Marginalising imposterism: An Australian case study proposing a spectrum of tendencies that frame academic identities.

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Abstract

If scholarship as a shared practice is a major driver of university work, why does the notion of imposter syndrome persist, who acknowledges feelings of imposterism, and how does imposter phenomenon affect work practices (Breeze, 2018)? Our provocation is that imposterism may have been misconceived. We frame our inquiry empirically through participant narratives from an insider research study (Trowler, 2012) carried out in a research-intensive university in Australia exploring relationships at the so-called teaching-research nexus (e.g. Neumann, 1996). Secondly, using a critical auto-ethnographic approach (Boylorn & Orbe, 2013; Denzin, 2014) we reflect on our personal narratives as teachers, higher education and disciplinary researchers, influenced by Archers' (2012) notion of reflexivity. To these polyvocal career narratives and memoirs of identity politics we apply mythic archetypes and suggest that imposterism is better viewed as agile, malleable or mercurial academic tendencies, where feelings, sometimes fleeting or fixed position the 'imposter' in liminal spaces along a spectrum. This position shifts the focus of the imposterism discourse away from the deficit model of self (e.g. feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, introversion, fraud) towards a strengths-based approach appreciative of social and cultural structures, stages of academic careers, and/or in response to the environment. We therefore view imposter syndrome as a (social) misconception, in part to cause dissonance in the academy, and aim to create a critical awareness and actionable strategies for academic staff, students and communities (Hutchins & Rainbolt, 2017).

Keywords: imposter syndrome, imposterism, academic identities, teaching-research nexus, archetypes, liminality, reflexivity, auto-ethnography, higher education

Introduction

The immediate response to a call for contributions about imposterism as a public feeling in universities was to draw on a phrase, 'thick-skinned', expressed by an academic within a research interview exploring academic identities at the research-teaching nexus. The phrase was offered by the research participant in the context of her felt experience of being an

imposter, whilst holding a curriculum manager role in a discipline and faculty that was not her home discipline, and being a senior academic in a science field where males in leadership roles were the norm. Within the doctoral study on academic identities, the researcher took notice of this statement about being think-skinned as a protective and coping mechanism against the sense of imposterism that derived from the environment, from the outside in. In the Australian context, metaphors around skin are prevalent and used colloquially in a range of settings. Holding a portrait as a person with think-skin and broad shoulders is an attribute for many professions, for example, in response to violence in health care settings to counter the impact of deep emotional feelings and extreme behaviour (Trudge, 2016). The interviewee held an allied health care background, hence the transposition of a coping strategy from one field into academia meant reinventing newer forms of think-skin and broad shoulders in the critical and competitive academic environment. This metaphorical use of language in relation to academic identity was earlier talked about with reference to native reptiles, for example, the shedding and growing skins (Lewis, 2014).

What arose within this singular personal narrative appeared to be a contradiction between the implied role and advocacy required to be a senior academic at a research-intensive university against the deeply emotive, internal expression of scarification due to the effects of imposterism. Our concern was that if imposterism is so endemic and pervasive we needed another view, another platform that looked more widely into the social ecology or fabric of the workplace. What emerged was a repositioning towards viewing the public and personal feelings of imposterism for academics working in higher education as a response to what is out there, or imposed, for example, enforced structural changes, intermittent and sometimes unexpected career changes, or when moving between stages of personal and professional development. The deeper response considering research data, observations and lived experiences, is our sense-making which marginalises imposterism form a sole focus on the self, preferring to expresses (1) our discomfort with and objection of imposterism at the level of the individual in higher education, and (2) a suggestion that imposterism may have been misconceived, and holds little or no fit for contemporary academic work. Our refreshed standpoint repositions the popularised view of imposterism, although superficially compelling, as disempowering, and offers an overly simplistic explanation of why those in higher education feel marginalised.

