More than Tweed Jackets and Beards: An Analysis of the Hashtag Campaign #ILookLikeAProfessor

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Abstract

The focus of this study was to identify themes that emerged on the publicly-posted #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtag Twitter campaign during August 2015. This qualitative content analysis explored tweets (n=1,855) from www.twitter.com/#ILookLikeAProfessor. Through qualitative open and inductive coding methods, four major themes were derived from the Twitter campaign among participants: 1) discussing diversity, 2) addressing appearance, 3) identifying self, and 4) using visual support. Researchers offer ideas for future study about this campaign and hashtag activism.

Introduction

A simple Google image search for the word professor provides a glaring look at professional stereotypes. Some members of the professoriate underrepresented in the Google search took to Twitter. The hashtag campaign, #ILookLikeAProfessor, challenged the stereotypical image of a professor as a middle-aged White man with a beard, glasses, and tweed jacket. Contributors were encouraged to post a picture of themselves or discuss their personal experience in academia to draw public attention to the diversity that exists within the university ranks of professorship. Inspired by #ILookLikeAnEngineer, three associate professors kicked off the #ILookLikeAProfessor campaign on Twitter in 2015. The founders felt "frustrated by the microaggressions [they] experience as 'nontraditional' faculty" (Pritchard, Koh, & Moravec,

2015, para. 2). In addition, the founders of the campaign are all women, young-looking, and professors in science and technology studies, literature and digital humanities, and history.

Although the #ILookLikeAProfessor campaign has a strong response from women, the founders say it is inclusive of all genders, race, age, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and ability. "The professoriate has changed over the past half century. The Civil Rights Movement, feminism, gay rights, the Americans With Disabilities Act, and more transformed many aspects of society, including the academy. It is time for our assumptions about faculty to catch up" (Pritchard et al., 2015, p. 2). A digital campaign such as this is a way to build equity into altering a societal stereotype.

Women and underrepresented groups leveraging digital communication for equity campaigns is a vital topic for study so we can see how and why groups use digital communication and ultimately how effective these efforts can be for a cause. To lay the groundwork, the purpose of this study is to analyze the themes present in the August 2015 tweets of the #ILookLikeAProfessor campaign, which provides a forum for professors to challenge typecasts, discuss experiences, and expand the understanding and perception of today's professor. The background for this study draws from literature about Twitter and activism online.

Literature review

The demographics that make up the professoriate are slowly changing, yet the stereotypes are not. Data gathered in a 2008 study by the National Center for Education Statistics shows persons of color made up less than 20% of faculty and White women accounted for about 25% of the full-time professor rank. Five years later, increases had been made but White males still made up 58% of all full-time faculty (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). While U.S. colleges and universities have slightly increased faculty diversity over the past 20 years, most gains have not been for tenured positions (Finkelstein, Conley, & Schuster, 2016). The report found that underrepresented minority groups grew from nine percent in 1993 to 13% in 2013 but still only held 10% of tenured jobs. Women held only 38% of tenured positions even though the report showed women held almost half of all faculty positions (Finkelstein et al., 2016). Given the results of those studies, it is not too surprising that a simple Google search for professor brings up images showcasing mainly a middle-aged White man.

Twitter as a place for social movement

Twitter's flexibility for allowing both mediated communication and dialogue among users (Clavio & Kian, 2010; Frederick, Lim, Clavio, Pedersen, & Burch, 2014) has made it a popular communication medium for advocacy and environmental groups, activists, politicians, athletes, and academicians. In addition, much of Twitter's appeal stems from users' ability to contribute to their presented image (Weathers et al., 2014). This ability to control is constructed through the users' visual image choices as well as selected messages conveyed via direct access to their

audiences (Lebel & Danylchuk, 2012). Direct access to followers has allowed Twitter users to circumvent traditional communication channels. For example, Twitter allows users and followers access that is not filtered through gateways such as administrations or censors, allowing users to portray themselves and communicate information in a more intimate way than traditional networks and media (Hambrick, Simmons, Greenhalgh, & Greenwell, 2010). The retweet function allows for multi-way communication to the masses, and hashtags (search terms) make the message searchable and collectible. Twitter and social media allow activists from all over to participate despite physical location. Twitter can even take the message to people who cannot be physically present.

