on course, clarify, and respond. This is an important part of maintaining quality and “allows for the gathering of additional information, permits respondents to validate or clarify the intended meaning behind certain statements, or comment on the overall adequacy of the interview” (Poland, 2001, p.644).

Questions of reliability should also be raised at all stages of the research process. While interviewing, the interviewer should be careful about potentially leading questions. During analysis, categorization needs to be consistent. Even the process of transcription requires regularity during translation, which means following clear and steady procedures. To check reliability of coding and themes, I had my advisor review the initial transcripts, codes, and themes. Reliability is important, but Kvale (1996) points out “though increasing the reliability of the interview findings is desirable in order to counteract haphazard subjectivity, a strong emphasis on reliability may counteract creative innovations and variability” (p. 236).

Also related to ethics is trustworthiness. The issue of trustworthiness is raised because “validity is not only a matter of methods used; the person of the research (Salner, 1989), including his or her moral integrity (Smith, 1990) is critical for evaluation of the quality of the scientific knowledge produced” (Kvale, 1996, p. 242). By the 1980s, most fields of academia had established a Code of Ethics designed to guide the research process. Throughout this research, I have fully followed the standards set out by the American Anthropological Association and the American Educational Research Association (AERA) found at <http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm> and <http://www.aera.net/aboutaera/?id=222> respectively.

As such, approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at USF was sought, and on March 22, 2006 the study was approved. Regarding informed consent, I fully subscribed to the Mill and Weber tradition, which “insists that research subjects have the right to be informed about the nature and consequences of experiments they are involved in” (p. 138). The review and approval of this study by IRB signifies my commitment to the integrity of this research. The process included completion of the Human Participants Protection for Research Teams online course, sponsored by the National Institutes of Health which covers such topics as key historical events, ethics, federal regulation, special populations, informed consent, and IRB. For reference, the IRB indicating approval of the project is included in Appendix D.

Chapter Four

Research Findings

This study seeks to answer two broad, exploratory, and interrelated research questions. 1) How are professors in the social sciences experiencing academic capitalism? 2) How are professors in the social sciences responding to academic capitalism? In response to these inquiries, several connected themes were found in the data. Those are 1) academic capitalism is experienced differently in the social sciences than it is in other academic disciplines, 2) the marketplace of academic capitalism in the social sciences is a market of ideas rather than an economic one, 3) professors see both advantages and disadvantages to being entrepreneurial, and 4) academic capitalism is more relevant to junior faculty than it is for senior faculty.

With regard to theory, many professors in this study cite the notion of a shifting resource base and changing external environment, which supports resource dependence theory. However, the data also lends weight to an institutionalist view. For example, professors at FSU discussed their drive for AAU membership, arguably a prestige seeking mission with ties to institutionalism. In addition, participants raised notions of globalization by citing larger trends of capitalization and the growth of the entrepreneurial university seen world-wide.

These themes that emerged from the interviews are presented more fully below along with quotes from participants to support the findings. Theoretical considerations

follow, but first it is important to learn more about the institutional settings. Among the universities there are both similarities and differences, some of which are described below in order to provide a fuller context for the data. Such background information will assist in understanding, interpreting, and most importantly, applying the results.

Three Public Research Universities

I chose three public research institutions for this study, the University of Florida (UF), Florida State University (FSU), and the University of South Florida (USF). They are both similar and dissimilar, which affects the analysis across sites.

Most broadly, all three are major public research universities in the state of Florida. In addition, all are of similar size and status, and student population is relatively the same across the board. There are about 49,000 students at UF, FSU has just fewer than 40,000, and at USF there are around 43,000 students. Specific head counts vary, but all would be considered to have large student bodies. The total number of faculty at UF is roughly double than it is at USF and FSU, with UF reporting 5,171 faculty and FSU and USF reporting 2,054 and 2,503 respectively (SUS Quick Facts at <http://www.flbog.org/factbook/quickfacts.asp>). Although UF and FSU are older than USF, together they maintain a significant part of the state's research activities and graduate education. Each serves the state of Florida as a public extension of the government. They also share "very high research activity" standing with the Carnegie Foundation. No other public university in Florida shares this distinction.

According to the 2006 U.S. News and World Report on universities, UF, FSU, and USF ranked the same on three of five measures – total cost per year (\$20,000-25,000), student body ("extra large"), and institution type (public). On the remaining two

measures, they differed, with USF and FSU earning “urban” status for setting while UF was suburban. Regarding undergraduate selectivity, UF admissions ranked “most selective,” FSU was “more selective,” and USF was simply “selective.”

The 2006-2007 Almanac Issue of the Chronicle of Higher Education reported further similarities and differences among the three sites chosen for this study. All three showed up on the national top list of campuses with the largest enrollment for Fall 2004, with UF ranking 7th, USF 12th, and FSU 21st. Only UF and FSU made the list for top institutions in licensing income, but all three are on the list of top 100 institutions in total research and development expenditures for science and engineering.

University of Florida.

Considered a major land-grant university, UF was founded in 1853 and has a long history as a leading university in Florida. UF possesses an endowment worth over \$669 million and is located in Gainesville, FL. Although it promotes the typical threefold mission of a university (teaching, research, and service), UF claims its fundamental purpose is teaching. Integral to this fundamental goal is scholarship and service. UF is a member of the prestigious Association of American Universities, a distinction unique to UF among the three case studies. UF also ranked 1st in the state according to the 2006 US News and World Report and 47th overall amongst both private and public universities. Located on a 2000-acre campus, UF is the only public university in Florida with a College of Dentistry and a College of Veterinary Medicine. The university houses 16 colleges overall, including the Levin College of Law and the College of Medicine.

The most famous example of academic capitalism at UF is the wildly successful Gatorade, a product spawned from a need to protect football players from the hot Florida

sun. In 1965, assistant coach Dwayne Douglas approached UF kidney disease specialist Robert Cade because he wanted to know why football players lost so much weight during games and practice, yet urinated so little. Cade and his colleagues gave thought to the inquiry and summarized that body weight was being shed in the form of sweat. “The researchers speculated that the electrolytes – primarily sodium and potassium – the players were losing in their sweat were upsetting the body’s delicate chemical balance” (Kays and Phillips-Hans, 2003).

After researching the issue with the help of volunteers from the freshmen football team, the professors concocted a drink with just enough salt and sugar to bring depleted athlete’s bodies back in balance – then added lemon juice to make it palatable. Tests of what came to be known as Gatorade proved to prevent heat exhaustion. The team credits their first Orange Bowl win to the drink; thus, the name Gatorade. Initially marketed by one of Cade’s research fellows at Stokely-Van Camp at Indiana University, royalties from the drink eventually came to be shared by UF and Stokely-Van Camp’s Gatorade Trust. Quaker Oats Co purchased Stokely-Van Camp in 1983 and it was then that Gatorade became a significant part of the sports beverage market. UF has since earned over \$80 million in royalties. UF VP for Research is quoted as saying “Over the years, royalties from Gatorade and a host of other products has enabled the University of Florida to invest in countless research projects in a wide variety of disciplines.”

For reference, net adjusted income from inventions or products created at UF is divided as follows. If less than \$500,000, then 40% goes to the individual, 10% goes to that individual’s program, and the department and college each get 7.5%, while the remaining 35% goes to either the Research and Graduate Program (RGP) or UF Research

Foundation (UFRF). If net adjusted income exceeds \$500,000, then the split is 25% to the individual creator, 10% each to the program, department, and college, with the remaining 45% funding the RGP or UFRF.

Florida State University.

FSU considers itself a comprehensive, graduate-research university with a primary role of advanced graduate and professional training with a liberal arts base. According to the 2006 U.S. News and World Report of Best colleges, FSU ranked 51st among public research universities in the U.S. and 109th overall. Founded in 1851, FSU is located in the state's capital of Tallahassee with branch campuses in Panama City, Sarasota, and the Republic of Panama. The home campus in Tallahassee sits on 448.3 acres and the university's endowment is estimated to be over \$400 million. FSU boasts 204 graduate programs, of which 72 award the doctorate, and has a law school and a recently established medical school. FSU is also home to the National High Magnetic Field Laboratory, supported by the National Science Foundation. In total, there are 16 colleges and schools at FSU.

FSU's major academic capitalist story is the tale of Taxol – a story that begins in 1962 when a then 32 year old botanist named Arthur Barclay collected samples from a Pacific yew tree while looking for potential medicines during his work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Those now infamous samples eventually made their way to the National Cancer Institute's Cancer Chemotherapy National Service Center (CCNSC), where they proved to be highly toxic to certain cancer cells. The chemical responsible was dubbed K172 and later named Taxol. Nearly ten years later in 1971, research from CCNSC finally worked out the structure of the molecule.

A 1979 article by Susan B. Horowitz finally provided Taxol's mechanism, but it wasn't until 1993 that Taxol really became catapulted as a cancer fighting drug. That year Robert Holton, currently a professor at FSU, claimed (along with his research team) "victory in totally synthesizing the drug" (www.research.fsu.edu/researchr/fall2002/taxol.html). In partnership with the pharmaceutical giant Bristol-Myers, Taxol was marketed as an FDA approved medication for ovarian cancer. The windfall to FSU as a result of Holton's post there has been staggering. In 1996 alone, FSU received \$28 million dollars in royalties from Taxol. Overall, the revenue from Taxol totals over \$200 million, "among the largest patenting pay-offs for a single university in history."

Royalty sharing at FSU for inventions also depends on the amount. For the first \$10,000 85% goes to the inventor and 15% to the university or the FSU Research Foundation. If the grant is more than \$10,000, 40 % goes to the inventor, 30% to the academic unit, and 30% to the university. Royalties earned for published works, regardless of amount, go 50 % to the author, 25 % to the academic unit, and 25% to the university.

University of South Florida.

Founded in 1956, USF is a multi-site university with campuses in Tampa, St. Petersburg, Lakeland, and Sarasota. Although relatively young, USF envisions itself as a premier research university with a strong push from leadership to gain ground in the area of sponsored research. A self-stated goal of USF that is worth noting here considering its relevance to academic capitalism is "increased fiscal self-sufficiency." In 2005, USF completed a \$42.9 million research park that houses the USF Research Park, an 87-acre

development of office and lab space designed to accommodate bioengineering and life sciences research, entrepreneurship, and partnerships between the university, local government, and business. “The complex, “located on the southwest corner of USF’s main Tampa campus, will bring scientists and entrepreneurs together to work side by side, share innovations and make advancements that succeed in both the laboratory and in the marketplace” (“Florida’s Trends,” 2003). USF is also home to H. Lee Moffitt Hospital, which is a National Cancer Institute Comprehensive Cancer Center. USF has an endowment of over \$244 million. There are 13 colleges and schools at USF including the College of Public Health and the School of Architecture and Community Design, both of which are unique among the case studies in this research. There is also the USF College of Medicine.

Academic capitalism at USF has less renown than the stories of Gatorade and Taxol, but exists nonetheless. Still, examples are from among the life and hard sciences. The USF Division of Patents and Licensing reports patents issued in the 2005-2006 fiscal year. They include a Cancer Treatment using proANP Peptides (Physiology and Biophysics), a therapeutic mattress (Anesthesia and Critical Care Department of the College of Medicine), an Eccentric Dilation Balloon for Use with Endoscopes (College of Medicine), and a collapsible computer workstation (Mechanical Engineering).

Florida Statutes, Regulation USF10-012, as well as Collective Bargaining Agreements govern books, articles, and inventions made “with or without university support” at USF. The share of profit resulting from these applications are negotiated, but start with no more than 45% of net revenue to the inventor/authors, no more than 55% of net revenue to the inventor’s/author’s research support, and no more than 45% of net

revenue to USF. Once set, the shares are managed and protected by the not-for-profit USF Research Foundation that was established in 1989.

By considering some of the differences and similarities between the three universities, the results of this study can be more deeply understood. As mentioned, the findings are presented in response to two primary research questions: How are professors in the social sciences experiencing academic capitalism and how are professors in the social sciences responding to academic capitalism. The results are organized into several interrelated themes. In many cases the boundaries between experience and response was blurred. In this sense, the following presentation is laid out in a way that makes sense for the argument more than it does correspond directly to each research question.

The illustrations of market and market-like activity found in the social sciences yield a specific form of academic capitalism that involves mostly grant activity, but also “capitalizing the curriculum” and other indications of being entrepreneurial. The “market” in “market and market-like behavior” in the social sciences, is about a market based on ideas, professional expectations, and higher education culture. Across the board, professors saw both clear advantages and disadvantages to being more entrepreneurial. However, perspectives on the topic varied along the lines of junior versus senior faculty. Among the responses, there is deep concern for the future, but also great hope.

Forms of Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences

In thinking about the potential ways the social sciences might be experiencing and responding to academic capitalism, I came up with a list of possibilities to use as probes with the interview question: Have you participated in any resource generating activity for the department? I created the list from examples about which I had read, heard, or

conceived. That list includes summer field schools on an auxiliary funding model, external grants, royalties from published or patented work, copyrighted survey/testing products or research instruments, courseware development, consulting, and involvement with a research center or institute.

Based on the interview data however, academic capitalism in the social sciences at the three universities centers almost solely on grant activity and includes essentially no technology transfer or patenting. While there were examples of research centers, none of the participants gave examples of field schools, patented works with royalties, copyrighted research instruments, or courseware programs. Further, research centers as an example are, in many ways connected to securing external grants. Ways social science departments are being entrepreneurial that I did not consider include “capitalizing the curriculum” or “educational entrepreneurship” and a focus on marketing. There are also two second-hand instances of academic capitalism that were given. A professor of economics discussed a social science spin off company he knew about and a professor of criminology shared a story about a software product used to map crime.