From the standpoint foregrounding political, cultural and systemic challenges in higher education, our explanation of imposterism above and from key scholars in the literature, (See Connell, 2019) we are urged to explore more critically the hegemonic discourses surrounding known interplays between the organisational environment, layers of workplace cultures, and myriad expressions of academic identities. Offering a variation on known discourses, we ask, what would academic life be like if we were to reject the notion of imposterism, which offers a fixed and dated label targeting certain individuals and groups against the 'normalised' hierarchies of higher education? In a dialogic way, we mixed serious play through archetypal (academic) characters with our own scholarly (and social) activism (Bosanquet & Rytmeister, 2018). Our reflexive stance is influenced by Archer (2012) and her recognised "...conjuncture between the cultural order (ideationally based) and the structural order (materially based) in shaping new situational contexts in which more and more social subjects find themselves and whose variety that have to confront - in a novel manner" (p.1). These intra-subjective exchanges are the reality of lived experiences of academics, the memoirs they offer (Addison, 2016). Pondering the reflexive offerings of research participants within in-depth interviews (as their original or acquired selves described above), we muse on our own positioning acknowledging Grenfell's contribution that the interview is always about the self (personal communication, Nov, 2013). The outcomes suggest there may be tendencies we exhibit at certain times where a spectrum for these behaviours or features could be established, and in response to the many challenges and uncertainties of academic work. Therefore we align with Breeze & Taylor's (2018) strengths-based approach to celebrate our many identities and agility in an increasingly hostile working environment. Our objective is to marginalise connotations associated with imposterism As members of university communities we reflect on how much we are constantly improvising and operating in a system that is dynamic and uncertain. As a wise sage teaching spiritual knowledge once said, *there is a space between focus and flow, and within this space there is discernment,* (Brahma Kumaris, personal lesson, January 2020). Adopting such a lesson implies that our work on imposterism has assisted us to consider the movement, and discern along a spectrum of tendencies rather than fixed point.

Shallow response 1: What is imposterism in higher education?

From the literature, imposterism (also referred to as imposter phenomenon and imposter syndrome) describes anything from being moderately insecure to being extremely anxious, these emotional states being precipitate by feelings of being a fraud and/or not deserving of success. Imposterism is pervasive within organisational cultures and is common on campuses

in public higher education. For the purposes of this chapter, we concur with Greenwood & Hinings use of the term culture to cover both the values and beliefs expressed through structures and systems, and where actors choose to behave in accordance with those values (1993). We also draw on the idea of academic and cultural capital by Bourdieu (1990) suggesting that as a form of personal agency, we can expand, contract or exchange forms of capital in response to changing conditions. Starting with the nature of academic work as performance, it is well known we are situated within a working culture of expectation and anticipation, driven by achievement. For example the 'culture of genius' (Slank, 2019) is a reality, which can alter the evidential landscape in a way that exacerbates imposter phenomenon.

From a psychological perspective, imposter syndrome highlights the apparent paradox where high-achieving individuals appear unable to accept the value of their personal accomplishments due to feelings of being exposed as a fraud. This person will dismiss success as being down to good luck or timing, or that they have deceived others into thinking they are more intelligent and competent than they believe themselves to be, despite overwhelming evidence otherwise. Early studies suggested that imposter syndrome was particularly common among high-achieving women (Clance & Imes, 1978), whilst later work indicated men are as equally affected as women (Matthews & Clance, 1985), and that environmental factors are involved. Furthermore, "...some phenomena cannot be adequately appreciated unless we widen the scope of our view, shifting focus from individual psychological mechanisms to the social structures through which those mechanisms operate" (Slank, 2019, p. 213).

The social climate on campuses are associated with structural and cultural systems at the level of the organisation, including the cultural nuances of the university and the ways in which it depicts and identifies itself. Researching higher education supports the notion gaining traction that the environment and group dynamics have a key role in how people adopt the stances expected of them by the organisation. Drawing on local scholarship from the Australian university where the research was conducted, we cite Barcan (2014) believing fraudulent feelings by academics are in response to a broken academic system where staff are increasingly disgruntled and students are angry. Social science researcher Connell after a long career as a critical commentator of the academy published Southern Theory (2007) suggesting Eurocentric theory was experiencing a modern jarring against contemporary thought and traditional Indigenous politics particularly in Australian higher education. The work culminated in 2019 with research demonstrating emphatically that 'place matters', shaping research, scholarship

and knowledge itself. But it also shows that knowledge workers in the global South have room to move, setting agendas and forming local knowledge (2019). With this in mind, we suggest positions the neoliberal ideology and increasingly managerial regimes as impacting on the global knowledge economy, and the academic labour market may have something to do with the pandemic of imposterism. Under these prevailing conditions, we wonder at the interplay between those who get marginalised and the roles the marginalised have been allocated? How many of us are compromising our sense of place through forms of creative adaption or improvisation in response to radical change?