Twitter's use of hashtags is a way to locate group conversations and tag them with keywords for easy searching. This search feature helps users locate content and follow particular topics (Drell, 2014, p. 43). Easily accessed in Twitter's search bar, hashtags have enabled groups to connect with broader audiences, and hashtag campaigns have power in the social media world (Barton, 2014). Hashtags provide backchannels for discussing issues and can be used to "negotiate the experience and effects of participating in diversity initiatives" (Risam, 2018, para. 32).

Groups underrepresented in traditional forms of media have turned to Twitter to promote themselves and their messages. For example, vastly ignored in comparison to men by traditional media, women athletes have turned to Twitter as a platform to promote both themselves and their sports (Watkins & Lewis, 2016). Academics have turned to Twitter over web pages and other forms of customary academic communication for timely exchanges of research as well as professional networking (Kieslinger, 2015).

Twitter allows groups to spread their messages beyond their typical audiences. Activists, political and otherwise, use Twitter to spread their message to social media users (Burns & Eltham, 2009; Christensen, 2011; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Poell & Darmoni, 2012). For example, Twitter gives activists a broader audience (Croeser & Highfield, 2014) and has provided the means for social activists to increase the number of supporters to their cause. The Arab Spring, #BlackLivesMatter, #OccupyWallStreet, and #MeToo are recent examples of Twitter activism. For instance, the #OccupyWallStreet hashtag allowed activists to organize the physical occupation of Wall Street as well as venues in other cities in the United States and around the world (Adbusters, 2011; Croeser & Highfield, 2014). As another example, #BlackLivesMatter moved from a little-known slogan to a "global phenomenon engaged by much broader publics" (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2016, p. 34).

A current wave of feminism focuses on equality for all persons—the formation of an equitable society, especially those who are defined as marginalized (Munro, 2013). It is in this fourth wave that collaboration and mobilization of feminism grew from the use of social media. The first notable use of social media as feminist collaborative communication was the hashtag "ILookLikeAnEngineer." Founded by engineer Isis Wenger, the campaign gave women employed in a male-dominated field the ability to express themselves not only as engineers, but

also as people. With more than 39,000 posts, the campaign gave rise to other movements within social media, such as #MeToo.

#MeToo and #TimesUp became household terms in 2017 after prominent people's sexual assaults and harassments made the news. Bennett (2017) called the hashtags "vehicles for women to share their stories" (para. 4). However, Twitter is not a panacea for activism. Some have questioned whether digital spaces are actually considered safe spaces to disclose such stories. The platform can be used for hatred, sexism, racism, and perpetuating stereotypes. For example, Amnesty International's Troll Patrol study (2018) called Twitter a toxic place for women. The study found the platform to be worse for women of color. Similarly, "Twitter's Famous Racist Problem" is the title *The Atlantic* chose for its article about how the platform had been experiencing campaigns of abuse and harassment (Meyer, 2016).

Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller (2018) determined that despite the hostile nature of Twitter, digital spaces are "relatively safer and easier space to engage in feminist discussions than in participants' offline contexts" (p. 243). As an example, in 2014, actress Emma Watson launched the #HeForShe campaign designed to explain why it is advantageous for men to advocate for women's rights also (Stache, 2015). In addition, he hashtags #YesToAllWomen (Herman, 2014) shared women's everyday experiences with sexism, and #AskHerMore encouraged reporters to pose more thought-provoking questions of actresses on the red carpets during Hollywood's award season (Alter, 2015).

Another point to make is that social movements do not exist in a bubble, and while they leverage social media, they also use legacy media coverage and other outlets (Edrington & Lee, 2018). Critics argue that activism online is simply slacktivism and does not translate to real world change. Kristofferson, White, and Peloza (2014) found that public token support, such as a social media page like or wearing a particular color of ribbon, does not lead to increased support. Others have found that online activism can translate to more than just armchair activism, and that it leads to offline action (see Cheong & Lee, 2010; Harlow, 2012). Unfortunately, although social platforms, such as Twitter, provide space for activism, they also provide platforms for harassment and counter-movements.

