INTELLECTUAL COLLEGIALITY AND LEADERSHIP IN THE NEOLIBERAL REFLEXIVE UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

Since the introduction of neoliberal governance to higher education in Australia, following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, the traditional concept of collegiality has been reconfigured. The implementation of new public management (NPM) governance and control techniques have resulted in power now being consolidated in the executive of higher education institutions. In their role as producers for the knowledge economy, universities are now subject to both global and domestic market forces and the directives of external governmentality. This means Vice-Chancellors, academic managers and research and teaching academics are continuously acting reflexively to accommodate and satisfy external requirements. For example, the implementation of neoliberal core policies such as 'student choice' in 2012, or demand led provision of university student places, has resulted in long term planning becoming more difficult for both Vice-Chancellors and academic managers. They are now consumed with the need to continuously adjust their plans to respond to the latest market crisis or governmental policy initiative issued to optimize market efficiency or assure quality standards.

Given that governance in higher education has shifted from a social liberal framework to a neoliberal framework in Australia since 1988, this thesis employs a Foucauldian analytical framework to analyse how eleven academics, seven of whom are academic managers, located in two departments in a humanities faculty in a well-established university, perceive the managerial discourse. It secondly, seeks to explore the strategies they adopt to respond to this discourse while protecting their disciplinary and values based sub-culture. This process involves holding open ended interviews with these participants in order to identify and analyse their lived experience of the nature of the managerial discourse and its impact on their academic values and practice.

The study finds the academic participants interviewed perceive they have limited and declining capacity to influence the managerial discourse. This is due not only to the consolidation of power in the executive but the imposition of an audit culture over the previous collegial culture. Centralized integrated management systems, designed and controlled by the executive in order to assure corporate performance and quality requirements are satisfied, are deployed throughout the organisation. However, despite

the academic participants interviewed in this study perceiving that they have little or no power to influence the corporate managerial discourse, these academics emerge as much more than managed academics. Their far more complex identity is a result of their capacity to work as a community of scholars at the departmental level to shape a culture of intellectual sharing and leadership in their respective departments. This strategy continuously reminds them that they are first and foremost intellectuals.

Declaration

"I, Jillian Carol Mary Carroll, declare that the PhD thesis entitled **Intellectual collegiality and leadership in the neoliberal reflexive university** is no more than 110,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, and footnotes but excluding references. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work'.

Signature   Date June, 2016

Acknowledgment

Many factors contribute to a student wanting to spend over four years exploring the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in Australia. One factor is the belief that higher education has an obligation to produce citizens who are able to contribute to the common good as well as the economic well-being of society. For this reason, I am eternally in debt to my mother Mary J. Bloore who raised her children in rural Heyfield, in Gippsland, Victoria to think critically, be compassionate as well as passionate and contribute meaningfully to the broader society. However PhD students also require mentors who strongly believe that they have something to say and who encourage them to say it. For this reason, I am most grateful to Doctor Eva Dakich who urged me to pursue my interests in neoliberal governmentality by applying for a PhD scholarship at the completion of my Master of Education. I am also very thankful to Doctor Timothy Thornton, who alerted me to recent research on neoliberal governmentality and economics in Australia.

I would also like to acknowledge the cooperation of the university, the school and the participants, at the research site, who consented to be interviewed for this study following the implementation of a lengthy invitation/liaison/agreement process. These participants all inspired me with their personal commitment to a broader set of values which included a commitment to intellectual leadership and collegiality. For this reason, these academic participants represent role models for others in a higher education environment dominated by the managerial discourse. Finally, I would like to thank Associate Professor Tony Kruger who very patiently guided my journey at Victoria University at all times and, in particular, for his invaluable input on the role of reflexivity in modernity. I am also grateful to Professor Catherine Manathunga for her spirited input on Foucault and for encouraging me to further explore the themes emerging from the analysed data which included intellectual leadership and collegiality. It is these themes which, I believe, have added an extra dimension to the scope of this study.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 A brief history of neoliberalism

The neoliberal form of liberalism evolved as an alternative political and economic model for combatting the centralized planning model gaining ascendancy in the first half of the twentieth century (Freidman 2002). The benefits of a market driven society, over a centralized planned economy, were argued forcibly by the Austrian economist F. A. Hayek from the nineteen thirties onwards in both London and Europe and subsequently in America from the late forties onwards until his death in 1992 (Caldwell 2007). The governmental policy infrastructure necessary to underpin Hayek's (1945) vision of an escape from the serfdom of a centralized economy were further developed by Hayek's fellow colleagues at The Chicago School of Economists, who included Milton Friedman, from the 1950s onwards (Caldwell 2007). Core neoliberal concepts such as the deregulation of the economy and the development of the governmental infrastructure required to support market forces, were subsequently adopted by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in the nineteen seventies as a means for curbing stagnation following the global oil crisis (Campbell & Peterson 2001).