We prefer the term 'imposter tendencies' offered by Dahvlig (2013, p. 101 cited in Parkman, 2016) as it renders visible the work environment and situational stress of academic life. From author 2 experiences when we think we are feeling inadequate, e.g. having low confidence, it is not the same as truly feeling like a fraud where this feeling of being a fraud is so strong that it induces anxiety and/or precipitates depressive episodes. Perhaps what we are grappling with here is that whilst the notion of imposterism has utility for examining our workplace experience, we ought to recognise that there are a range of connected feelings, perhaps a spectrum, that covers feelings of being (1) mildly and transiently lacking confidence (Parkman, 2016), to the (2) clinical anxiety and depression triggered by feeling like a fraud? This opens up discourses on adaptive and maladaptive skills within a changing academic environment (Hitchings, 2015). As one cannot be viewed without the other (agency and structure) we also focus on the relationships of several factors. Our justification for using imposter tendencies is to explore how people position themselves in the academy - how fixed these positions are, and how successful they may be?

Deeper response 1: Using Archetypes to explore imposter tendencies in public higher education

Our approach is to apply archetypes in order to offer somewhat simplified/typical/but still valid descriptors of what comes out of doctoral research interviews with academics regarding their identities, auto-ethno-biographic narratives, and practice narratives framed with respect to threshold concepts and liminality. Jungian archetypes (Jung, 1969) and Jungian psychological types (Jung, 1971), are a simplified and playful way to explore imposter tendencies of academics. Archetypes are ancient, universal patterns of behaviour that are embedded in what Carl Jung called the collective unconscious. Here we use the original notion of an archetypal

character rather than a thesis on the relationships between impostor phenomenon and Jungian psychology. We are leaning on notions offered by Jung as an ambitious and artful way to view the environments in which we work, and to better understand a certain group of academics within a single case study. We suggest that individuals may move between archetypal characters in response to challenges at home or work, which may be akin to oscillating academic identities (Lewis, 2014b). Such agility is a form of social game (Addison, 2016) or game-playing (Bourdieu, 1990) in response to workplace cultures. For example, the behaviour of a Trickster archetype moves quickly, is agile, but also prone to trick other people for their own gain. If imposterism holds certain characteristics, could it be described as having features of an archetype in its own right, or be forms of academic archetypes? Three examples from the study will be offered below: The Trickster, The Shadow and The Hero.

Reflection author 1: Adopting the archetype of the mythic Seeker is one way to better understand the origins and interpretations of imposter phenomenon in relation to my academic practices. I declare I am no expert on imposterism in higher education or Jungian archetypes so perhaps I could be a bit of a fraud in this writing project? What I am interested in are the in-between spaces, where these notions may inform or butt up against each other. This could be a risky space and bounded by academic rules and regulations. What emerged in this process was a need to look back to the cultural and political contexts in which early research was conducted including cues to researcher bias. As a reflective practice rather than problem-solving, I seek respite within my agile academic identities and doctoral work, feeling more confident & talented at times, constrained and challenged at others, akin to shedding and growing many layers of skin (Lewis, 2014). As a graduate student I shift between excitement and a sense of shameful imposer checking where I belong in a PhD program and that they have I tricked someone to be here (Moore, 2008).

Doctoral case study on academic identities at the research-teaching nexus

Doctoral work by author 1 examined the practices of academic peers to explore relationships between research and teaching activities of health professionals in a research-intensive university in Australia. The study looked into the ways individuals respond to organisational expectations of the supposed research-teaching nexus. The approach was to see the world from their perspective through an ethnographic approach inclusive of the unintended hints and glimpses about what is really going on.

Through the study, time was available for deeper contemplation on work roles, missions and identities. This included exploring habitual approaches towards academic work (Bourdieu, 1990) and to recognise interrelationships between everyday lives, educational lives and academic lives (Black, Crimmins & Henderson (2017). Badley (2016) speaks of a need for academics to "develop a willingness to tell their stories, to help create a better world, to address social injustices of our times and to use our intelligence to help solve the problems of democracy and humankind" (p. 377). The research offered spaces for participants to reflect and connect to a deeper understanding of the systematic mechanisms of the university, the liberties and privileges of being an academic, the sour points and frustrations. Recollections emerged as working memoir through participant auto-ethnography within and between longitudinal naturalistic style interviews.