Grant activity.

The most prominent finding of this study is that academic capitalism in the social sciences is overwhelmingly interpreted in terms of grant activity. The primary market or market-like behavior cited by the professors in this study typically revolves around securing external grants. For the most part, grants in the social sciences are less likely to provide significant indirect costs recovery to universities because of their smaller size. Research grants in the social sciences are also somewhat limited, particularly when compared to other sciences, because the amount of money received is linked to the

potential marketability of research topics. Further, professional expectations about grant activity are far less pronounced for social scientists than they are for some others on campus, even though the data suggest this might be changing and that in the future, grant activity will gain greater importance among faculty work in the social sciences.

Faculty frequently discussed how grants in the social sciences are usually smaller than and not as prestigious as those found in disciplines like medicine, engineering, and chemistry. In other words, the amount awarded for research in the social sciences is usually less than it is for the lab-driven disciplines. This is relevant because the breakdown of how grant monies get internally distributed usually depends on the amount awarded. Due to their generally smaller size, grant money earned in the social sciences are typically not the kind that generates indirect costs for the university. A professor of criminology at USF held:

Our total amounts are a lot less than, for instance, some of the hard sciences and the med school. I have a cousin in Anatomy and I don't know the size of his grants, but I bet you he thinks mine are pennies compared to what he brings in.

In discussing the contribution of the Department of Economics at FSU to the university's bottom line, one professor similarly commented:

It's still going to be a drop in the bucket. Economics grants and the same thing goes for education, are very small compared to medical grants, compared to grants in chemistry and physics and biology. What they [the university administrators] really want is those obscene relationships with the federal government where you get a grant and they want 46% of it.

Economists were particularly aware of their discipline's inability to contribute to university-wide budgets via external grants. Across the three institutions, professors of economics noted:

The university overall is a little bit happy when the College of Business faculty bring in grants because it adds to the total. But the amount that we bring in is so insignificant compared to the hard sciences that it doesn't matter that much.

(Professor of Economics at UF)

When you think about what's a good way to generate a lot of money for the university...you [can] come up with a new drug, which somebody in the chemistry department did – Taxol, which brought in millions and millions of dollars, but we just don't have the ability to do that in economics.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

You shouldn't try to stamp the same incentives on every single college because we can't respond to them. We cannot become an important source of grant funding for the University of South Florida... even if we had nothing but noble laureates here. It wouldn't happen.

(Professor of Economics at USF)

Beyond the size of a grant, which was mentioned, there is also the fact that the social sciences are more likely to get state grants that typically maintain restrictions about the overhead they allow. So grant activity in the social sciences has a low impact on university bottom lines, but the availability of grants in the social sciences might also be considered 'low,' especially when compared to other sciences.

In fact, professors repeatedly reported that the opportunity for grants in the social sciences is much narrower than it is in other research areas. A professor of criminology at UF stated, “The amount of funds available to them [the natural sciences] is greater. You have different funding sources. I think the grants are much larger and there is a greater diversity of topics in which they can do.” According to those I interviewed, the market has a large role in this regard and the common perception is that research done in the social sciences is less marketable than the research going on in medicine, engineering, physics, and chemistry. For example, a professor of criminology at UF stated, “In the hard sciences, it’s much easier to get grants. There is much more money out there for that sort of thing.” A sociologist at UF put it this way:

There is more of a market in the sense that more people are willing to buy research in physics and chemistry and so on. Rightly so... engineering. There is not much of a market for poets. There is not much money out there for people who are willing to do a piece of historical research or write a book of poems. If you’re on the humanities end... historiography or textual analysis and those areas, there are no grants. There just are none. But if you’re in the area of studying infant mortality, HIV, health issues, epidemiology, NIH is a big funder.

In some cases, professors research interests in certain social science subfields connected them to well funded areas. A professor of economics at USF who works in the subfield “health economics” was aware of his exceptionality in attracting external research grants of a significant kind. He pointed out, “I get grants, pretty big ones... but I’m an exception in social sciences mostly because I do health economics. So I work with other disciplines and we get grants. These are grants from the government, NSF or NIH.”

A professor of sociology at FSU who considers himself a demographer also conducts research in the health sciences. He too was aware of his advantage as a social scientist in securing big grants, also due to his focus on health. He explained:

I'm a demographer and in my particular area of sociology, we are a much more natural science, big science, health science model. They [grants] are very relevant for us and we have a long tradition in demography of needing outside funding, relying on outside funding, and looking for outside funding.

However, the majority of professors I interviewed categorized their research interests in the less marketable arena, and the few who did not were aware of their minority status.

It is also important to point out that the need to get external funding is not nearly as pronounced in the social sciences as it is in the hard sciences. This is because most research conducted in the social sciences costs less than it does in lab centered disciplines. More often than not, social science research (economics might be the exception) is conducted in the field while medical research and chemistry research occur in a lab or clinic. As a professor of economics at USF said "a lab is very expensive to run." The data showed a great deal of agreement about this fairly obvious point. At FSU, they made the following comments:

You can buy one piece of equipment in a Physics lab that easily costs more than my entire department gets in a year. Not the equipment, but the budget of my whole department. It could cost millions and millions of dollars.

(Professor of Criminology at FSU)

I know some people in biology and some other fields and they really have to scramble for funds constantly. It's part of their whole way of doing research....

We don't have as much overhead cost for our research. It's not laboratory driven.

So it's different.

(Professor of Sociology at FSU)

Our need of funding is much less. You know, they need a 10 million dollar particle accelerator; I need a \$10,000 computer lab and \$5,000 a year in subject payments. So the scale is much lower.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

Professors at UF and USF made similar comments:

One of my best friends is an astronomer here and his work is done on instrument design and telescopes. Well, you need millions of dollars to design these telescopes that are 30-50 meters in length. So it's very clear that for them, it's not a choice. It's a necessity.

(Professor of Economics at UF)

The kind of research I want to do is virtually free. There really aren't big expenses. My tenure book that I wrote was all archival research at Purdue University and my only expenses were getting there and maybe photo copying. You know that's really low budget stuff.

(Professor of Sociology at USF)

In sum, the majority of grant activity in the social sciences does not cost as much as it does in some other areas of research. Professors doing more 'marketable' research and bringing in significant grants were also found, yet as exceptions. In general, social

scientists' need to pursue large external grants is minimal and therefore the activity is still somewhat marginal to social science professional expectations, which is the last point made about the characteristics of grant activity in the social sciences.

In many ways, professional expectations about academic capitalism in the social sciences fall in line with impact, availability, and need. The data suggest social scientists are aware of academic capitalism, involve themselves in some entrepreneurial activity, yet have not fully embraced or prioritized market and market-like behavior. Having a grant in the social sciences is like "icing on the cake," which is not the case in hard sciences. Among social scientists, securing external grants is viewed as an added bonus.

In the words of a professor of criminology at UF:

It's clear that everybody in the hard sciences is funded... There isn't anyone who isn't externally funding their laboratory. If you're not, then you don't have a job... Over here, if you have a grant that's great. I mean it's good, but it's not a sine qua non of your existence.

(Professor of Criminology at UF)

Grant activity differs along discipline lines and the social sciences are generally less dependent on the need to secure big external grants than are the hard sciences. In the natural sciences "if you don't have a grant, it's almost disreputable," which is just not the case for those I interviewed. However, the section on junior versus senior faculty suggests these professional expectations might be shifting.

In all, as the dominant mode of academic capitalism in the social sciences, securing external funding is more of a bonus than a requisite for your professional advancement or "sine non qua [Latin for "without this, you are nothing"] of your

existence.” This is particularly true when compared to the natural sciences. A professor of economics at FSU put it this way, “I’ve heard [stories in] other disciplines where... someone in your department [is] looking over you every six months, saying you must bring in more funds. That just doesn’t happen in Economics.” A professor of criminology at UF concurred, saying, “I think with the natural sciences there is this big expectation that they will get grants. My guess is that it’s a bigger consideration at T&P times than it is for the social sciences.”

In fact, the disparities of impact on the bottom line, availability of funds, need of funds, and professional expectations were often discussed as a continuum with hard sciences on one end, the humanities on the other, and social sciences somewhere in the middle. As a professor of sociology said, “So depending upon what area you are in, it [market and market like activity] is more or less expected.” A professor of criminology put it this way:

The expectations are not as high for the social sciences as they are for the natural sciences. They are higher than they are for the humanities. So they are kind of in between. Psychology comes closer to the natural sciences.

Others made the same point about psychology and elaborated that there is a continuum of grant activity based on area of research, and to some extent disciplines. For example, a professor of criminology commented, “It [grant activity] depends on what kind of social science you’re talking about. In psychology, the expectations are getting pretty close to those in the natural sciences. The rest of the social sciences are somewhere in between.”

A colleague agreed:

There are some areas of social science, like psychology where external funding is pretty substantial. Then there are other areas, which are really not that far from the kind of traditional humanities model like anthropology, certainly cultural anthropology, some kinds of sociology, even some aspects of criminology are closer to humanities than they are, let's say, to psychology. What's really interesting is, although they're no where near the hard sciences level, they [the social sciences] are certainly moving away from...the humanities.

In sum, academic capitalism in the social sciences mostly concerns grant activity. Further, that grant-activity generally produces low impact on the university bottom line, and, is of limited availability, modest need, and marginal in professional expectations. These issues are, in many ways interrelated. Social scientists typically conduct research that is less expensive than research done in other departments and funds made available to them are also less. Therefore their contribution is less and expectations to generate outside funding are minimal. A professor of economics at FSU summed it up this way: "Due to the need factor, the pressure to get funding is different and the availability is different as well." I would add to this, expectations also vary as a result of the overall difference in cost of social science research as compared to medicine and other lab-driven research.

Lastly, grant getting seems to be more episodic in the social sciences than in other areas, and as the primary form of academic capitalism that is significant. This is because it means academic capitalism in the social sciences may also be episodic. This supports the notion that academic capitalism has yet to truly take hold in nontraditional areas. In other words, academic capitalism is not a continuous or on-going thing for those

interviewed. These findings suggest academic capitalism is valued in the social sciences, but not imperative.

The research center.

The mention of research centers as a way professors in the social sciences are being entrepreneurial is really just another manifestation of grant activity. Involvement with a research center was cited on more than one occasion as a way of being entrepreneurial. In creating or being a part of a research center, professors reported the provision of support and collaboration opportunities that in turn assists in getting research funding.

An example is the Center for Criminology and Public Policy Research (CPPR) at FSU. As part of the College of Criminology and Criminal Justice, CPPR boasts multi-million dollar grant activity from local, state, and federal sources. As the name suggests, the focus is on policy related research. Ongoing projects at CPPR include an agricultural crime initiative, a consumer fraud institute, the Palm Beach violence reduction project, a data management project on violence and drug use in Florida schools, and JJEEP – the Juvenile Justice Educational Enhancement Program. JJEEP is a long term study in collaboration with the Florida Department of Education doing quality assurance reviews for juvenile justice schools in the state of Florida.

Faculty in the FSU College of Criminology and Criminal Justice repeatedly mentioned these projects as examples of academic capitalism in their unit. As a relatively new aspect of the college, the idea is that CPPR supports grant activity among faculty and thus brings in money. According to one faculty member, “the Center for Criminology and Public Policy was born two years ago and there are people there that

look for opportunities for funding. If they see one and they know that a particular faculty member or members might be interested in that area, they'll send it to them and say, 'are you interested in writing a grant?'"

The idea that participation in a research center is entrepreneurial was also mentioned by faculty in the Department of Sociology at FSU. They have the Center for Demography and Population Health (CDPH), which is an interdisciplinary research center at the college level with a focus on demographic and population health research. As a center, CDPH offers an undergraduate Certificate in Demographics and a Master of Science degree in Demography. As in Criminology at FSU, a Sociology professor I interviewed said the center was "designed explicitly for the purposes of bringing in outside money and to conduct training." Her colleague made the same point, explaining how the CDPH helps administer grants:

Their job is to support and help write grants, do the bookkeeping. And without them, we couldn't do our job. They are absolutely critical. They deal with all the details that are so critical and which faculty are so bad at.

Like the CPPR and in some ways the CDPH, UF's Institute for Crime and Justice Policy Research is a relatively recent focus for the department. A senior faculty member of Criminology there commented: "We've got a thing we call the Institute for Crime and Justice and Policy Research that's trying to generate proposals, submit more proposals.... It's an institute but it's not very active right now. We've got a director and it's fairly new. So we're trying to use it to help generate proposals....that's one of its purposes, to support and generate and I guess stimulate people making proposals."

No examples of the research center as entrepreneurship were given at USF, but in the Department of Sociology there was discussion about creating an urban research institute. Again, it was with the intention of supporting sponsored research. A professor there explained:

It's been a thought in the back of our minds for a long time to eventually have some kind of urban research center. We're in a huge city. There's no reason why we shouldn't study that city more... And I think that's a way to kind of dovetail in with both the substantive direction of the university [securing more external grants] and also the Research I designation.

So one way social scientists are experiencing academic capitalism is through their participation in research centers that are reportedly formed to increase and support grant activity among faculty. Each of the examples raised in the interviews share relatively recent attention, which lends supports to an increasing presence of academic capitalism in the social sciences. Nonetheless, the data also support the notion that entrepreneurial activity among social scientists with these endeavors is still fairly limited, particularly when compared to the life sciences.

Capitalizing the curriculum.