Self-image and self-presentation

Twitter is an especially useful tool for communicating self-image to a wide audience. Self-presentation is the process of controlling how others perceive oneself through by conveying selected traits that will produce desired outcomes (Goffman, 1959; Leary, Tchividjian, & Kraxberger, 1994; Lebel & Danylchuk, 2014). People convey information about themselves to present their desired self, and this information can be sent intentionally and unintentionally (Goffman, 1959). Hogan (2010) argued that social media presentation is a modern form of self-presentation and that social media performances are still judged by the same criteria as real-life/real-time performances. Like athletes, professors are individuals representing their teams or universities. Weller (2012) noted that faculty are encouraged to blog (academic blogging) and

use other forms of social media, to present an online identity, as part of their institution's identity as defined through their online faculty profiles/identities.

Self-presentation on Twitter can be seen as self-disclosure (as with many of the context tweets of this campaign, as well as the photos). Aultman, Williams-Johnson, and Schutz (2009) found that faculty self-disclose to humanize themselves, so students see they have real lives. When faculty self-disclosed, students did see them as more human than the narrow views they had of their teachers from classroom interaction and were more likely to interact with their teachers on a deeper level. Similarly, Metzger, Finley, Ulbrich, and McAuley (2010) found that students were more engaged in the classroom when they interacted with faculty through online relationships.

Research question

The current study examines a campaign that on the surface is challenging how the Google algorithm for an image search works and produces white and male options for pictures of professors. At its core, however, the campaign is asking bigger questions—what do professors look like on our college campuses and what can be done to raise awareness about the disconnect between perception and reality. #ILookLikeAProfessor was started to expand perceptions of what a typical professor looks like (Pritchard et al., 2015). How professors are perceived can have a direct impact on their treatment, their career path, and the respect they are accorded at their university. Research studies support the conclusion that factors such as instructor personality traits, age, gender, race, attire, and attractiveness influence student evaluations (Baslow & Silberg, 1987; Bennett, 1982; Best & Addison, 2000; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2007; Radmacher & Martin, 2001). Based on the literature, this study aims to address the following research question:

R1. What themes emerged on the publicly posted #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtag tweets during August 2015?

Methodology

Through the public #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtag Twitter campaign, researchers examined how the professoriate utilized the Twitter hashtag to share personal descriptions of professors. For this study, the unit of analysis was the individual tweet. The campaign tweets (n=1,855) from August 2015 on publicly shared Twitter accounts were analyzed using qualitative content analysis for all the #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtags. August was the first month of the campaign. It was selected because it reflected the most tweets and garnered the most attention. After securing Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, four researchers independently used open inductive coding (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) methods to mine for emergent themes. The four coders were all White women ranging in age from their 30s to their 50s, with terminal degrees in higher education. All would

self-disclose as feminists and acknowledge biases of their own plights as women who are professors. In general, the researchers were coding for how people chose to participate in the campaign. Were they sharing pictures or descriptions? What did the words or images convey? Were they sharing professional or personal information, or both? Through discussion and consensus among the four authors, themes were developed (Creswell, 1998).

Using independent reviews, researchers initially identified more than 25 themes. These were collapsed through negotiation into eight original themes. Further discussion resulted in agreeing that three major themes emerged. After a second review of the data (through a saved search file on Tweetdeck), with a focus on the visual aspects, a fourth theme of visual support was added. In the second review, one researcher reviewed the entire dataset and another reviewed 10% of the data. A second round of debate and consensus also was used to analyze findings of the visual component. Partial tweets are included in the paper for illustration but were sometimes truncated or masked to prevent from sharing identifying information.

Findings

When merging the independently-reviewed thematic methodology, four main themes eventually surfaced: (1) Discussing diversity, (2) Addressing appearance, (3) Identifying self, and (4) Using visual support, with accompanying subthemes (see Table 1).