The analysis suggested that attempts to enact what may be viewed as a research-teaching nexus as often dependent upon a range of factors, between the individual, their organisational environment, disciplinary affiliations and work climates. A key theme from the study was that whilst academic identities are required to be agile, the structures of a supposed research-teaching nexus schema remained rigid). The need to reimagine and reconceptualise the research-teaching nexus was built from empirical data and researcher critical reflection on earlier framings of the nexus. For example, the relationships experienced within a supposed research-teaching nexus are far more than the act of balancing roles, or living with an imbalance in priorities. Opportunities for individuals to do knowledge work differently emerged. For example, how to produce different forms and types of knowledge, approaching curriculum frameworks, or performing reflexivity.

Reflection author 1: Researching inside the academy from the Artist Archetype

I conceptualized the research as if it were an artistic practice imbued with liminal states. For example, if it was an impressionist painting it can look very different from a distance than close-up, much like our lives and relationships. If it were more literary, there is a stylised approach to writing based on associations, repetition and symbolism. In an effort to capture the impressionistic style in my research, I employed methodological and writing strategies that were relational. I prefer to work within impressionism over interpretation as it offers me the totality of the experiences and is honest to the fragility of the process. Furthermore, and

from a sociological perspective, under hierarchical structures such as universities, it is hypothesised that individuals, and the groups to which they belong, influence – and are influenced by – each other. I can garner some impressions here through connections not so much about research and teaching missions, but the connections between our societal environments and individual lives. The multiple movements which try to be captured at once surfaced acts of improvisation - trickster and imposter. I hope in doing so readers will be able to note where these feelings expressed by study participants may be conflated due to external demands and pressures (the field and structures) rather than their forms of capital. What I hope this piece points to is the distinctly embodied experience of imposter syndrome in academia, and how I have felt these physical effects myself.

Meet the archetypes and their imposter tendencies:

1. **The Trickster**

Description: The Jungian archetype of the trickster, described as an organic entity who is especially adapted to survive and thrive in a world turned upside down, may be a useful way to view imposterism. "The trickster character is often explored as an ambiguous and unequivocal mediator of contradiction" (Lee & Lutz, 2005, p.83). Academics keen for success have been labelled tricksters, particularly as they grapple with big issues, for example, an ethical responsibility in research or a pedagogical stance in teaching. Using the notion of the trickster character as an academic archetype can be very perplexing, vague, yet agile.

The detailed scene: One of the participants in my study introduced the notion of horse-trading when discussing overt strategies to manage research and teaching workloads. Horse-trading in this context is a form of micro-politics where hard bargaining occurred by more senior academics to consolidate their teaching in one semester, and their research in the other throughout the academic annual calendar. Further discussion revealed a much more fine-grained description that reflected knowing the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1990), and promulgating these rules into advantageous workplace practices supporting career progression.

The summary overview: In American history and mythology, shrewd horse-traders were known as travelling tricksters. Optimism on campus can take various forms. Is the scene above akin to having a trickster trait rather than IP? The trickster here is out-foxing colleagues and

exemplifying game-playing amidst knowing the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1990) and explored by Addison (2016) in the context of the social games and identity work in higher education. More so, such game-playing is legitimate culture in the workplace and quite endemic (or essential) in academia. Here, we are trying to attach certain archetypal tendencies from Jung's schema to a theoretical framework offered by Bourdieu to better understand our workplace practices and behaviours.

2. The Shadow

Description: The shadow archetype is characterised by our more inner norms, values, worldviews and dispositions. The shadow embodies our dark components, where we choose what to do with our shadow traits, whether to let them emerge (e.g. project) or contain and subvert them. This shadow could also be seen as a contributing factor towards experiencing fraud inducing episodes. In the academic arena, Mayes (1999) discussed the archetypes of teaching at university, suggesting that the teacher could act as the students' shadow. At times we may wish to lengthen or shorten the shadow we cast, or the shadows cast upon us, or where we may choose to lurk/reside. The shadow in a sense may be like our reflection in the mirror, an image of us yet not really us. Access to the shadow is through the mirror and the mask, see Figure 2 below.