In addition to grant activity, new academic programming was also offered as an example of being entrepreneurial in the social sciences. For instance, the Department of Criminology at USF recently created what is called a professional masters program. This is a degree designed specifically for working professional in terms of course format, content, and delivery. In discussing ways her department was being market driven, one professor explained:

One of the ways that we're being entrepreneurial is in the teaching realm and that is developing some programs geared towards the person that is already in the field – the practitioner. For instance, we just developed...we're calling it a professional Masters and so we'll have two Masters programs.... What this new Masters program is trying to do is tap into the professionals around the area that want to earn their Masters. It will be more practical, on Saturdays, some online and so forth. And I definitely see that as being entrepreneurial because there are others out there that are competing with us. So in that sense, I think we're being very entrepreneurial. We're trying to tap into a business that is ongoing and that others are into and that we're trying to get into as well.

Similarly, the department has collaborated with Engineering to create a graduate certificate aimed at generating money. She added:

In Engineering, with our support, they have come up with a Homeland Security certificate and that's definitely trying to cash in on a new hot topic that's out there for people who are generally already working in the system. So that's a second example of how this university is being entrepreneurial in the teaching realm by reaching out to bring in more constituencies.

The Department of Economics at USF also cited examples of entrepreneurialism in academic programming. There, they have a professional MBA program as well as a few non-degree education programs geared towards working professionals. As is typical with such endeavors, tuition by the hour is more expensive than it is for more traditional programs. One professor saw this as a particularly useful approach for business education to be entrepreneurial, even more beneficial than grant activity. He rationalized:

Our best way to make money here is through a strong executive MBA program... and trying to bring in more tuition enrollment at the graduate level where they pay more. Now any grants we can get are gravy. We should go for them. But to make that a single purpose would take too many resources away from areas where we really can make money... The incentive structure that works in engineering does not fit in most social sciences. And it certainly doesn't fit in the School of Business where we have some very lucrative opportunities in executive education.

He went on to provide an example of a non-degree executive education program, which offered "mini-courses" to working professionals interested in learning more about a business related area like "international credit finance." Such programs can generate significant amounts of money for the department as individuals "pay twelve to fifteen hundred dollars for a four day seminar." The College of Business at USF also once offered a special MBA program for medical professionals that not only profited the school, but the professors as well:

We [College of Business] did an online executive MBA program for physicians...through discs and tapes. Each faculty member did four hours online that was broadcast over the internet. We gave them tests, offline reading and work that they did. And that constituted an executive MBA degree. I think there were 12-15 faculty.... We did earn royalties on that, each faculty member did. And we got \$50 per student that signed up for it. Then the college got a big chunk of money as well. I think it was pretty profitable and I heard that there is an interest in doing it again. Apparently, we sort of played out the market. We had like

700,000 physicians that we sent brochures to and I don't know how many we ended up enrolling....It was definitely nothing to sneeze about.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) call this “educational entrepreneurship” which is about generating tuition dollars and the competition among units to score high student credit hour productivity. Eckel (2003) has also written about “institutions...turning to their courses, curricula, and teaching activities to position themselves in emerging markets and create revenue opportunities” (p. 866). He uses the term “capitalizing the curriculum” in his research on “emerging curricular-based responses” of the “entrepreneurial context for higher education.” His study is on how capitalizing the curriculum intersects with shared governance and institutional autonomy, but his work contributes here in that “curriculum has become a source of capital” (p. 870).

In all three of the examples above, faculty reveal an entrepreneurial approach to academic programming and together they make up an area with significant possibilities for academic capitalism in the social sciences. It is not known why professors at UF or FSU did not offer curriculum-based examples of entrepreneurial activity.

Isolated examples.

Marketing was also mentioned as a way of being entrepreneurial in the social sciences. The College of Criminology at FSU recently revved up its marketing activity by hiring a part-time marketing director to create brochures and other literature promoting the college. One professor discussed how their efforts in this area are being touted as a successful model for other units on campus while showing me the brochures their new part-time marketing director created:

This is a thing we put out that she created...and this went out to all members of the American Society of Criminology and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. We have our tag line – “research brought to life” that she came up with. And this is just to let people know, because we’ve hired so many new people, this is a list of the faculty and these are all the new people that were hired in the previous two years. Here is the Center for Criminology and Public Policy Research. Here are some of their projects. This is about the graduate program. This is about the university. This is the university’s tag line – “ideas that move.” And she added “people who inspire.” So this marketing initiative has been appropriated by the provost and used as an example to the rest of the university that you need to do what these guys are doing.

In two instances, interviewees discussed second hand examples of academic capitalism; activities they themselves were not involved in, but other social scientists they knew were. In the first case, a professor of Economics discussed a spin-off company at the University of Arizona:

There was a spin-off company, which would have been a social science version of some of these business processes. So I have seen that happen. It’s very rare in social sciences, but I’ve seen it happen.... It was to develop commercialized Economics testing software.

The second case was the only example given of a patented product in the social sciences. This time it was software developed by an ex-professor of one of the criminology professors I interviewed at USF. He explained:

One of my mentors who is now at Texas State University has developed, as part of his dissertation, what we call geographic profiling. It's software that helps you to predict the home location of your offender based on all the crime locations. So if, for example, the offender has committed at least five different crimes, you can enter the data in the software and the software will give you some kind of a map, a topographical map that gives you the region where you are more likely to find your offender. So a lot of police organizations will purchase this software.

In sum, although nothing like Taxol or Gatorade was cited, social scientists are being entrepreneurial in their own way. According to these data, social scientists are being entrepreneurial through competing for external research grants, participating in research centers, capitalizing the curriculum, and getting involved in advertising and marketing initiatives.

Other Indications of Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences

As mentioned, the rise of academic capitalism in recent times is being experienced by the social sciences in specific ways. It can be seen in increased discussions about applying for grants and the ability to secure external funding, the mounting consideration of such activity in tenure and promotion as well as the hiring process, increased pressures from administration to secure external grants, and a broadening of involvement with fund raising.

Recent talk.

Despite what the literature says about the long history of entrepreneurship at universities, faculty in this study are experiencing a relatively new focus on the bottom line. At least in criminology and sociology, faculty shared a current attention to the need

to generate more external funding. To some, my questioning about market and market-like activity was considered very timely. A professor of sociology at UF pointed out, “As a department, we have very recently sought more external funding as a group.... and the chair has... elevated the importance of funding in meetings and memos and annual review letters.” Another shared:

I actually serve on a budget council with the provost and some other people.... All of the things we’ve been talking about in the last several months are about zero-based budgeting and all these kinds of business models. We’ve been looking at books... on different business corporate models for budgeting and how applicable they are to the university.

A professor of criminology at FSU claimed the topic was raised within days of my visit.

He commented:

It [the pressure to secure external funding] is now a major thematic issue. The change is within weeks. You’re right on time, seriously... it hasn’t had the chance to play out yet, but it’s been spelled out this week... I mean this Wednesday... So it’s interesting that you bring that up because it’s a very topical issue here lately at this university and certainly in this college. It was the main topic of the meeting... the point was made very emphatically.

A colleague referred to the same meeting. In discussing how some faculty members feel about the need to generate external funding, he added, “Everybody who has been around a long time sits around the table and laughs.”

Others took a more long-term perspective. For instance, a professor of Sociology at FSU for 25 years said: “They [expectations to generate funding] have increased.

They've broadened and increased, but they've always been there since the day I became a Ph.D." Whereas, a professor of economics at FSU placed the trend as having started more recently:

All the public universities have money from the states. If you don't compete, you lost some of those resources. So you have to compete. Before, twenty years before, there was not too much competition. The competition was lower. Now you have high competition.

However, the overall sentiment was that academic capitalism is a fairly new phenomenon in the social sciences. A professor of sociology asserted, "There's definitely an increased emphasis on that [generating grant money] in the university." A criminologist agreed, "Universities are much more about the research and publications and making money these days than they ever were before."

Tenure, promotion, and hiring.

Another indication of the ramping up of academic capitalism within the social sciences is the current discussion to consider grant activity in the tenure and promotion process. The same goes for new hires. Although mentioned by faculty at all three institutions, this was particularly true for the Department of Criminology at UF. A professor there, explained, "It's not exactly written in your contract, but it's expected. For promotion, they keep telling you, 'oh, you'll do so much better if you have a grant.'"

Others in the department cited similar feelings. One said:

Assistant professors in our units are now being told that they should show some grant activity. They don't necessarily have to get a grant, but they need to be able to write a proposal or show their knowledge about the importance of grant

activity. The dean's office has a workshop every year and they're telling assistant professors that they need to be more sensitive to those issues, college T & P Committees saying that they look for it.

Another commented:

You ought to be hunting for money... and this is the interesting thing because this has come up in tenure and promotion discussions. That is, 'gee, this person is tremendously productive, really outstanding, they certainly meet all of our expectations, but they haven't been getting external funding.' And the issue that has come up is, 'is that a concern'? Is that a problem? Should we encourage them?' So there is an interesting conversation that's happening within the unit, where somebody is already very productive. They're doing exactly what we hope they should be doing. But if they don't have a record of external funding, the impulse is becoming 'well, we better encourage them to do that.' I would predict that at the college tenure and promotion level and at the university review level, they are going to increasingly view candidates with that as a criteria...not a criteria, but they're going to look for it. If you don't see evidence that people are looking for money, then they're going to have to see a lot of other good stuff to balance it out.

However, it was not just professors of criminology at UF that discussed the increasing important of grant activity. For example, a professor of sociology at FSU noted: "There are real debates in the field about whether, for example, assistant professors should write grant proposals before they hit tenure." And a professor of economics at USF stated, "I've already heard that in getting promoted now to full, there

are some of the other full professors who are now saying that they want to see grants before they'll promote you. I don't know how true that is." For many, it seems the jury is still out. Overall, grant activity in tenure and promotion was expressed as a fairly recent topic.

One of the things that there is talk about is making research grants even more important. In fact, we're going to have a meeting about it in a few days to talk about whether or not that should become a separate item for the evaluation of faculty. An email came out just last week asking for feedback relevant to what the role of grant writing should be in the evaluation of faculty.

(Professor of Criminology at FSU)

Through the years that expectation has become more and more... the expectations have risen a bit. So that now, if you're looking to be promoted say from associate to full, it's not a sine non qua that you've had external funding, but it really helps your case if you have.

(Professor of Sociology at UF)

At USF, faculty also mentioned that the ability to generate outside funding has become something to look for in the hiring process. A professor in the department of sociology informed me that the job description in the most recent faculty hire included the phrase "interested and capable of getting large grants." In criminology, a recently hired faculty member explained: "I was actually brought in, in part because of my experience of bringing in money... the job description for my position said looking for someone with experience bringing in money."

These data support what Young was concerned about when she wrote, “Those of us doing politically unpopular projects in the Humanities and Social Sciences may find ourselves in an increasingly vulnerable position as research dollars become the new criteria for advancement or even employment” (p. 4). As it turns out, junior faculty members are feeling it the hardest.

Junior versus senior faculty.

Another prominent finding of this research is that junior faculty members (assistant professors on the tenure track) experience and respond to academic capitalism differently than senior faculty (full professors with tenure). This notion was raised similarly regardless of professorial rank. An associate professor of economics said it best:

It’s changing. We’re told that over and over and over again. And we can see it happening in terms of, if you need funding for something, more and more you have to figure out a way to get it... Younger faculty are much more into that than the older faculty.

Overall, it seems junior faculty members take a less judgmental approach to being entrepreneurial or market-like. The attitude typical of the junior faculty stance was summed up by an assistant professor of sociology at USF with the proverbial “it is what it is.” It seems the acceptance of growing pressures to secure external funding is much more prominent among assistant professors than for senior or tenured professors. In discussing applying for grants, one junior faculty member commented:

It’s a reality to me. Maybe if I were here a number of years and seen it change, I might feel differently about it. But for me, I understand it’s the nature of the beast and at this point, that’s the framework we have to work within. That’s my job. If

it means trying to be creative about where you go to get money, then so be it. I just think that it doesn't really do us a whole lot of good...to decry a lack of resources and not really pursue what else might be out there. To me, it's just the way things are at this point.

In the words of another assistant professor, "that's just what we're supposed to do." For him and others, being a junior faculty member is about coming of age in a time when grant activity is becoming increasingly important. An assistant professor of criminology, in his position at USF less than one year commented:

From what I know, it's always been like this. I've done my bachelors, my masters, and my Ph.D. in the past ten years. So for me, it was always that when you become faculty you need to publish first, you need to get grants, and hopefully you'll be able to teach good courses... But the emphasis is on publishing. This is what you need to do and get grant money.

Senior or tenured faculty, on the other hand, felt little pressure to secure external grants other than for their own research interests or support of graduate students. For them, grant activity had not been a significant part of their professional advancement other than supporting research that became publications. However, they discussed its increasing importance for junior colleagues. For example, a professor of criminology at USF for over 25 years expressed concern for those early in the tenure earning process:

The university pressures are there, particularly for junior faculty. I really feel for them because of the demand to get federal funding for their work. Particularly for junior faculty just starting out...particularly if they're going to use that kind of

success as a basis of making decisions about tenure and promotion. It's outrageous.

Similarly, a senior faculty member at FSU disclosed:

I entered this field, academics, because I fell in love with the learning process and the opportunity to think freely and read widely and pursue one's own research agenda regardless whether I've received any kind of funding that would derive benefit to the university. For the new guys, it [getting funding] has been a necessary transition, I suppose, as universities are not self-sustaining otherwise. They need some kind of monies other than just tuition in order to survive.

So while junior faculty see grant activity as a part of their job and something to consider for tenure and promotion, faculty members with tenure feel little to no pressure to bring in external resources (at least not for reasons of earning tenure). For senior faculty, grant activity is more of an option than an expectation. As a tenured professor of economics at FSU said:

I think in the department, one of the things that we look for in assistant professors coming up for tenure is if they're getting research grants. But I'm a full professor with tenure and I look more at whether the research I'm doing is going to lead to good publications rather than thinking about whether I can get a grant or not.