Table 1
Themes Discovered in the #ILookLikeAProfessor Hashtag Campaign

Theme	Subtheme	Corresponding Tweets*
Discussing diversity	Naming Aggressions and Microaggressions	So sick of being called by my first name by students
	Sexism	#ILookLikeAProfessor but get "Miss/Mrs" while men get the default "Dr/Prof"
	Debunking stereotypes	The professoriate isn't just made up of "old, white men dressed in tweed"
	Misconceptions	Are you with the custodial staff? "I just love how clean they keep my office!"
	Campaign support	Check out #ilooklikeaprofessor for "real talk about stereotypes & microaggressions in academia"
Addressing appearance		"I do not feel my <clothing descriptor> are at odds with my intellect"

			"I've never had a prof wearing a <clothing descriptor> before"
Identifying self			"who is a <appearance, sexuality, ethnicity descriptor> femme sexologist affirming Queer & Black students & justice"
	Credentials		"I am a <ethnicity descriptor> ESL student, 1st Gen, and Tenured Associate Professor"
	Interests		"Eating goat stew & fufu in <location descriptor> Gotta love cross-cultural research!"
Using visual support	Empowerment/Credentials		<picture of a young woman standing in front of a statue so the statue's wings look like her own, pictures of professors in regalia or posing with their graduating students>
	Interests		<pictures with families, friends, outdoors, traveling, attending events>
	Individualism/Personality		<pictures with tattoos, streaks of color in hair, piercings, or avatar representations>

*Some tweets have been paraphrased to mask identifying information as per IRB approval

Discussing diversity

Posters who participated praised the campaign as a much-needed and long overdue platform for diversity. Several tweets advocated for inclusivity in academia: "Yes, we come in all <appearance, ethnicity descriptors>, sizes, etc." Another poster noted this campaign was "[o]ne of the many, many reasons we need a diverse and inclusive faculty." Someone else said this could help everyone feel a part of the academic system: the profession is "more diverse than stereotypes suggest, but not everyone feels welcome."

The calls for support were strong, with posters urging others to expand the reach of the hashtag. This campaign encouragement was deemed a subtheme of discussing diversity. One post called for a showing of "how diverse the professoriate is!" Another observed that the campaign was growing. "The #ILookLikeAProfessor is going nuts; so happy so many of us are speaking up!" Tweets discussed different genders, races, sexualities, and disabilities.

In the prominent subtheme finding, aggressions and microaggressions, posters clearly expressed numerous frustrations with sexism in the system and society in general. "Exactly! This is why those norms need to go away. They're classist, racist, homophobic, and transphobic!"

Another contributor pointed out the hegemonic bias in academia by noting how the hashtag was teaching him/her how many women are mistaken for students "AKA we're immature/not authoritative." A third said #ILookLikeaProfessor is about "micro aggressions, disrespect, belittlement" that takes valuable energy to address.

The sexist patterns of middle-aged White men being treated as the automatic authority and receiving the honorific titles often denied to women were numerous in the tweets. For example, one tweet said, "So sick of being called by my first name by students" who then use a formal title with male professors. Also, "Just got my 1st email of term from a student addressing me by 1st name. Do men profs get that?" Another was, "As a white man, I've walked into a classroom in jeans and a t-shirt and I've never been mistaken for a student."

Tweets and retweets to the hashtag campaign include examples of gender bias, such as the assumption that male teaching assistants were professors, and women were mistaken for students, being addressed with titles such as Ms. rather than Dr., and one particularly disturbing example of an Asian professor who was classified as "Chinese food delivery drivers" (as cited in Pritchard et al., 2015, para. 6).

Another subtheme was from posters calling on this campaign to debunk stereotypes. Tweets pointed out that Google searches for professors revealed steady images of old, White men to represent the professoriate. "What I learnt Googling images of professors: age, whiteness, beardedness, XY chromosomes & bad suit + the full package." Another poster called upon Google to notice this issue: "[O]k so all the image searches in #ILookLikeAProfessor - at what point do we ask @google why their algorithm picks only men?"