However, following the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC), neoliberalism has been linked to the rise of a political class of global elites for whom a growing and large sector of the population perceive as controlling the economy for their own self-interest (Monbiot 2016). In fact, the phenomena of BREXIT in the UK and the rise of the populist Trump in the USA is seen as a political reaction by a large sector of both societies who feel disenfranchised by governments implementing neoliberal policies (Monbiot 2016). However, despite neoliberal policies having guided many global institutions and nation states for over thirty years, the term neoliberalism is not widely understood (Monbiot 2016). For this reason, it is necessary to explain the term more fully at the outset of this study to enable a fuller understanding of the policy and governance concepts underpinning the restructuring of higher education in Australia following the 1988 Dawkins reforms.

The neoliberal form of liberalism, unlike social-liberalism, involves the extension of market values to all areas of society on the basis that the market is perceived as the preferred organising principle in society (Freidman 2002, Hayek 2007, Burchell 1996, Foucault 2008 & Hilgiers 2012). In neoliberal theory, as individuals are perceived as motivated by self-interest, it is necessary for the state to be reengineered to create the optimum entrepreneurial social order required by '*homo economicus'* (Foucault 2008, p. 250). In fact, the governmental infrastructure required by neoliberalism to enhance the market order 'within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' is perceived as enhancing the well-being of individuals as it 'liberates individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills' (Harvey 2007, p. 2). This perceived notion of liberation and well-being of individuals, therefore justifies extending this model 'of rational-economic conduct' to those areas of society not normally associated with the economy (Burchell 1996, p. 27). As universities are perceived as a subset of a market economy in neoliberalism (Olssen & Peters 2005), the enterprise role of the university in competitive markets, takes primacy over the autonomy of scholars to pursue enquiry led research.

However, although neoliberalism is characterized by a set of guiding principles such as small government, deregulation of the economy, lower taxes, the encouragement of entrepreneurial behaviour and the individualization of society (Cahill 2010 & Monbiot 2016), these principles vary in practice. In fact, neoliberalism has the capacity to adapt to local conditions as well as coexist with previous forms of liberalism (Dean 2010 & Peck & Theodore 2012). For example, in Australia the Federal Labor Prime Minister reacted to the GFC by employing strategies consistent with Keynesian economics to restimulate the economy; these strategies involved funding large infrastructure projects (Dean 2010). According to Dean (2012, p. 151), an analysis of neoliberalism highlights the 'contingent sources, multiple forms, and heterogeneous and apparently contradictory elements' which means 'it is irreducible to a simple and coherent philosophy or ideology'. Neoliberalism is, therefore, perceived as a social imaginary or a way thinking and understanding which legitimizes social practices (Taylor 2004) following their normalization through discourses and institutional practices (Rivzi & Lingard 2009). In fact, a social imaginary (Taylor 2004) resembles the 'régime of truth' prevailing in

every society in which one discourse is being perceived as more 'true' than another (Foucault 1980, p. 131).

For the purpose of this study, neoliberalism is perceived as a social imaginary (Taylor 2004) or a way of thinking. This social imaginary has been normalized in Australia through the powerful discourses of power/knowledge following the election of the Federal Labour Australian Government in 1983 and the subsequent 1988 Dawkins Reforms in higher education (Rivzi & Lingard 2009). Due to neoliberalism being dynamic in nature (Peck & Theodore 2012), the localized roll out of the neoliberal social imaginary continues to provide ongoing challenges for Vice-Chancellors in managing their universities and for the academics working in them. These difficulties also partly arise from the contradictory nature of elements of neoliberalism. For example, the following anecdote illustrates the difficulties faced in planning long term.