Although involvement with academic capitalism is no where close to what it is in some other places, social sciences are showing an increasing acceptance and consideration of the need to generate external funding. The difference between junior and senior is an extension of this. So even if academic capitalism has yet to become an

official part of tenure and promotion, the growing expectation is being discussed. Or as one brand new faculty member at USF stated, this seems to be the “word on the street”:

I don't know of any written rule that you should have been able to get a grant before going for tenure. I've never seen that, but you have to try.... This is like the word on the street. You have to try to apply, even if you're not successful; you have to at least try.

In sum, the rising expectation of securing external resources is much more relevant to junior faculty than it is for senior faculty. The emphasis on grants was not present while senior faculty earned tenure, yet more and more it is a consideration of today's tenure and promotion. Perhaps this is part of what Awbery meant when she wrote, “untenured junior faculty are experiencing high levels of stress due to an increasing number of faculty roles” (2002, p. 5). A junior faculty member working just over one year in sociology at USF put it this way: “It's a slippery slope...Academic capitalism is a fine line, and it's our generation's burden.”

Pressures from administration.

Across the disciplines and regardless of institution, faculty reported administration as a major source of increased pressure to generate external funding. Faculty repeatedly commented, “There is a pressure from administration for us to have grants.” In discussing where the pressure to bring in resources is coming from, another faculty member said, “They're coming from the Provost to the deans and from the deans to the faculty.” This was particularly true for the College of Criminology and Criminal Justice at FSU. Faculty there concurred:

The current dean is of course trying to enhance grants. But it's happening at the highest levels of this university where the pressure is enormous on the deans to produce more funded research.

We just had a meeting and the Dean went out of his way to tell us that the pressure was being put on him and he, in turn, was putting the pressure on us to be more aggressive submitting proposals, whether we get them or not.

These data suggest the dean of criminology at FSU is focused on generating external funding, a notion supported by the college's new research center mentioned earlier. Another professor in this unit chided, "I feel sorry for our dean because our last faculty meeting he was... not threatening us at a personal level, but threatening us what would happen, the dire consequences that would happen, if we didn't submit more [grant] proposals."

Although prevalent, the push from administration to bring in grant monies was not unique to criminology. A professor of economics at FSU contended, "There are pressures to generate funds. The pressures come from the highest level from the provost's office. Our college, our dean also emphasizes research grants and to a lesser extent at the departmental level." A professor of sociology at FSU supported this: "There is definitely an encouragement from the administration all the way down to the level of department chair, although less there perhaps than higher administration." And at USF, a professor of economics commented, "there is a strong movement towards outside resources. The provost is on record as saying that the money the university will get from the state will continue to drop."

Since administrators were not included in the study, the source of the pressure they are feeling is unknown. However, resource dependence theory suggests it is due to the search for new sources of money when traditional sources are shifting, while institutionalism says it is due to gaining legitimacy. Of significance here, though, is the fact that pressures to secure external funding was found across institutions and regardless of discipline.

Fund-raising.

Yet another manifestation of the rise of academic capitalism in the social sciences is the inclusion of the college-level in fund raising, which has, historically, operated at the university level. It seems faculty members in the social sciences have traditionally been uninvolved in the fund raising efforts of a university, with most activity occurring at the highest administrative levels. However, more and more college deans are taking up fund-raising efforts and the shift is moving to include faculty as well. This was particularly true at FSU, where professors across the disciplines noted:

There is a push or that is an important component of faculty's job... is to bring in money for the university. I don't think there is any question about that. My sense is that probably the pressure to do that is going to increase in the future. So your job is not just to teach or publish articles, it's also to bring in money.

(Professor of Criminology at FSU)

There's always been fund raising in higher administration, the Office of Research and Graduate Studies. But now, it's come down to the college level. I think there is more pressure on chairs too.... Deans now have to be more accountable for fund-raising than they did in the past. They now have special fund raising

officers. This is something new. I mean it's just a whole new layer of administration which is dedicated to raising funds. And a good share of those funds is supposed to be based on external grants.

(Professor of Sociology at FSU)

Faculty being involved in soliciting private donations to universities... has probably increased. I would imagine you would find that faculty involvement in trying to put together packages for getting funding from donors has been greater in the past 15 years than it was historically. I'm talking about for endowed chairs, for research centers, for fellowships, and so on and so forth. It was typical that before this sort of break point faculty went about and did their thing and deans and fund raisers went out and got these funds and there wasn't a lot of interaction. What's happened over the past several years has been... a lot more of the deans and faculty together talking about what kind of ideas do you think the following list of potential donors might be interested in for research centers or endowed chairs. So that's another kind of faculty entrepreneurial activity that is relatively new. More involved and more aware of the general external fund-raising of the university.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

Others agreed and expressed concern about such administrative responsibilities creeping into faculty work life.

It [fund raising] has trickled down some. I think most people don't see any value in trying to push it all the way down to the department level. I mean we don't want to. That's why we vote for deans and some of those other guys because

faculty just want to do their thing and really don't want to branch out into the fund raising area.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

That [fund-raising] is not a job for an academic person. Academics should deal with making sure our quality is good in the classroom and the research is good. I think someone else should be looking over that the resources are being spent well and so on.

(Professor of Economics at USF)

It is important to note at this point that when posed with the wording of my questions, professors sometimes asked what was meant by “entrepreneurial” and “market” or “market-like.” I tried to keep it as open as possible, along the lines of ‘however you interpret it.’ When asked to lend their own interpretation of being “entrepreneurial,” professors talked about grant activity, capitalizing the curriculum, and pressures from administration. When asked about being “marketable,” participants continuously thought in terms of a market of ideas.

A Market of Ideas

Traditional interpretations of the word market usually refer to economic terms. Yet, within the social sciences, there are multiple markets, the least of which is economic. In fact, the data suggest faculty in social sciences do not see themselves competing in an economic market, but one that is based on ideas, research publications, prestige, academic skills, and societal value. The market for social scientists is not economic in that it does not involve consumer demand, intellectual property rights, and profit making.

It was important to those I interviewed that they be considered marketable, not towards a market in the classical sense, but within the academic market. A professor of criminology at FSU described it this way:

Different people I suppose have different market targets... I'm accustomed to just focusing on the academic market. Other professors and graduate students and people who would consume what I write and what I study... and the principle return in that market is, I would say, social capital or recognition of what's being done at Florida State... There are other markets that are really important.... But the only market I'm really concerned with is the market for intellectual capital.

A professor of economics at UF thought along these same lines:

If you think about what we are, we're really engaged in a market of ideas. In some regards, what we're offering is a stream of idea generation and you can sell those ideas to policy makers, to other faculty members, to people in the lay public. And the degree to which you can sell these ideas increases your standing, your influence.

A significant part of this "academic market" or "market of ideas" is the policy arena. To many, it is important to do research with policy implications, a sort of "market" in and of itself, but with no economic return, only "influence" or social contribution. A professor of economics at UF put it this way:

The kind of work that I do is policy oriented. So I don't think there is a product to market in that sense, but I do think, it is important to me that the research has some application – sort of a direct application.

The concern for policy relevance was also expressed in criminology. For example, a professor of criminology at FSU explained:

To me, it [research] should be important in terms of policy in that if the work that we do doesn't inform policy to an appreciable degree, then the value is certainly diminished.... To really be a first-class college, you need to be producing things that help society in general in some way... If policy-makers aren't using our work to make better decisions then to me, our value is diminished significantly.

When considering the market at large, social scientists in this study tended to downplay the relevance of their research products in terms of economic yield. As mentioned, more valuable to social scientists is a market of ideas, particularly as they apply to the policy arena. The thought of profiting from the research social scientists do is a distant one and faculty agreed on this point. Criminology professors in particular raised the issue. A professor of criminology at UF explained, "Research is our product and it has an effect on people...some of it. But it doesn't make money the way the life sciences do, like developing a new drug or Gatorade." It was the same for a professor of criminology at USF who lamented:

Yeah, I mean our research is not as directly applicable as I perceive the life sciences or engineering to be, where you can actually sell your research to a company who will actually do something with it and make money off of it... and give you a cut of the profit.

Research in the social sciences often makes one of its goals contributing socially or making things better for people through greater understanding. In doing so, there is

hardly any motive to profit financially. Social scientists, themselves, personify this value.

For example:

In the academic world, my stuff is really marketable. I publish in top journals. But marketable like out in the marketplace absent the university setting, there's no marketability at all... My academic skills taught me skills that I could use in the marketplace if I wanted to. But I didn't want to. I want to use them in the university setting. That's why I got a Ph.D.

(Professor of Criminology at FSU)

Beyond the realm of the US economy, I can think about a market for ideas and research that answers moral dilemmas and social problems that the country faces.... To me that is important, somewhat. But the economic marketability of my stuff is not at all important.

(Professor of Sociology at USF)

Despite its lack of marketability or economic yield, professors in this study believed in the value of their work. According to these data, market and market-like behavior for social scientists is not driven by the desire to profit. As shown, social science faculty expressed little concern for the economic value of their work. To them, fiscal gain was not associated with anything they produce. This was true across the three disciplines. For example, a professor of economics contended, "I don't think I need to necessarily be marketable. None of my research needs to be marketable in the sense that somebody wants to pay money for it."

A professor of sociology at FSU commented similarly:

I want to be engaged in research that is going to have some relevance to contemporary debate and that is tied into what is seen as good research and good science. In terms of economic yield, that doesn't really... except keeping me employed, it's not a major factor. I just don't respond to those kinds of economic incentives real well.

And a professor of criminology at USF aired the same opinion:

It's not that important to me if people want to buy something that comes out of the work that we do. It's more important to me to make a contribution to improve the quality of life in the community and help develop services that may be effective and then have them take on a life of their own. So, I'm not interested in selling these things. I enjoy the process of developing them and evaluating them and hope that they continue over time, that they're useful. Sometimes I've done that, and that's been a nice experience. I'm not interested in selling anything or getting rich.

The term "market" was also interpreted in terms of the market for graduate students. An economist at FSU explained:

We constantly talk among ourselves about the market... and if other people don't understand that, then they're missing out on something. This is a market. And we tend to interpret things like that... and we do the same thing in talking about whether we were successful or not successful with graduate students. [We'll ask] what's the market for graduate students? So that does permeate.

But the reference to a market of graduate students was made by non-economists as well.

For example, a professor of criminology at UF noted:

As a unit, we think about it [the market] in terms of ranking and recruiting graduate students. We determine our marketability based on how many applications we get at the graduate level and the quality of those applicants. I see us as a more marketable unit if we can bring in students we want to work with and quality students that shoot for the best programs.

And as a professor of criminology at FSU commented, “to get the best graduate students, you have to have funding for them.”

In sum, being marketable in the social sciences means operating in a market of worthy concepts, relevant research, and quality graduate students. This “market of ideas” is a common interpretation of academic work, so it makes sense professors in this study interpreted notions of market in the way that they did. This also explains their general acceptance. By perceiving the market in market or market-like activity to be a market of ideas, professors in this study were able to reconcile any negative implications that a market based on economic value might bring.

According to the literature, academic capitalism threatens some social science disciplines because a pure market system does not support those who do not contribute to the bottom line or at least pay their own way. However, the findings of this research denote a sense of security among those interviewed.

Beyond Economic Value

Professors in this study were aware of their inability to contribute to the university in the form of large grants that carry indirect costs, yet confident in their ability to

contribute to the university in other ways. For instance, regarding university tradition and balance, a professor of sociology at FSU commented:

I think probably the overall trend is more focused on building the hard sciences than Sociology, but I don't feel that our department is devalued in the university, although I do think there is this emphasis on the grant-getting departments being favored somewhat. In recent hiring initiatives, they probably get more positions than we do. But our dean has been very good to us. We've been hiring every year and every vacancy that we've had, we've been able to fill it plus some. So I haven't felt any kind of negative... I mean, I feel like Florida State wants to keep a balanced university and while there is some direction towards the hard sciences, I feel there is also a concern for arts and humanities and social science.

I explicitly asked professors whether or not they felt valued or involved in the university-wide strategic direction. In response, professors often commented on their contribution to university-wide goals in the form of the research they conduct. For instance, a sociology professor at UF answered:

The strategic plan of the university definitely aligns with what we do very closely.... The university has emphasized children and families, aging, and more recently environmental sciences.... Part of the strategic plan also deals with globalization and international issues and a number of our faculty, in one way or another, are linked through race, ethnicity, migration, environment [studies].

A professor of criminology at UF made a similar point: "UF has a strategic plan and one of the priority areas is research concerning women and children... and I fit that niche."

Her colleague commented similarly:

We fit into a number of areas the university is interested in. One of those is families and children and a lot of what we do is on juvenile delinquency, family factors in crime and delinquency, family violence, and things like that. So we're a part of that strategy. So yeah, I would say right now, we're well thought of.

While for others, their contribution to university-wide direction is about their role in undergraduate general education. Again, professors made clear their awareness of the difference between economic value and a more intrinsic, and just as important, kind of value. A professor of criminology at USF expressed, "the department is very important, because the student body is very big, enrollment is high.... It's very popular. Students like criminology. We have a lot of stuff to study, interesting stuff to study." He went on to say:

I think it's a very productive department. There are good people here. We are producing very good research, very good publications. We have a lot of students. We have a Ph.D. program. So I think it's an important department. I don't know how important it is in terms of grant money. With that, I don't think we're as important as a department like chemistry or medicine, but in some ways I think the Criminology Department is very important to USF.