Professors who did not fit the stereotypical image were often mistaken for someone else. These misconceptions ranged from being called a student, janitor, secretary, or even a food delivery person. "Depending on hair, beard and mustache I'm either a student, custodian or just generic outsider." A different tweet asked: "#ilooklikeaprofessor so why do I get mistaken for a secretary?" The frustrations expressed by posters under this theme covered a wide range of topics from sexism to mistaken identities to stereotypical title disrespect.

Addressing appearance

Beyond the posters' demographic identifiers, a theme materialized where participants described their varied appearance choices and how those affected their visible professor status. Posters tweeted about their clothes, their shoes, their makeup, and even the streaks of color in their hair. "I rock <color descriptor> hair, Chucks, and bright lipstick to class and #ilooklikeaprofessor." One future-professor tweeted that he'll be wearing t-shirts in his classroom: "I'm not quite one yet (I'm ABD), but soon <field of study descriptor> professors will wear metal T-shirts." One woman discussed her memory of feeling out of place at a faculty event due to what she wore. "I remember attending my first <event> in a red dress and being looked at like a scarlet whore had invaded the inner sanctum." Surprisingly, there were even a few tweets about their shoe choices: "#ILookLikeAProfessor and also like someone who enjoys funky shoes."

Other participants discussed how changing their appearance to look more studious gave them mainstream acceptance and even boosted their student acceptance rates: "I started wearing glasses last yr; students called me "prof" instead of "miss" and I saw my evals jump." Tweeted another: "After I put my hair up in a bun & put on glasses, it helps. Dye my hair dark? Even better."

Identifying self

Not to be mistaken with appearance, the theme of self-identity encompasses how the posters verbally presented themselves. Some discussed other ways they saw themselves besides just as a professor. "#ILookLikeAProfessor & a bruja; a feminist, <ethnicity descriptor>, media making historian of slavery obsessed with kinship," posted one. Another post commented: "#ILookLikeAProfessor & scholar, therapist, daughter, sister, friend, colleague, sexologist, parent, runner, activist, <ethnicity descriptor>."

Many felt the need to bring up their credentials, sharing how many years they had taught, what degrees they held, their aspirations in the field. "I am young & female. I have a Ph.D. in <field of study> & have been a professor for 5 years." Another participant noted: "When I say I'm a professor people regularly ask if/when I will get a Ph.D. Um, I have one. It's required for my job."

Others shared what they teach in the classroom. "Asst prof of <field of study>. Have taught women's studies, theory and histories of rhet." Several posters discussed hobbies that go beyond their profession. "#ILookLikeAProfessor & also like someone who likes the outdoors. Here I am (right) w family climbing <location descriptor>." The self-identity theme included a diversity of interests and experiences.

Using visual support

Since the campaign is titled #ILookLikeAProfessor, the visual images accompanying tweets also were examined. There were two distinct images presented by participants. The first was the profile picture (pro-pics) attached to their Twitter account. During analysis, it was determined that these depictions tended to be fairly professional, or at least business casual for the most part. Not everyone followed that, as some of the pro-pics featured avatars or cartoons or even a shirtless picture in the case of one man. However, the majority of profile pictures were modest headshots that would be appropriate to place on the faculty website as well.

The posted pictures by participants were much less formal. Many were selfies, taken in the office or in another setting. Several showed the posters partaking in a variety of activities, including hiking, traveling, reading, posing with friends or family, eating, or drinking. The poses were casual, fun, and filled with smiles. The subthemes among the posted pictures were determined to be empowerment and credentials, interests, and individualism and personality.

The empowerment subtheme included posted pictures that showcased professors in strength-supporting poses, such as one where a woman is posed outside in front of a large statue so that

the wings of the life-sized statue look like they are emerging from her own shoulders. Other empowerment images showed professors teaching in front of a class or accepting awards. There were also pictures that were clearly meant for empowerment but also fit under the category of bolstering their credentials. These showcased professors dressed in regalia or posing with graduating students.