The detailed scene: Some participants explained how they experienced cutthroat departmental politics, competitive pressure, and projection of shadow that characterizes daily academic life. Whilst the power of their stories offered some the ability to reframe their experiences, the interview space offered individuals time to come out from the shadows to reflect and reveal, and in so doing so, set aside hidden academic hierarchies.

Research Journal post-interview, Jan 2015: This participant repeatedly talked of not being good enough (? imposter syndrome) and surviving by being "thick-skinned". The outer world of this participant as an academic and scholar were not reflective of an inner world and sense of self within this environment. I heard "lots of self-doubt & confidence stuff" during initial interview, where I was given an open invite, "I am happy to talk about that". I was quite unsure how far to engage at this point in a semi-structured and naturalists manner. Whilst descriptions of this academics' profile, outputs and capabilities are extensive, why does this feeling pervade with use of the term imposterism? The interviewee offered an identity as an

interdisciplinary scholar with extensive collaborations across disciplines and faculties, locally, nationally and internationally around two main areas: one in relation to research in 'health' and the other in relation to the education of the discipline.

The summary overview: In the university, the term 'shadow' is used as a pedagogical and research method, e.g.. 'shadow a teacher'. We may traverse through a shadow, move in or out of the shadows, or lift a shadow. According to Langford & Clance, those prone to imposter syndrome are said to "keep important aspects of their personality hidden from the world" and that they describe themselves as being "shy, anxious and having low self-confidence" (1993, pp. 496-497). In academia, we learn to manage our shadows. For example, allied health professionals active in their chosen professional practice field (e.g. clinical practice), or those researching clinically in the field, the healthcare delivery environment offers a safer haven (safer than their experiences of the academia) and where there is no need to activate a shadow archetype.

3. **The Hero:** Beyond Hercules, the Scientist as Hero

Description: "... the heroic journey as presented in Joseph Campbell's (1949) classic work The Hero with a Thousand Faces: the call to adventure, the acceptance or refusal of the call, the rebirth just after crossing the threshold, the ogre or seducer just beyond the threshold, and the proffering of supernatural aid by the teacher, often in the form of Wise Old Man or Wise Old Woman" (Mayes, 1999, p. 14). The heroic protagonist as a research scientist struggles and triumphs with the work, but where there may be parallels to personal lives too. From Stephen Hawking to Superheroes there are ample role models for academic scientists. So where does the imposter syndrome and scientists come in?

The detailed scene: Another participant came to higher education after a very measured and successful early career in the Australian Defence Force. His memoir is about the challenges of being the hero in one field, switching to become a battler and beginner in another. Whilst brokering a solid research career building on doctoral work, and in the context of cancer research, his viability and connections across the university were of the utmost importance as he was attempting to gain national health and medical research funding. Through subtle forms of improvisation made as a result of changing organisations and in order to regain prestige and

status as the scientist hero now stagnating due to external pressures and a competitive environment, imposter tendencies were expressed and observed.

A summary overview: The heroic protagonist as a research scientist has been within the literature for many decades. There is something about scientific values, struggles and triumphs with the work, but where there may be parallels to personal lives too. From Stephen Hawking to Superheroes there are ample role models for academic scientists. Who are the unsung heroes of science? Is Science as a field largely hero-oriented? So where does the imposter syndrome and scientists come in? Is it about the solo journey and positioning of this academic through repeated unsuccessful attempts to collaborate in order to be successful in health and medical research funding?

Deeper response 2: Author 2 Reflection on Othering….when feel the 'Other' (20 August, 17 September 2019)

The academic environment has offered me wonderful opportunities to explore and to challenge personal and disciplinary boundaries. At times my path has been slow going, and like many women, I hit the mid-career wall. Most attribute this mid-career wall to the competing obligations of family and career faced (more noticeably) by women. As a follow on, it seems that women oughtn't to expect that their careers progress like a man's. The myth-driven cycle persists for all women, including those who have not had reproductive career interruptions but who, too, oughtn't to expect their careers to progress like a man's. I can only imagine the world where there is no gender pay gap so we can move on..