One professor related the value of his unit to its national standing. As a professor of criminology at UF, he said, "nationally we're well thought of.... we're just about top ten [and] whenever you get that kind of recognition, then internally you're valued." The fact that professors came up with so many ways in which they fit into university-wide

strategic direction highlights the shifting and often ambiguous nature of such strategic plans. A professor of criminology at UF put it this way:

University wide strategic direction right now is hard to say. We've got a new president and a new provost, so who the heck knows what the university-wide direction is. Generally speaking though, these university-wide direction kind of things tend to be very broad, very general. And you sort of try to climb aboard where you can, but we don't have much say in what that direction is going to be. We just try to jump on for the ride if we can.

A colleague in the same department commented:

We have a new president and he just circulated, in early February, his working plan, his strategic plan. And yeah, we're a part of that in the sense that, as a unit, like all other units, are trying to find out where we fit into the president's strategic plan for the university.... Before we had an interim president who was around for about four years and he did the same thing.... It just sort of depends on who's strategic plan it is.

When asked how he felt his unit fit into the current plan, he explained, "just in terms of some of the things that are being prioritized... like interdisciplinary research, which we're really good at, some policy focus sorts of things, and international things that are going on, that we fit in nicely."

This was the majority view. However, a couple of dissenters make it relevant to point out that not everyone feels the social sciences are valued in terms of strategic direction. For instance, a professor of economics at USF commented:

I wouldn't have any reason to think that [we are a part of the strategic plan]. I think if you go and ask that question to people in medicine and engineering, you'll get a different answer. Yes and why wouldn't they be? They're the ones bringing in the money, although we bring in money... through tuition and enrollment. We have what... 6000 business majors. So we're big, but we don't bring in money through grants... maybe a little bit, but we are peanuts compared to medicine and engineering.

Similar sentiment is found in the following quote from a professor of criminology at USF:

I think we have to be realistic that the strategic mission of the university is to be in the top 50 and we're going to do that through the med school and that's just the reality of it. That's where the funding is, that's where the major bucks are. It's the med school that drives us to that position. So what can criminology do to contribute? We can not be an annoyance... and do our fair share, given that we're just criminologists. So that means gaining national visibility within the field. WE do that through publication. We do that through strategic placement of our publications so that we are better known to other criminologist.

The ability of social scientists to find value in their work as it relates to university-wide strategic direction was found in their contribution to university tradition and balance, valued research, undergraduate education, and national ranking. Add to this the sometimes nebulous nature of university strategic plans and we find social scientists feel their units are well thought of, even treasured by larger university directives, despite initial concerns of favoritism. Further, social science professors are not dissatisfied with

their role in university wide strategic direction, nor to they consider themselves marginalized in the capitalism-driven university. From the results of this study, it is apparent that the university is maintaining a balance between units that contribute financially (those close to the market) and units, far from the market, that contribute in other ways.

So far, the findings allege there is a particular form of academic capitalism in the social sciences and that it involves different ways of being entrepreneurial and market-like. In sharing their stories, which form the basis of this new knowledge, faculty also expressed how they felt about the topic. In this regard, there was both support and opposition among participants.

Advantages and Disadvantages

Advantages.

Interestingly, academic capitalism in the social sciences is considered a worthy pursuit for many. According to those interviewed, the worthiness of academic capitalism (particularly grant activity) can be found in its ability to promote individual research, support graduate students, and provide assistance to the department. For example, a professor of sociology at UF argued:

Grants help... provide research assistantships for some of the graduate students and summer money for the faculty and some overhead for the department while at the same time providing funds to run a program in the community where the academics are going to do certain things for, maybe it's a health related clinic for mental health or reproductive planning... community members are being serviced. The academy is being serviced. Students are being taught. Faculty are being

provided the opportunity to do research, publish, and the things that are part of the academic model, then all of those things can be woven together.

The results of this study are consistent with the findings of Mendoza and Berger (2005) who concluded research partnerships with industry (a form of academic capitalism found elsewhere) can be beneficial for all when “done properly.” This provides a winning situation for “both academia and industry, in which students are educated, basic science is conducted and technology is transferred to industry” (p.20). Securing external grants in the social sciences was viewed as a laudable pursuit to most of those I interviewed. For social scientists in this study, the utilization of external grants can be a win-win-win. They contended:

Try to get money as much as you can and that’s good, good for the salary, good for everybody. Because you have more resources, you can do more things. With less money, you cannot improve your technology, do research. Money is good. So you want to maximize your income or your resources... It’s good, not because of the money incentives, which are not bad, but mainly because of the objective of the activity: improving the social welfare of the country/state/region/local area where money is the ends, not the means.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

I’ve had a lot of funding over the years, lot of external funding. The reasons for it are that of course, it advances your own research... It allows you to do your own research and explore your own ideas. The second thing it does is allow you to support graduate students in a better way. It allows you to support your department because every university has a system whereby some of the overhead

money that comes from the grants will flow back to the department. So you help your college, you help your department, and you help yourself.

(Professor of Sociology at UF)

However, as a professor of criminology at USF cautioned, “You have to be creative about where you go for money so long as you’re not obviously compromising values that we hold in the academy.”

A major rationale given for seeking external grants is that it serves as a means for professional autonomy. The ability to do what one wants or needs to do was a clear advantage of grant activity for faculty in this study. As one professor proclaimed, “there is never enough money to do everything you want to do.” When asked what drove them in their efforts to secure external funding, faculty at FSU in particular showed considerable consistency on this point:

[About AC] If it lets you do what you want to do, then there’s a purpose. It’s for yourself and for your own career in the way you want to practice your profession. You’re not doing it for a boss that’s telling you to bring in a million dollars this year. That’s really what being a professor is, being a professional is, you’re practicing your profession, your way.

(Professor of Sociology at FSU)

We get outside funding just to take the pressure off our budget and it allows us to do more things if we get outside money. But we can operate just fine without any outside funding. We’d just be a little more limited in some of the things that we want to do. And it allows us to do more of what we want to do as opposed to being kind of bare-boned and saying okay, here is our budget from the

department. We can do a few things. If we get outside funding, well then we can do more things.

(Professor of Economics at FSU)

I believe very firmly that what makes what I do valuable is that it's good basic research, which means it's nationally visible. It's published in the best journals. It's presented at NIH... all of those things. That's what's important about the research and that's the only reason, from my point of view, to get money.

(Professor of Sociology at FSU)

Others mentioned the importance of supporting graduate students. A professor of sociology at FSU made clear his intentions for securing external funding:

I don't see myself as bringing in resources for the university. I see myself as trying to bring in resources so that I can fund my graduate students and help them pay their way to meetings, get research experience, and have money to pay them to work on projects. My concern is with my students, not with paying for the university's needs.

A professor of criminology at FSU agreed, "To get the best graduate students, you have to have funding for them... and that puts even more pressure to bring in outside funding.

A professor of sociology at USF made yet the same point. In discussing what grants make possible, he strongly stated:

As a faculty member, we have the responsibility to bring in the money to support our students. I believe that firmly.... If we just stick our hand out and take what the university gives us, then we're not doing the best as far as our students.

All in all, securing external money is something professors in the social sciences do because it supports professional autonomy, research activity, and graduate students. However, beyond the benefits of extra spending money, faculty cited other advantages as well. For instance, some feel academic capitalism breeds competition and that competition, promotes excellence. They commented:

I think in general... some competition is probably a good thing because it keeps people on their toes. It makes you want to excel if you have some sort of benchmark. It's kind of like criminology schools get ranked every year. It comes out in US News and World Report. We get to see where we are and it's a very important thing. You want to be number one, right? So you try to do things to improve your ranking just like the FSU baseball team. I'd say as a unit, you work harder and hopefully smarter to try and do the things to increase your visibility, your image, your standing amongst others.

(Professor of Criminology at FSU)

I like the entrepreneurial idea because I want our teachers to be nationally visible. I want the quality of teaching in this department to follow the national trends and to keep up with innovations, technology, and so forth. And the way to do that is to be pushing the boundaries of whatever it is you're doing.... This is what we ought to be doing at every level. Everything we're doing, we should be doing at the frontier. That's what an entrepreneur is, whether it's a dollar measure or... a learning measure.

(Professor of Sociology at FSU)

This Darwinian logic says that “more competitive, more scarce, and more selective, leads to ‘fitter’ and more worthy of survival, hence ‘better’ (p. 142), although in a competition, the objective is relative performance, not absolute performance” (Marginson and Considine, 2000, p. 184). This again leads to the issue of disparity among disciplines raised in Chapter One.

Those in favor also view the entrepreneurial university as more accountable and argue for the benefits of being held responsible for things such as student learning, teaching, research, and community service. For example, a professor of criminology at UF discussed the benefits of taking a more market based approach:

My understanding of zero-based budgeting and other kinds of business budget models is that they require you to show that you’re making progress and I like that. I can see the value of accountability. I think everybody should have it and you should be able to go to anyone and say, what have you done? So I really like that they can make us more accountable. I’m okay with that.

A colleague concurred: “Knowing what people want from you and clear expectations, I think that’s good stuff. I think it’s fair. I think there is too much vagueness in academia.”

In sum, the advantages of academic capitalism in the social sciences focus on securing external monies that have the potential to provide professional autonomy and support to graduate students. As a business model it also brings competition and accountability, both of which can lead to excellence.

Disadvantages.

However, participants also cited disadvantages to academic capitalism in the social sciences. For the most part, this perspective claims there is a fundamental

inconsistency in running a university like a business. As a professor of sociology at USF noted “the values of business are not the values of education.” Unlike the view towards securing external funding, academic capitalism in its broadest sense was considered a “slippery slope.” The data make clear that some professors in this study believe there is a fundamental inconsistency between the ideologies of university life and entrepreneurialism.

Respondents agreed about this regardless of discipline or institution. A professor of economics at FSU noted, “We have different incentives. We’re not expected to show a profit at the end of the year. The incentives in the corporate world are completely different than the incentives at the university.” A professor of sociology at FSU made the same point:

It’s a different way of operating at the university than in the business world and thankfully so. Some of the values that drive our work are non-materialistic. It’s very difficult to adopt a kind of a singular focus on profit to a case in which in terms of economics, is a losing proposition. We’re never going to generate high revenues. We’re never going to be a Microsoft.

Similar sentiment was found in criminology as well when one professor commented, “I think market values and market concepts are useful and they have their place, but I think that things can often be judged by other values and other terms than their marketability, than their bottom line value.” He went on to say:

Sometimes things... poetry, archeology, philosophy – where’s the market?

Where’s the bottom-line? Literature... are they not intrinsically valuable? I mean isn’t the culture richer for it? Music and art in general? That’s the danger is that

those areas within the university that don't have a market relevance in traditional capitalism terms could be marginalized or eliminated. You know, unless it could be seen as producing people who contribute to the market economy in some marketable, money rendering way than their utility would be somehow disvalued. And I think that's inherently wrong, especially for a university.

The idea that corporate ways and the university life are intrinsically different was extended to discussions about measuring what universities produce. A professor of economics at USF raised this concern in discussing the difficulty of assessing "knowledge." He argued:

What we produce is much more difficult to measure. What we produce here is education, knowledge. We don't produce degrees. We produce knowledge.... How do you measure knowledge? How do we measure the knowledge you have when you come in compared to when you get out? This is a very complex industry, what we produce.

A professor of criminology at UF held a similar position:

You can't really have a zero-based budgeting model for a university system. I don't think when they were developed at the corporate level they were ever really meant to be applicable to a university. I don't like the idea of universities being assessed on their value or about the ability to produce certain things when we're producing something that you can't really quantify – student knowledge, increase in experience, cultural experience.

However, some discussed the advantages along with the disadvantages. As a professor of economics at FSU cautioned, "I think this can be very good. But anybody

who thinks it [academic capitalism] is going to be risk-free is really missing out on something.” To some, there are potential benefits to an entrepreneurial university, but there are also some possible risks as well. In the words of one professor, “I think there are some real strengths in what is happening and there are weaknesses too... if it helps administrators and universities make more informed decisions that value and reflect faculty strengths, then fine. But if it doesn’t, then not fine.”

Taken as a whole then, professors in the social sciences experience and respond to academic capitalism in unique ways that focus on the rising prominence of external research grants.

The Future

A natural way to end this section is to consider the future. The general outlook given by respondents includes an expectation that academic capitalism will continue to gain prominence among the social sciences. This is supported by the junior, senior faculty divide and recent relevance in meetings, tenure and promotion, as well as in new hires. In discussing external grants, a professor with a dual appointment in sociology and criminology at UF predicted, “The more the university goes on, the more and more it depends on that kind of money [external grants].” A professor of economics agreed, “I can imagine social scientists beginning to feel more of this because over time as we’re seeing external grant writing as being a more and more valued way of funding the basic functions of the university.” Also on the topic of external grants, a professor of criminology at USF commented:

It's not going to get better as I can see it, certainly in the foreseeable future, and universities depend a lot on these resources to do different things. So I don't think it's going to let up. I think it's going to continue.

A professor of criminology at UF said about the pressure to generate external funding, "I think it's likely to get tougher and tougher and we'll be evaluated on our ability to bring in those dollars and use those dollars."

Professors also expressed a fear that increased dependence on grants will bring with it the potential of the market dictating what is, and what is not, worthy of support at the university. A professor of criminology at FSU noted, "That's the danger. There are areas within the university that don't have a market-relevance in traditional capitalism terms [that] could be marginalized or eliminated." A colleague in sociology at USF shared this concern:

Jump forward 30 years, what would the university look like if it were run by grants and private organizations?... What happens to people who are raising important questions about gender or race, but there is not really a market for that. Do they just get put by the wayside? It becomes if you can't peddle your wares in the market, then are your ideas worth nothing? It becomes measuring the worth of ideas by just monetary value and market.... you can't just measure an idea by its value in the market.