The posted pictures had a variety of images that depicted the professors' interests, the second subtheme. Several were outside, in different countries or on mountains or bike paths. Many showed parents holding their children. Others had group shots where they were having fun with friends or playing with their pets. Some pictures showed themselves playing guitar, reading books, or getting married. The photos painted a story of what the professors like to do in their free time.

The final theme included individualism and personality. Along with showing the professors' interests, these posted pictures also were meant to demonstrate who they are as people and how that is not separate from their positions. There were pictures of streaks of vivid color in hair, tattoos, piercings, bright lipstick, fun clothing choices, eclectic shoe choices, and poses where the person is making the rock horn signs or even the middle finger. The pictures they posted allowed viewers to catch a glimpse of who they are in their lives.

Discussion

Research has shown that at the societal level, the idea of a dominant pattern of masculinity is open to challenge (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). However, as of 2013, women still hold less than 38% of tenured positions, they are more likely to be in low-ranking, non-tenure track positions, and they get promoted less often than men (IPEDS, 2013). Knowledge of that inequity is part of what inspired the social media campaign of #ILookLikeAProfessor (Pritchard et al., 2015), as feminist hashtag campaigns can become vehicles that unite people as activists and supporters to amplify calls for gender equality and bring about changes to the masculine hegemony. In fact, Hrabowski and Maton (2009) analyze how the culture of a university can be transformed by understanding its values, assumptions, and beliefs, and said transformation comes from the perception of the campus environment by faculty and students who feel supported and respected by their university community.

The #ILookLikeaProfessor campaign fulfills the feminist theory objective of turning an eye on society through women's perspectives, instead of the masculine viewpoint purported by the Google image search. In this analysis, the tweets from the first month of the Twitter hashtag campaign #ILookLikeAProfessor provided a space to discuss diversity and allowed posters to publicly name microaggressions they have felt in academia. Tweets also described how appearance impacts, or has perceived impact, within the academy, and the posters shared facets of their identities to construct images of professors that go beyond beards, elbow patches, and aging White men.

Of the many noted frustrations, the feed shed light on sexism, such as not being addressed with a proper title, and debunked gender stereotypes and gendered misconceptions. Campaign participants, mainly women and underrepresented individuals, shared stories of their own disenfranchisement in the professoriate. This shared space is consistent with Bennett's (2017) claim that such campaign hashtags can be "vehicles for women to share their stories" (para. 4). Some experienced sexism, ageism, and racism directly. Others reminisced how their experiences were different years ago but had changed for the better as they aged (or the established accepted them). A disturbing trend discovered from the posting was when professors who did not fit the stereotypical image of a professor were often mistaken for someone else, such as students or support staff. However, there also emerged signs of solidarity or a feeling of shared experiences by the posters.

A more hopeful theme that emerged was being an advocate for inclusivity in academia. Exhibiting a newer wave of feminism, ideals shift to inclusiveness and community (Henderson & Stern, 2014). Participants asked others to share the campaign to spread its reach. In just the first month of the #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtag movement, 1,855 tweets were generated on the topic. The campaign garnered the attention of trade publications such as *Inside Higher Ed*, moving it from social media to more traditional, legacy media. Numerous blog posts and articles also were written about the campaign, urging more people to get involved to bring greater attention to the problems experienced by women and faculty of color, with an ultimate goal of paving the way for mainstream acceptance into the field for the next generation where a diverse professoriate is the sanctioned norm (Holden, 2016; Marini, 2015; Moravec, 2015; Nappi, 2015; Ortega, 2015; Ruiz, 2015; Rutherford, 2015).