I read the work coming out of University of Technology Sydney - Big, loud and first are normalised behaviours in the organisations, including higher education, that shoe-horn many into adopting (confirming to) 'gendered' roles, narrowing and confining us to gendered archetypes. They advocate disrupting these behaviours using university classroom interventions aimed to enable our graduates to create and to participate in more equitable workplaces. For an introvert who requires time to think beyond simplicity, behaviour that is BIG, loud and first that narrows my options to prescribed roles is exhausting; and I have learned to protect my energy in the academy by withdrawing. At these times, I become a HERMIT - I deliberately use archetypes from the tarot - the tarot being mythological so aligning the myth-driven cycle that invisibly restricts career progress and supports

continuation of gendered roles and behaviours. As the HERMIT I engage with my scholarship, and through this, my academic identity comes sharply into focus and I transition to the STAR. Using this strategy of leveraging isolation into a creative space to develop my scholarship was a revelation to both restore my energy levels, find my voice and my resolve.

Being promoted to Associate Professor was like gaining entry into an elite club - a club where labels matter. It was odd to me, however, as the academy sees us primarily by titles aligned to departments. I offer myself as: Associate Professor (title – indicating my status), Rosanne Quinnell (name – an indicating my gender and ethnicity) from the School of Life and Environmental Sciences (indicating my departmental affiliation) in the Faculty of Science (indicating disciplinary frame and implying how I think). In the academy, self-introduction means to locate yourself with in the organisation hierarchy (your title), then you offer your name, followed by your discipline (your department, faculty). These are the likely the least interesting pieces of information about me, but these are the pieces of information critical for others to assess me and my worth. But by offering only this information I can pass the test and keep hidden.

People hide when they feel threatened. The threat is not necessarily the threat of being exposed, the threat is being judged for being different. The irony here is that the academy professes to champion difference in thinking, but what if you are too different? In reality, and given the widespread nature of imposterism, maybe the issue is not with me, rather the issue is with the myth of perfection in higher education. What would it look like if we shared our stories of failure and imperfection in order to reconfigure institutional standards to recognise being human. I have started to use the notion of embracing imperfection and incompleteness with my students (aligned with Japanese aesthetic of '*wabi sabi'* which accepts imperfection, transience, incompleteness), I can almost hear the students gently exhale.

With respect to imposterism, tempting though it is to buy into the popularised association between imposterism and low self-esteem, I don't feel like I am a fraud. Yes, ability to participate in decision-making is controlled not by my capacity to manage but by those who manage, and it seems the big, loud and first are heard, at the expense of the those who were raise to wait their turn, don't interrupt, and yes, this is very frustrating; and yes, not being heard is isolating. I have lived with that frustration and isolation for decades wondering why

some have a golden career path available to them and some not; why some get *so much* airtime and others get none. Recent interest to reveal the complexity of marginalisation in the higher education sector using imposterism as a 'device' to explore my positionings and reposisitonings during my career, and serves keep this more complex discussion in play. A discussion that will necessarily dispel myths by challenging conventions that exclude and diminish.

Concluding remarks

This chapter enabled debates about academic imposterism to be challenged. We concur with Slanks' (2019) suggestion that imposter phenomenon may not necessarily be what we think it is, and reiterate that it may be a misconception for modern times. This thought bubble emerged in response to reviewing earlier literature on imposterism and in higher education contexts. Whilst imposterism originated to feel an identity or guilt for lacking the required forms of academic, social and cultural capital, we feel it is not like that now. We are not suggesting when researching we are faking teaching, or visa-versa. There are other explanations. A playful adventure through Jung's archetypes offers the wider notion of imposter tendencies and archetypal characters as traits suited to circumstances. The nature of the academic environment, for teachers and learners, researchers or their participants is highly competitive and critical. We can observe and participate in systems to support marginalised individuals and groups, and those whose career timelines haven't stuck to a more traditional script, which in itself is a flawed and constraining view. Yes, there are the ones who appear to have walked the golden path, but to borrow from a movie script, we are all on a yellow brick road trying to find a place that feels like home. The emphasis on sense of place arose frequently through our forays to better understand imposter phenomenon and reposition it for ourselves, colleagues and students. Sense of place offers a linking between the organisational structures and the individuals or groups who inhabit spaces. Our academic identities also interplay with a sense of place, knowing we also build and maintain the structures. A more contemporary notion would be to move along an imposter spectrum enabling our tendencies to be expressed through archetypal traits and shifting dispositions, and diving into liminal spaces when needed. It is more than receiving regular praise, which feeds the ego-self. Therefore, we chose to write, research and publish as social action and activism against imposterism in public higher education.

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