In truth, no one knows what the future holds. Concerns expressed by faculty raise interesting questions. Will the momentum of academic capitalism continue and in what ways? In the future, will social sciences maintain their sense of pride and value adapting in their own way on their own terms?

Along Discipline Lines

To respond directly to some initial plans of the research, data did not yield as much variance along discipline lines as originally anticipated. In fact, the professors in this study tended to agree regardless of discipline. Indeed, there was a great deal of common perception among those interviewed. In only one case was there a clear pattern of responses related to discipline. That is, professors of criminology reported a specific crunch on federal monies for research in their discipline and are thus feeling the need to become more competitive or entrepreneurial.

Resources in criminology.

The only significant finding along disciplinary lines was that criminologists in particular expressed concern about a current strain on resources, resulting in more competitive grant activity. In the words of a professor of criminology at UF, “Here in criminology, they’re cutting all this money... Federal sources are very tight. It’s really super hard to get money.” Over and over, professors of criminology reported a recent crunch on funding opportunities in their field. From their comments, it seems federal funding for research on deviance, corrections, juvenile justice, and other areas of criminology and criminal justice are drying up as the government shifts money to other areas like homeland security.

An associate professor of criminology at UF told me, “The Department of Justice has a certain amount of money and it’s competitive.” An associate professor at USF agreed, “Criminal Justice – at least the federal sources are becoming fewer in dollars and much more competitive.” At FSU as well, one professor noted: “In criminology, we have

the National Institute of Justice, probably the major funder, and they keep chopping the budget.”

The word “dry” was popular in describing current federal support for research in criminology. A professor at UF told me, “NIJ [National Institute of Justice] is just dry.” Another at USF commented, “We’re hitting up anybody for money because our usual federal sources are all dried up.” Yet another lamented, “Getting resources is not that easy. It’s more difficult than it has been in a long time...because funding is drying out.”

Findings presented so far are made up from themes that emerged from the data in response to the research questions. What follows discusses findings as they relate to the theoretical component of this study.

Theoretical Considerations

A critical component of any research is its potential to inform theory. In this case, the results both support and debunk existing knowledge. Overall, the findings support resource dependence as a useful theory in explaining the rise of academic capitalism, but data showed signs of institutionalism as well. However, references to globalization were also made in professors’ attempts to explain academic capitalism.

Resource dependence.

As discussed in Chapter Two, resource dependence theory is about the influence of external resources on the behavior of organizations and its members. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) wrote, “a good deal of organizational behavior, the actions taken by organizations, can be understood only by knowing something about the organization’s environment and the problems it creates for obtaining resources” (p. 3). In resource dependence terms, “situational constituencies” is the most influential factor in

organizational action. When applied to higher education, resource dependence says the university has become more entrepreneurial in response to situational constituencies such as the government pressures and a shifting resource base.

In talking about recent trends of academic capitalism, many professors in this study pointed to state government as a reason for increasing academic capitalism. In Florida, higher education is particularly political, with a history of clashes between a governor appointed governing board and the publicly elected state legislature. In resource dependence terms, Florida politics is a situational constituency for public universities in the state. As a professor of criminology at UF commented:

Clearly, it's happening since the restructuring of the education system in Florida. I think that's clearly what's going on, to push the business model... I think that in our state the governor is very focused on that sort of thing. That's how he thinks about the world. So that's why I think we're getting pressure for it [to be more business-like].

Also referring to state government and in line with resource dependence, is the idea that public universities are receiving less state support. A professor of sociology at FSU explained the situation this way, "The change at the university has been the decline in state money has made us increasingly rely on money that we generate in order to do the things we want to do for our work. It's a conscious strategy." A professor of criminology at UF put it this way, "What is effectively happening is we are no longer a state supported entity. So what's the alternative? The alternative is to become market-oriented. The alternative is to become entrepreneurial."

The influence of state government (situational constituency) on public universities (organization) was a common concern. This was particularly true for state funding. An economist at USF stated, “They’re cutting money. State support has been cut. So we’re going to have to get the money from some where else... and research universities, like we are, we’re supposed to get it with our research.” Across the board, faculty expressed the belief that less support from the state creates a need to be more entrepreneurial.

In fact, the idea that universities are looking for funding beyond state support was raised several times. In discussing ways a public institution can increase its resource base, one professor suggested “look[ing] for funding outside of state appropriations.” The belief is that state appropriations are diminishing and so “universities are looking for more money to fund their activities.” Or as a professor of sociology at FSU commented, “There is less public funding available, so there is more pressure on faculty to try and get grants and bring in money.”

A professor of criminology at UF felt the strain at an individual level when she explained:

Because the state is cutting more money, we don’t have a lot of resource money for simple things like you would think of... like paper clips and paper that we think you have to have to have your job. I actually buy a lot of my own because we just don’t have a lot here. And we don’t have a lot because we just don’t have a lot of extra money floating around because the state only gives you a small amount of money.

The perception that state funding is declining was prevalent and this is relevant to resource dependence. However, a recent study conducted by the Center for Study of

Education Policy at Illinois State University concluded, total state general-fund appropriations for higher education have showed recent gains (Schmidt, 2006). In Florida, state appropriations for higher education went up 6.9 percent from 2005-6 to 2006-7. This is not to say such short term change contradicts what has been a long term trend and it supports Hovey's argument that higher education is a "balancing wheel" of state budgets since recent state budgets have showed surpluses. Regardless of what the future holds, there is still a strong belief that public support for higher education is declining. Then again, higher education is in a seemingly endless quest for more resources. Colleges and universities tend to always be in need. No amount of public or private support can alleviate the drive to get more and do more. For public universities, state support will forever fall relative to need.

A professor of criminology at USF discussed what he thought was an entrepreneurial approach to dealing with the perceived crunch – tap into a diversified funding base that includes research grants:

We need money. We need money to do research and I don't think the university should be the one who is responsible to provide all this money for researchers. Especially when there are agencies who specialize in some kind of research and you should be able to get money to do that research. Also these agencies will think of the problems that should be studied, important problems.

As faculty at public research universities in Florida, professors in this study reported pressures from state government and related issues of a shifting resource base as reasons for the entrepreneurial university. In resource dependence terms, academic

capitalism is an organizational response to external conditions related to the state. The findings support this notion. However, issues of institutionalism were raised as well.

Institutionalism.

An institutionalist perspective suggests organizations act in response to gaining “legitimacy”, which is about “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Shumar, 1995 p. 574). In other words, people will do what is considered proper or valued by their peers. Institutionalism claims organizations look to others like them for standards or “legitimacy.”

Institutionalism was most clearly seen at FSU where it seems entrepreneurial activity is due, in part, to their current drive for membership in the prestigious American Association of Universities (AAU). Professors there were explicit about the connection between boosting grant activity and the goal of becoming part of the AAU. Gaining membership involves ramping up grant activity. One professor commented, “with trying to get into the American Association of Universities, there is a strong push to get outside grant money.” A colleague commented similarly:

The provost is very interested in seeing people get funding. Florida State right now is trying to trying to get itself inducted into the AAU.... One of their main criteria deals with levels of funding, whether or not the university is getting enough funding compared to peer institutions.

Another remarked:

Clearly the last couple of years here at FSU with the opening of the medical school and the Pathways of Excellence and trying to get into the American Association of Universities, there is a strong push to get outside grant money. So grant activity at FSU has been fueled by a desire for legitimacy, in this case AAU membership.

Also in support of an institutionalist framework, a professor of economics at FSU discussed looking to peers for solutions to budget problems, one of which is being more “entrepreneurial in funding your own agenda.” He explained:

I think the University of Michigan and the University of Virginia each receive less than 10% of their total budget from state appropriations. That seems to me to be a good model because then you insulate yourself from politics in the state capital and the state budgetary process. So you’re more entrepreneurial in funding your own agenda. [Another] thing is people, organizations, and so forth look at when they rate the quality of the universities is the level of grants that they get... a lot of the times government grants. I think that’s a poor measure myself, but nevertheless it’s part of the ranking. If you want to rank higher it’s reasonable to go for those grants... It’s unclear to me how close a relationship there is between increased grants and increased academic excellence. Nevertheless, if people perceive that relationship that’s another reason to be entrepreneurial – to go after those things that people perceive as indicators of academic excellence.

The idea that grant activity is prestigious is common in higher education and it was expressed by those interviewed as well. For example, in discussing the importance of

grant activity for a university, a professor of sociology at FSU commented, “[it] becomes a prime consideration in the quality of the university is how much money does it bring in.... where we rank nationally in terms of our funding and all this kind of stuff.”

In discussing the idea of a corporate approach to higher education, a professor of economics at FSU gave further support for an institutionalist point of view:

The genesis of this model is the idea there have been so many examples of community wide economic activity being driven by these entrepreneurial activities of the universities like Research Triangle and Silicon Valley that no one wants to stomp on this activity. So people look around for kind of the right way to do it.

There were also reports of activity related to “gaining legitimacy” at USF. There, the raised importance of securing external monies might be connected to their use of AAU standards and benchmarks and the recent “Top 50 in 50” campaign, which is to become part of the top 50 public research universities by its 50th year. Just like FSU’s drive for AAU membership, goals of the recent efforts involve increasing research grant activity. In fact, becoming eligible for AAU membership is part of USF’s strategic plan. Although, none of the professors mentioned this connection explicitly, the pressures at USF also confirm institutionalist theory in this way. For example, a professor of criminology there commented:

One of the things that I perceive is that USF wants to do more research and get more research dollars because again that is a major goal for being in the higher level of the Carnegie list....it makes the university happy in part because that’s one of the criteria for Carnegie is federal funding.

A colleague of his in the Department of Economics commented similarly when he said, “You notice the most successful universities have very good endowments, so you want to create a nice endowment.” A professor of criminology made a parallel reference within his discipline:

On the whole, we know our mandate is to produce commensurate with other university programs in our area and that is kind of our role in moving us forward.... I think we understand that we’re supposed to benchmark ourselves against similar programs in our field and sort of try to progress that way.

In these data, the rationale for academic capitalism exemplifies an institutionalist approach. These findings also support the literature, particularly the work of Fairweather (1988) who argued entrepreneurial behavior at universities not only contributes “new revenue but also generates prestige” (Eckel, 2003, p. 868). And Marginson and Considine (2000) argue that can be even more important than the money. Research, among other things is a source of both income and institutional value (prestige) for universities. As Burton Clark wrote about higher education, “prestige is the coin of the realm.” Slaughter and Leslie (1997) talk about how universities are both prestige maximizers and profit maximizers by nature so that with academic capitalism, institutionalism *and* resource dependence play a role.

In other words, there is little doubt entrepreneurial behavior at the university is about *both* a response to situational constituencies (resource dependence), but also the desire to be legitimate (institutionalism). To borrow from Table 1, academic capitalism in the social sciences can be viewed as about both “conforming to collective norms and beliefs” (institutionalism) and “coping with interdependence” (resource dependence). It

is also involved both “social worthiness” (institutionalism) and “resource mobilization” (resource dependence). This idea highlights the point Oliver (1991) makes about the “convergent insights of institutional and resource dependence perspectives” (p. 145). Entrepreneurial university can be explained as much by “habit and convention” (institutionalism), as it can by “power and influence” (resource dependence) or similarly by “adherence to rules and norms” as much as “management of scarce resources.”

Perhaps, resource dependence best explains the start of a more profit-orientated way in higher education and institutionalism best informs how it has been sustained. I thought this might be the case in thinking about the work of Tolbert (1985) who wrote, “the central premise of this [combined] approach is that dependency relationships can, over time, become socially defined as appropriate and legitimate” (p. 1). Colleges and universities have become more market oriented because of a shifting resource base, which is related to the state for public research universities like those in this study (resource dependence). Market and market-like behavior that supports research and professional autonomy fits well with traditional notions of prestige (institutionalism). Academic capitalism becomes something legitimate to ‘mimic,’ in institutional terms, which explains how it has spread to other organizations. Grant activity provides both prestige and extra support, which coincide to make academic capitalism acceptable among academics, regardless of discipline.

However, academic capitalism also has ties to globalization. This was a theoretical construct I did not initially make part of the study’s design, although I probably should have since it is a concept Slaughter and Leslie (1997) discuss, as well as others (Shuman, 1997; Carroll and Beaton, 2000; Marginson and Considine, 2000).

However, globalization is not so much an explanatory framework, as it is a notion to be considered.

Globalization.

Globalization, in general, is more of a notion than it is a theory. In other words, it describes more than it explains. Institutionalism and resource dependence, on the other hand, are theories that explain organizational response to environmental pressures. The word globalization brings to mind interdependence, internationalism, and other grand societal forces such as culture, politics, economics, and technology. As part of this globalism, higher education “functions in an environment characterized by economic interconnectedness, political democracy, market economy, consumerism...global ecological issues, and global multicultural values” (p. 251). In terms of academic capitalism, globalization is the context for the spread or dominance of capitalism in general. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) used the growth of global markets as a context for their discussion on academic capitalism and others use it as well, including professors in this study.

For example, a professor of sociology at FSU contended, “I really think you have to connect it [academic capitalism] to national, international comparisons that are more orienting toward generating profit, generating tangible material outcomes.” In discussing business-like behaviors of public research universities, another sociologist commented similarly, “I think it’s society. We have this trend to market everything. I guess it’s just something that is going to happen.”

Professors of economics and criminology also made this point. A professor of economics at FSU explained “the increasing trend [of academic capitalism] is because the

world is more integrated. There is competition anywhere in any institution, any university. They have to compete.” A criminologist at FSU argued:

The values and structures of capitalism per se have proliferated into all areas of culture and certain politics. It’s like there isn’t a competing set of values. It’s all about markets... bottom lines, and return on investment as if there were no other values in the world... like community, like neighborhood, like family, like other things that matter besides just the bottom line – what capitalism is about. I think the ethic and ethos and spirit of capitalism has just exploded. Not just here, but around the world. It’s a global thing and so I think the pressure within the university is just the same as everywhere else... the proliferation of market values, market culture, market ideology.