The theme of appearance covered how posters shared participants' experiences of being advised to look the part of a professor and fit in with the traditional perceptions of professorship, and how they challenged these images. Makeup styles, hairstyles, shoes, T-shirts, tights, and tattoos were mentioned by campaign participants to counter the predominant image purported by Google and society. Although some posters did admit to having a tweed blazer, most seemed proud of wearing outfits that fit their personalities. Past research has indicated that persons in professional dress receive the most positive student evaluation ratings (Harris et al.,1983). For example, Lavin, Carr, and Davies (2010) found:

> Both male and female students had a higher opinion of the male model instructor when he was depicted in professional attire versus casual or business casual attire. However… dress was viewed as somewhat of a negative indication of the instructor's willingness to answer questions and listen to student opinions. (p. 60)

Campaign contributors mentioned both student reactions to dress, as well as those from colleagues on campus and at conferences. Professors who dressed more casually noted their appearance led to being mistaken for students or being a member of another profession. Women, in particular, brought up their struggles with expectations associated with what they choose to wear, such as makeup, heels, skirts, or even the color pink. However, male posters also said they received unsolicited advice on their wardrobes, even being told they need a jacket with elbow

patches. Those from the establishment may have been trying to help a colleague who did not know the unwritten dress code of the professoriate or were simply passing the same guidance they once received when they suggested academics, especially new or younger members, dress the part. Other posters admitted to changes they underwent to fit the mold, such as growing a beard or wearing glasses or darkening their hair color, in order to appear more professorial. Those who shared these experiences said the positive outcomes from conforming resulted in higher student evaluations and less mistaken identity. On the other side of the spectrum, other contributors in this category proclaimed pride in their chosen appearance and noted they had no intentions of altering their styles, even if there was an adverse reaction from students and co-workers, in the belief that acceptance begins with education being supplied from this hashtag campaign.

In the self-identity theme, posters shared their fields of studies, courses taught, research interest, years in the professoriate, outside interests, and family notes, in an effort to develop a fuller description of a professor. Like Hambrick et al. (2010) found with athletes on Twitter, the #ILookLikeAProfessor tweets moved the term professor beyond a single definition. As noted in the study, athletes on Twitter become more than "two-dimensional individuals who have lives beyond the stadium" and results suggested that "Twitter may provide fans with unique insight into the personal lives of athletes and address topics not found to the same extent in mainstream-media sources" (Hambrick et al., 2010, p. 464). By sharing their years in the academy and rank, participants may have given hope to those newer to the profession.

The visual support provided by photos and graphics included in the tweets provided a mix of front stage and backstage personas (Goffman, 1959). Some professors opted for regalia or headshot images while others chose to disclose more about their non-academic lives, such as images of them at home, with their children or on adventures.

Twitter demographics and listening

Are aging White professors on Twitter? Twitter as a medium is more predominant among those younger, non-White, and located in urban areas (Duggan, 2015), so it is a likely place for a rallying cry from those outside of Google's norm for the typical professor. Some of Google's images come from movies and pop culture, such as Professor Henry Jones Jr. from *Indiana Jones*. The campaign was a direct response to the masculine hegemony displayed on a computer screen with multiple Google searches. Many participants who conducted their research with random Google searches for different types of professors posted the image search results that demonstrated a distinct lack of diversity and creativity. Even in a specialty with more women (as one composition professor pointed out), the images retrieved from Google were still mostly male. All lamented the lack of diversity displayed from the Google algorithms, and many said their searches highlighted the necessity for this crusade and their hope that this would change future search engine yields.

Academic leaders at all levels should use these types of open forums for listening opportunities. Listening to conversations such as these online can teach leaders about shared

experiences within the academy. While tweeters may not have been from their campuses, the pervasiveness of shared experiences of sexism, ageism, and racism must be addressed at all levels of the academy. With the use of this hashtag, people can unite behind the goal of gender equality. A hashtag-based call to action, when executed correctly, can potentially result in social changes and almost certainly results in increased conversation about a particular topic. In 2018, after only a two-day Twitter firestorm about RateMyProfessor.com's hotness rating, the company announced it would abandon the chili pepper metric (Flaherty, 2018).

When higher education maintains practices that systemize men's dominance over women or maintains the White race as the norm, the #ILookLikeAProfessor movement allows professionals to point out the explicit and subtle biases they face as a scholar. Studies have shown these types of bias can even influence the way students evaluate professors, affecting the main assessment tool utilized by administrators to measure their effectiveness (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2007).