These data support Shumar’s notion that higher education, in its commodification, mirrors many other aspects of our global society. It also supports Carroll and Beaton’s discussion of the effects of “capitalist globalization” on universities. That is corporatizing “university practices of governance, teaching, research, etc.,” as universities become “key ancillaries of production” (2000, p. 71), which is in line with Currie (2003) as well, who wrote:

The particular impact of globalization on universities starts with the transformation on the nation state into a competitive player in the new global marketplace... [and] creates markets where none existed before and encourages public institutions to behave in market-like ways.

It is logical that those interviewed would take a globalization stance since it is something they themselves will often study as social scientists. From these data and the literature combined, globalization continues to be a considerable factor.

All in all, academic capitalism is a complex phenomenon with roots in many places, many of which were identified by the participants in this study. As a professor of criminology at FSU said: "I think it's so multi-faceted as to what the causes might be." He went on to say "Honestly, I'm not sure I fully understand it." Resource dependence, institutionalism, and larger trends of globalization are likely all a part of understanding academic capitalism. Some in this study interpret their experience with academic capitalism in terms of globalization and certainly there are global factors involved, but there seems to also be more local issues of resource dependence and institutional frameworks at work as well.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Discussion

Chapter Five provides a summary of the research, implications of the findings, suggestions for further research, and a conclusion.

Summary

This study explores how faculty in the social sciences experience and respond to academic capitalism. Academic capitalism is about the advance of a profit motive at the university and the pursuit of external monies or market/market-like behavior by professors and other university personnel. This research expands existing literature which has focused on the hard or natural sciences, and other areas more closely aligned with the market.

Thirty-seven qualitative research interviews were conducted between March and July of 2006 with professors of sociology, criminology, and economics at the UF, FSU, and USF. Results reveal academic capitalism in the social sciences is mostly about grant activity and involves essentially no technology transfer or patenting. Further, that grant activity is somewhat sporadic, still of marginal concern, and more important to junior faculty than for tenured senior faculty. Findings also suggest academic capitalism in the social sciences is about a market of ideas, based on the value of positive social change and quality research, rather than economic yield.

The theoretical framework of the study proposed institutionalism and resource dependence theory as useful frameworks for viewing academic capitalism. The findings confirm the usefulness of institutionalism and resource dependence theory, but also add notions of globalization. Academic capitalism is about gaining legitimacy (institutionalism), responding to external constituencies to enhance revenue flows and buffer the institution from resource reductions (resource dependence), and trends of commodification in a global marketplace (globalization).

Implications

The results of this research can stand alone and be interpreted within the context of the study. However, it is also important to consider its implications for existing knowledge. In this regard, there are a number of points to be made. First, this study confirms that academic capitalism is uneven. That is, being entrepreneurial and getting involved with market and market-like activity is different for the social sciences than it is for other areas in the university. Second, the findings of this study contradict predictions that this unevenness will cause loss of power or a feeling of not being valued among those not aligned with the market. Third, this study concludes that faculty work patterns in the social sciences have changed little in the face of academic capitalism, at least not yet. Fourth, this research supports the literature that says academic capitalism does not typically displace traditional academic culture. Fifth, resource dependence continues to be a useful theory as does institutionalism and globalization. Sixth, implications for practice are provided. Seventh, a new way of viewing the effects of academic capitalism is presented.

Unevenness.

As stated, this study confirms that academic capitalism is an uneven phenomenon. Just as Ylijoki said, “Engaging in academic capitalism is everyday reality in all units but takes a diversity of forms depending on how close or distant the field is from the market” (p. 307). The results of this study uphold this statement as seen in the specific form of academic capitalism found in the social sciences and professors’ discussion of the continuum of disciplines based on relevance to the market. The results of this study verify that academic capitalism does not impact segments of higher education uniformly with the greatest difference showing up when comparing social versus life or hard sciences. The initial plan of seeing differences among sociology, criminology, and economics in terms of closeness or distance to the market was not realized. Rather, those interviewed for this study yielded a fairly consistent picture from which we can conclude a shared experience.

It seems, in the hard sciences, being entrepreneurial is a much more critical thing than it is for most social scientists. In the social sciences, academic capitalism in general, and grant activity in particular, are sporadic and still somewhat peripheral to core activities. In units like medicine, chemistry, and engineering, academic capitalism is required to conduct research and establish tenure, or even maintain employment. In the social sciences, academic capitalism is more about extra support, evaluation enhancement, and prestige.

In this sense, the findings suggest that the social sciences are still relatively insulated from the market and have yet to become the academic entrepreneurs as presented by Slaughter and Leslie (1997). In sum, this study backs up existing literature, which claims there are irregularities in how academic capitalism is experienced among

disciplines. In other words, academic capitalism is not universal or as Slaughter and Leslie put it, “movement toward academic capitalism is far from uniform, indeed, it is characterized by unevenness” (p. 12).

Still valued.

In discussing capitalism in general, Bowen (2005) wrote, it “may result in greater freedom for some (the sharks), but may also oppress others (the minnows).” Sharks here refer to those close to the market, gobbling up significant resources, while the minnows are those far from it, getting the smaller prizes. In this scheme, those I interviewed would be considered minnows. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) take the same position discussing academic capitalism with their talk of “haves” and “have-nots.” They wrote:

Some departments, colleges, and curricular areas gain revenue shares (e.g., some areas of the physical and biological sciences and engineering, business, and law), whereas areas such as the humanities, some physical sciences (e.g., physics), and most social sciences lost shares, as do fields such as education, social work, home economics, or family studies.

According to the literature, an initial concern of academic capitalism is that it might be more easily understood and utilized by academic units most closely aligned with the market and that by extension, could harm those *not* closely aligned with the market. Awbery (2002) pointed out, “fields close to the market... continue to gain power while those less close... are losing influence” (p. 4). Aronowitz (2000) also wrote about an emerging framework of prestige and privilege based on grant activity, with academic capitalists on top and those pursuing “knowledge for its own sake or for human

betterment” on the bottom. Again, those interviewed for this study would be considered on the bottom.

However, the findings of this study reject such a stance. Contrary to what the literature predicts, the majority of professors in the social sciences do not feel oppressed. In fact, many faculty members that I interviewed felt valued despite larger trends of market and market-like behavior and their ability as social scientists to respond. They were aware of their inability to contribute financially, but proud of their role in the traditional core of the university.

The idea that disciplines with little potential to contribute economically might lose power remains to be seen. At least according to professors in this study, their work maintains value and contributes socially regardless of its ability to bring in large grants that impact university bottom lines. As a professor of criminology at USF commented, “if I can make a difference, constructive difference, that’s what drives me.” So even if institutions are directing efforts towards programs closest to the market, social science faculty continue to feel valued. These findings suggest the university is maintaining a balance with concern for teaching, research, and service that includes disciplines near and far from the market. Further, and more importantly, social sciences are not doing without as was suggested in *Academic Capitalism*, which predicts institutions and faculty that are not successful in securing external funds, will do without.

Faculty work-patterns.

Another implication of this study on existing research is that academic capitalism has not (at least yet) really changed faculty work patterns in the social sciences. Slaughter’s claim that “globalization of the political economy” has destabilized university

professional work patterns may hold true for university administrators and professors in the medical and natural sciences, but it has yet to become a meaningful part of social sciences professorial work patterns.

In his work on the entrepreneurial university, Clark (1998) wrote faculty in the social sciences must “look out for themselves, raise money, actively choose among specialties, and otherwise take on an entrepreneurial outlook” (p. 146). These findings confirm Clark’s predictions. There was some indication of changing faculty work patterns as seen in the discussion about fund-raising and faculty, as well as the increasing importance of grant activity in tenure, promotion, and hiring. Although grant activity is gaining increased importance, it or any other form of academic capitalism has not truly taken hold in the social sciences. In other words, it has taken effect, but it is not the requirement that it is in the hard sciences, nor has it changed work-patterns.

The revision of the balance “among teaching, research, and invention” found by Etzkowitz et al (1998) within the life sciences, was not found within the social sciences. Their idea was that academic capitalism might force faculty to spend more time on securing external grants and less time on instruction. However, this research puts grant activity as still somewhat marginal and sporadic to daily professorial activity in the social sciences, particularly for those with tenure. However, for those without tenure, securing external grants was much more important, and for them, Aronowitz statement about faculty being “urged, cajoled, and even threatened to direct their scholarship and research to the ever-decreasing pots of grant gold on penalty of losing resources such as computer time, assistants, equipment, promotions, and tenure” (p. 62) might be true.

Without really collecting data, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) guessed that academic capitalism in the social sciences might be less about a research product and more about selling services. This research both agrees and disagrees with this point. Capitalizing the curriculum, as seen at USF is about both selling services and creating a product, albeit an educational one as opposed to a scientific one. Grant activity as the primary form of academic capitalism among the social sciences was portrayed as neither a research product nor service, although some of the projects occurring in the research centers could be considered part of public service. However, marketing initiatives are more about selling than being about creating a product. On the prediction that faculty “far from the market” will teach more and research less (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Awbery, 2002), these data were even less clear.

Traditional academic culture.

A review of the literature on academic capitalism in Chapter Two revealed solid agreement among researchers regarding the strength of traditional academic culture in the face of academic capitalism. The findings of this study back that up. Very much like Gumpert’s (2002) co-existence of social and industrial logics and Ylijoki’s (2003) conclusion “that increasing market-orientation does not displace traditional academic practices, values and ideals as researchers try to accommodate them to entrepreneurial activities” (p. 307), this study shows traditional academic culture is alive and well.

Mendoza (2005) also found the incorporation of market and market-like activities into traditional academic frameworks. Her dissertation research focused on graduate student socialization in departments heavily involved in academic capitalism. She found, “despite the high value that students place on industrial partnerships, the traditional

values of the academic profession are being preserved through their socialization” (p. 121). In line with such previous research, social scientists in this study are holding onto traditional academic values even in the face of growing capitalist pressures. This is significant because of its consistency. The regularity with which traditional academic values maintain a place in the face of current market forces on the university, combined with academic capitalism’s unevenness are the two most sure aspects of the scholarly literature on the issues at hand.

Theory

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) let go of resource dependence in their book *Academic capitalism and the new economy*. This is because “a premise of resource dependence theory, as of much organization theory, is that there is a relatively clear boundary between the organization and its environment” (p.11-12). To Slaughter and Rhoades, there are no boundaries or boundaries are unclear. However, this study proposes the idea that resource dependence can still inform the study of academic capitalism. Theoretically, the support for resource dependence among the findings was fairly strong. Even if the boundaries are blurred, resource dependence should not be dismissed. It remains a useful part of explaining academic capitalism and adds to notions that institutionalism and globalization play a role as well.

Early on, it was expected that both institutionalism and resource dependence theory play a role in explaining academic capitalism. Their asset as a dual theoretical perspective is only strengthened by added notions of globalization. So if globalization is at play here, which the literature suggests and this study backs up, how does it relate to explanations put forth by resource dependence and institutionalism?

Globalization as a context for higher education helps explain shifting resources, political environment, global competition, and increasing interconnectedness that shape organizational behavior in higher education and elsewhere. Perhaps these larger globalization forces make up the organizational field in which resource dependence and institutionalism operate. So as the backdrop, globalization sets the stage for shifting resources and institutional interconnectedness that forms the environment that supports academic capitalism.

Practice

On a more practical note, what are the implications of the findings on how professors do what they do? One prediction is that, like many other professions, faculty work is becoming more specialized. For instance, some professors focus more on teaching, while others focus on research and grant activity. The rise of part-time faculty, who focus on teaching, has already been linked with academic capitalism. An implication of this is a call to acknowledge differentiated paths of faculty work, particularly as it relates to tenure. In other words, the role of grants in achieving tenure should depend on the professor's discipline.

The Academic Capitalism Continuum

As Chapter Two points out, there are several words used to discuss the ideas studied in this research. My decision to use the terms academic capitalism and entrepreneurial was based on my own starting point with the literature, *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*. In light of this research experience, I have gained a deepened, wider, and more complex understanding of academic capitalism. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) explicitly consider the term's use

and admit having “lengthy discussions” with colleagues about whether or not it fully captures what they meant by it. And while some agreed with their choice, others felt “it too strongly connoted a Faustian bargain with the business class” (p. 8). However, in the end, the university administration, professors, and other personnel they interviewed really did portray academic capitalism quite literally with their examples of academic professionals producing and selling academic ‘capital’. Capitalism refers to an economic system that revolves around private ownership and the free market. It often brings to mind competition and, more importantly, the motive of profit. This definition makes sense for those that Slaughter and Leslie studied.

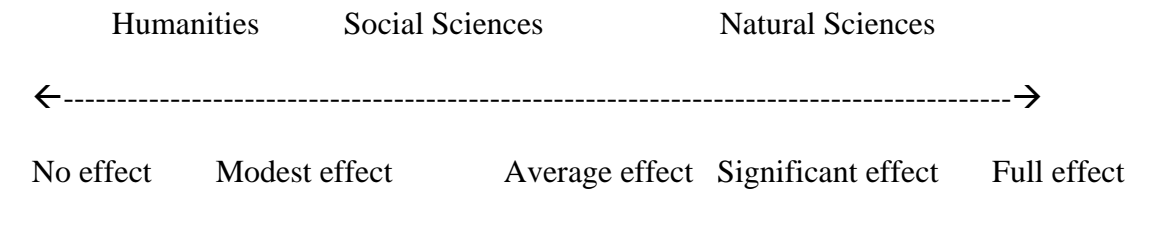
However, in this study, those interviewed showed just the opposite. In fact, they showed little to no desire for profit and they valued scholarly contribution and the improvement of society over individual gain and competition. In many ways, they represent a much more traditional academic mode of thinking as opposed to more capitalistic ways.

I also borrowed “entrepreneurial” from Slaughter and Leslie, directly from the title of their book. Again, their global focus turned up a great deal of what would be considered entrepreneurial, which generally refers to business ownership. Yet, many definitions feature the term “risk.” Again, the professors I interviewed for this study did not really portray themselves as entrepreneurial, per se – at least not in a classical sense. Throughout this study, I have intentionally stayed open in looking at a wide reaching and current notion within higher education that includes academic capitalism, entrepreneurialism, a market focus, and other related themes. In applying a social science

lens, this study has shed light on a different kind of academic capitalism – one that does not fit exactly into the current model.

One way to think about this variation is with a continuum. The lack of uniformity in academic capitalism can be thought of in terms of a range of expressions based on distance to the market and disciplinary lines. On one end of this continuum is little to no effect of academic capitalism and on the other is near complete effect. Academic capitalism is a want or wish in the areas with little to no effect, whereas it is a need/requirement in units of high effect. Superimpose this range of effect with the continuum of disciplines presented earlier and we see something like Figure 1.

Figure 1. Effect of academic capitalism on faculty along discipline lines.



Further, there are continuums within continuums to show further variation within each group of disciplines. So that, depending on the discipline, in the humanities there is modest to no effect, in the social sciences there is modest to average effect, and in the natural sciences there is significant to full effect. Traditional notions of academic capitalism can be found towards the right of the scale.

Since the results of this study can only inform what is occurring in the social sciences, its presentation of academic capitalism can be found somewhere in the middle. From the data, sociology, criminology, and economics might be considered somewhere

between modest and average effect. Psychology, as reported by faculty, falls more towards average to significant effect. How this is playing out in the humanities, where it is assumed there is even less effect related to their distance from the market is not known. It is likely, in this regard, that the continuum of effect can be broadened to go beyond no effect to complete resistance or downright objection. The same could be said for the extreme right, which can be expanded to include a sort of complete immersion without awareness of any other way.

Further Research

Most research raises more questions than it answers, so here I present the need for further studies on unanswered questions generated by this study. Like Chapter One points out, there are numerous ways one can study entrepreneurialism at the university. As discussed in the section on limitations, the scope of this research leaves a lot to be explored. I mentioned students, administrators, graduate student employees, and staff as other groups to consider and curriculum, research, and student learning as further topics for research on the impact of academic capitalism.

In fact, the topic of how students experience and respond to academic capitalism was raised by some of the participants. Discussion of issues related to an entrepreneurial university raised the subject of student consumerism on more than one occasion. For instance, a professor of economics at UF claimed one of the major demands of his job “involves the consumerist nature of undergraduate teaching.” A professor of criminology at USF concurred when she described how she dislikes “the whole idea that has been foisted on us that our students are somehow customers.... When you evaluate teaching the primary focus is on student course evaluation. So you wind up pleasing the student

rather than necessarily educating the student.” Another faculty member in Sociology at USF shared:

In this class that just ended last week, students were demanding review sessions, study sheets, sample questions, sample tests... pretty strong demands. We realized that these are really the first generation of students who have been in FCAT [the standardized testing system for primary and secondary public schools in Florida – Florida’s Comprehensive Assessment Test] systems for the last four years. They’re already living in this kind of corporatized model in high school where they’re going to be evaluated by numbers and all that matters to them are those numbers.

How academic capitalism affects the classroom and student behavior is one line of inquiry. Beyond concerns about student attitudes was also apprehension about the influences of academic capitalism on student learning. This represents another possible area of future study. A professor of criminology at FSU stated, “Students are getting least preference in universities because of the phenomenon that we’re talking about. Universities are much more about the research and publications and making money these days than they ever were before.” A professor of sociology referred to this as “educational malpractice.” He was mostly concerned about the idea of focusing on quantity over quality and how that translates into the classroom. In discussing his experience teaching introductory classes to over 500 students, he said, “I do them and I do them enthusiastically, but it’s just not the same as even when you’ve got... even 50 people in the room is better than 300 when it becomes a focus on numbers and quantity.” Clearly the effect of academic capitalism on students is one of the many areas of with the

potential for further research. Like the social sciences, academic capitalism and students or student learning have not been fully considered in the higher education literature.

College administrators are another group that could benefit from some attention regarding academic capitalism. Since administration was often cited as the source of increased pressures to generate external grants, a natural extension of this research is to learn more about how academic capitalism is being experienced by administrators. In light of this research, further questions might be: Who and what is putting pressure on administrators? What do administrators value in university-wide strategic direction? Also to what degree are administrators influenced by forces at play in academic capitalism?

These and numerous other questions about the varied experience of academic capitalism in higher education form the basis for future research suggested here.

Conclusion

One way to conclude a study is to look back to its beginning. In this case, it leads back to the research questions. 1) How are professors in the social sciences responding to academic capitalism? 2) How are professors in the social sciences experiencing academic capitalism? As mentioned, the findings of this study are presented in a way that makes sense for the argument. In concluding, it might be helpful to present the results again in direct response to each specific question.

In terms of response to academic capitalism, professors in the social sciences have proven their awareness and resiliency as a group. Against early predictions of the literature and my own initial thoughts, faculty in this study showed a sense of awareness, control, and realistic acceptance of entrepreneurial forces. For the most part, social scientists seem aware of the impact of market forces on their campus and daily work life.

They see its benefits, but only alongside traditional academic values. Despite their relatively low contribution to such matters, social scientists maintain a strong sense of professional and self worth. They are also realistic about changing expectations and the possible need to more fully respond in times that have yet to come.

Regarding the experience of academic capitalism in the social sciences, this study shows sporadic events of a lesser degree than has been shown in some other areas. Also junior faculty members in the social sciences experience academic capitalism to a greater degree than do senior faculty. As with how professors are responding, professional autonomy and university customs make the experience one of their own making, although this (again) might change in years to come as indicated by junior faculty perceptions.

In sum, professors in the social sciences respond to and experience academic capitalism in unique ways. This study presents some of those ways, and in doing so, expands our understanding of market forces on higher education, the entrepreneurial university, and other issues concerning academic capitalism. In Chapter One, I introduce academic capitalism, in its broadest sense, as a way to view the intersection of higher education with other major social forces. From this research, it is clear the modern university is greatly influenced by market forces. In examining one small part of this larger whole, I hope this study better prepares colleges and universities for taking advantage of its position in a constantly changing world.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

ID: Institution: Gender: Discipline: Rank:

1 – How long have you been working at UNIVERSITY?

2 – What would you say are some of the primary pressures of your job?

Are there pressures for making money? From where? *If yes, what sources are being discussed?*

Are there greater pressures to generate revenue than in the past?

3 – What differences do you see between being a professor in social sciences as compared to some other disciplines? If yes, what are those differences?

4 – Is your department involved in university wide strategic directions as you see them?

[PROBE] I'm wondering if social scientists see themselves as part of the strategic direction of their organization and if the institutions' current directions seem to be moving in directions to which the department can contribute. And by "strategic direction" I don't necessarily mean as laid out by central administration so much as I do university patterns of behavior, particularly resource support.

5 – From your point of view, how important is it that the activities you or the department undertake be marketable, that is, directly relevant to those in the market for goods, services, and skilled labor?

6 – In what ways, if any, are you "entrepreneurial" as a professor of social sciences?

8 – Are there any fund raising staff associated with this department? If yes, what do they do?

9 – Have you participated in any resource generating activities for the department?

EXAMPLES: Field schools	Program/needs assessment
Research grants	Courseware development
Royalties from published or patented work	Consulting
Survey/testing/other research instrument	research centers or institutes

10 – What do you think about the business like behaviors of public research universities? What do you see as the possible causes of such trends?

11 – Any other comments on what might be called "entrepreneurialism" in higher education?

Thank you for your time. I will email you with a summary of this interview soon, so that you may make any corrections or further comments.

Appendix B: Informed Consent

Title of research study: Social Science Faculty in the New University

Purpose of study: To explore impacts of the entrepreneurial university on the work life of social science faculty.

Expected duration: It is estimated that the duration of the study will be from March 2006 until December 2006. If the study continues past December 2006, you will be notified.

Potential Benefits/Risks: While you may not directly benefit from participating in this study, you may contribute to the scholarly literature on academic capitalism and related areas of research. There are no known risks related to participating in this study. Further, your decision to participate or not participate will in no way affect your job status.

Procedures: This interview, which will take 25-35 minutes, consists of a series of semi-structured questions. Your responses will be digitally recorded and transcribed. A summary of the transcript will be given to you for review. Participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate at any point during the interview or duration of the study. You will not be paid for participating in this study.

Confidentiality: Your identity will remain confidential and any quotations used in writing up the results will not be attributed by name or any unique identifiers. Your privacy and research records will be kept confidential to the extent of the law. Authorized research personnel, employees of the Department of Health and Human Services, and the USF Institutional Review Board, its staff, and any other individuals acting on behalf of USF, may inspect the records from this research project. The results of this study may be published. However, the data obtained from you will be combined with the data from others in the publication. The published results will not include your name or any other information that would personally identify you in any way.

Contact Information: If you have any questions about this study, you may call Deanna Bullard at 727-822-5437 or email her at dbarce@tampabay.rr.com

If you have questions about your rights as a person who is taking part in a study, call USF Research Compliance at (813) 974-5638.

Statement of person taking part in study:

I freely give my consent to take part in this study. I understand that this is research. I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature
of Person taking part in study

Printed Name
of Person taking part in study

Date

Statement of person obtaining informed consent:

I adhere to all statements of purpose, duration, procedure, and confidentiality outlined in this document.

Signature of Investigator
or authorized research
investigator designated by
the Principal Investigator

Printed Name of Investigator

Date

Appendix C: Email Drafts

Initial

You have been randomly selected to participate in a qualitative research project on academic capitalism. This study is part of my dissertation work as a doctoral student in Higher Education Administration at the University of South Florida.

As it relates directly to my study, academic capitalism refers to market and market-like activities of universities and university faculty. Awberry (2002, p.2) describes it as “professorial market or market-like efforts to secure external moneys.” Academic capital includes teaching, research, consulting, and other applications of academic knowledge and expertise for the purpose of generating departmental resources.

Research on this topic thus far, has lacked attention to the social sciences. Therefore, I have chosen to focus explicitly on the departments of Criminology, Economics, and Sociology at the University of Florida, Florida State University, and University of South Florida.

As a faculty member in the Department of Economics at FSU, you were randomly chosen as a potential participant. If you agree and I hope you do, we will arrange for an in person interview, which will last 25-35 minutes. You do not have to be heavily involved in such activity to participate and any questions you might have should be answered in the attached documents.

This study is completely voluntary and requires relatively little of your time. It is my sincere hope that you are willing and able to assist me in my endeavors and I look forward to your response.

Contact Information: *If you have any questions about this study, you may call Deanna Bullard at 727-822-5437 or email her at dbarce@tampabay.rr.com*

If you have questions about your rights as a person who is taking part in a study, call USF Research Compliance at (813) 974-5638.

Follow-up (example)

I am writing again to let you know that I will be in Gainesville Tuesday June 20th. If you have had the chance to consider my request and are willing to give 20-25 minutes of your time, take into account the possibility of meeting sometime that day (12:45, 1pm, or 1:30pm).

There will be future dates/times made available. So if you are willing to participate, yet cannot meet on the 20th – please let me know.

Thank you again for your time and consideration. I look forward to your response.

Final

In an effort to move forward with data collection, I am writing one last time to determine if this is something you are willing and able to do. If the answer is no, please send word.

Knowing one way or another will be helpful in keeping record of the random selection process and more importantly allow me to move on to the next possible participant.

Thank you for considering my request. I look forward to your response.

Appendix D: IRB Letter of Approval

March 22, 2006

Deanna Bullard, M.A. and Michael Mills, Ph.D.
490 24th Avenue North
St. Petersburg, FL 33704

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review

IRB#: 104477

Title: Exploring Academic Capitalism in the Social Sciences: Faculty Responses to the Entrepreneurial University

Study Approval Period: 03/22/2006 to 03/21/2007

Dear Ms. Bullard and Dr. Mills:

On March 22, 2006, Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and APPROVED the above protocol for the period indicated above. It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review based on the federal expedited category number five (5), number six (6), and number seven (7), including the informed consent form.

Please note, if applicable, the enclosed informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on page one of the form. Valid consent must be documented on a copy of the most recently IRB-approved consent form. Make copies from the enclosed original.

Please reference the above IRB protocol number in all correspondence regarding this protocol with the IRB or the Division of Research Compliance. In addition, we have enclosed an Institutional Review Board (IRB). Quick Reference Guide providing guidelines and resources to assist you in meeting your responsibilities in the conduction of human subjects research. Please read this guide carefully. It is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to the Human Research Protections Program. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-9343.

DIVISION OF RESEARCH COMPLIANCE

University of South Florida • 12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDCO35 • Tampa, FL
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(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-5618

About the Author

Deanna Barcelona Bullard received a Bachelor of Science in Anthropology with a minor in Biology from Florida State University in 1997 and a Master's Degree in Applied Anthropology from the University of South Florida (USF) in 2001. She entered the Ph.D. program for Higher Education Administration at USF in 2001.

Deanna has taught the freshmen orientation class University Experience at USF, worked as an oral history researcher, held numerous graduate assistantships, and has presented at several academic conferences including the Society for Applied Anthropology and the Florida Academy of Sciences.