One limitation of this study is the timeframe. In an effort to limit the number of tweets for analysis, only the first month of the campaign was coded. The hashtag is still being used but has lost steam since the initial push (TAGS Searchable, n.d.). In 2019, a handful of tweets have used #ILookLikeAProfessor each month. While the authors believe even small texts provide enough context for analysis, interviews with participants might elucidate motivations for participation and any benefits or backlash to the movement for individuals or campuses.

Future research and conclusions

Through an analysis of the public Twitter conversation #ILookLikeAProfessor, researchers outlined how participants tweeted their verbal and visual contributions to the online campaign. Further researcher could determine if and how the hashtag campaign moved beyond a simple call for diversity on Google's image bank of professors. Trend studies could track changes in the visual offerings for searches. The effect and impact of the campaign and its reach needs to be measured. While Twitter is a handy tool for spreading a message and crowdsourcing with participants, the longer-term impact of social media activism is ripe for study. For example, a future study could examine whether Google showcases a broader representation when searching for the term professor.

How campaign goals are set or evolve is another area for investigation. The tweet ending the RateMyProfessor.com chili pepper rating system used an @ mention to RateMyProfessor's Twitter account and the #TimesUp hashtag. The ask was well defined—remove the chili pepper—and directed to one specific company. When the tweet went viral, the company addressed the situation and acquiesced and then received positive feedback for its responsiveness. #ILookLikeAProfessor lacked that kind of actionable objective or specific ask. It simply asked for professors to showcase how the professoriate really looks. Google officials may have heard the call, but there was no official response. Therefore, a future study could compare other campaigns involving organizational response with those that rely only on grassroots action.

Individual benefits from participating in campaigns such as #ILookLikeAnEngineer and #ILookLikeAProfessor also may offer some insight into individual effects. Future engineers or professors from underrepresented groups might find encouragement and motivation to persist. Research should trace how or if campaigns of this type translate to changes on campuses. Some research shows how social media campaigns can translate to real-world action (Cheong & Lee, 2010; Kang, 2012; Samuels, 2011). Continued research also should examine the efficacy of hashtag campaigns and whether they contribute to lasting social change.

One participant called for more intersectionality in the campaign "Would love to see more people of color using the #ILookLikeAProfessor. I know you all are out there! Let's get intersectional." These researchers found it difficult to code for participant age, race and ethnicity, based only on profile pictures and write-ups. This line of inquiry was abandoned, but future research could investigate the intersectionality of such a campaign.

Contending with the countless Google image searches that neglected to show women and people of color among the professoriate, the #ILookLikeAProfessor campaign has heightened the "solidarity emerging across so many dimensions of difference to recognize that many inequalities persist in the ivory tower and that we need to fight for each other, not just ourselves" (Ruiz, 2015, para. 10). With this public posting of solidarity, patrons of the #ILookLikeAProfessor hashtag have begun a much larger conversation of battling differing stereotypes, explicit and subtle biases, and cultural assumptions about race, age, gender, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation of a college professor. In a candid fashion, posters were able to openly express their viewpoints on self-image to a wide audience.

With this hashtag campaign, defying the stereotypical professor identity, the tweets depicted and coded for this study showed a much larger group effort to debunk the erroneous cliché of what a college professor should be in terms of ethnicity, race, gender, and wardrobe selection. Through this open, publicly-shared platform, posters were able to communicate and spread the campaign's message beyond one's typical audience. Twitter is a searchable and collectible medium where one can witness multi-way communication linkages among the masses.

This campaign is a legacy marker representing the professoriate's metamorphosis from out-of-date perceptions and allows faculty to pinpoint overt and subtle biases they face as scholars. As a hashtag campaign, #ILookLikeAProfessor was a short, but robust, conduit for discussion to raise awareness and garner supporters for gender equality and change to the academy. Although this project is exploratory, it adds to the discussion of feminist hashtag campaigns and suggests the next phase of measuring effectiveness. Twitter campaigns have been attributed as success factors in making change, but can a hashtag campaign move a Google algorithm to shift an age-old paradigm of the bearded white professor in a tweed jacket?

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