1.2 Planning difficulties for Vice-Chancellors

On March 8, 2012, the Vice-Chancellor of The University of Melbourne, Glyn Davis, claimed the introduction of 'student choice' or demand led provision of university places in higher education in Australia, would have the same profound impact on higher education as the 'floating of the Australian dollar in 1983 had on other markets' (Hall 2012). In particular, Davis expressed concern about the survival of significant disciplines which were not so attractive to students (Hall 2012). His concern was confirmed only one month later when it was reported that students in 2012 had flocked into university courses like engineering, accounting and nursing where there are plentiful job availabilities (Schubert 2012). Furthermore, Vice-Chancellor Davis also foreshadowed in an interview on Radio National on April 9, 2012, that the introduction of the 'student choice' policy would make planning for universities nearly impossible. However, market driven reforms in higher education are not new to this vice-chancellor. For example, the Philosophy Department at the university he leads was so depleted of philosophers, following the introduction of 'The Melbourne Model', it no longer had the critical mass regarded as a necessary baseline for philosophy departments in leading international universities (Priest 2009). This crisis occurred despite this particular

department having produced internationally acclaimed philosophers such as Peter Singer and Raymond Gaita.

There are unplanned consequences for Australian universities as they try to reflexively adapt to market forces since the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins market based reforms in higher education. These reforms initiated by the Hawke-Keating Federal Labor Australian Government (1983-1996), known as the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, required higher education to satisfy the workforce requirements of the national economy while also contributing directly to the Gross Domestic Product (Bradley 2008). However, Vice-Chancellors of universities in Australia are subject to the contradictory forces embedded in neoliberal governmentality. For example, although higher education is perceived in neoliberal theory as a gatekeeper to the knowledge economy, it is still structured as a quasi-business rather than a full market model to enable governments to steer universities from a distance (Marginson 2012). This means that although university governance systems incorporate 'standard corporate features' such as 'executive leadership; goal driven production, output measurement and performance management' (Marginson 2012, p. 355), universities are not yet fully deregulated. As a consequence, universities are subject to the ongoing demands of the state.

There are many contradictions of this type in neoliberal theory. For example, although the market is the preferred principle for organizing society, infrastructure must be created by the state to support market forces. Therefore, regulation actually increases in neoliberal states despite neoliberal theory promoting free markets, deregulation of the economy and a small state (Cahill 2010). For example, a recent review of the higher education sector identifies an increasing plethora of state, national and international regulatory standards (Dow & Braithwaite 2013). As a consequence, those vice chancellors who describe higher education in Australia as representing 'the love child of Milton Friedman and Vladimir Lenin' (Norton 2012) accurately capture this dilemma. These vice-chancellors recognize that the free market theories of Milton Freidman, a leading American exponent of neoliberalism, have resulted in a competitive university sector whilst the government controlled prices reflect Leninist doctrine (Norton 2012).

Universities will also more than likely retain their status as quasi-markets for strategic reasons. Marginson (2012) advises that it is hard to find an example of a government

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anywhere which has subjected public universities to the forces of full market deregulation. Therefore, universities remain caught between 'the twin pillars of regulation and commodification' (Burawoy 2011, p. 27). However, a further complexity is that universities have now become reflexive institutions:

> In the language of reflexive modernization theory, not only are Australian universities one of the mediating agents of individualization and individualism, they themselves are undergoing a similar process at an institutional level (Pick 2004, p. 109).

This is because universities are not just subject to the contradictory forces of regulation and commodification; they are also subject to the forces of globalization and risk embedded in reflexive modernization (Giddens 1991 & 1994, Beck 1994, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

Reflexive based decision making is, therefore, no longer the domain of autonomous individuals. This is because successive Australian governments since The Hawke-Keating Labor Australian Federal Government (1983-1996) have pursued policy decisions that essentially 'let globalization run its course without intervention' (Pick 2004, p. 109). Consequently, Australian universities are 'undergoing a process of reflexive change' in which traditional structures and concepts like academic independence have been redefined (Pick 2004, p. 109). In fact, universities have adopted institutional reflexivity as a management strategy for dealing with quickly changing external conditions due to difficulties experienced through responding 'within existing organizational structures and arrangements' (Pick 2004, p. 113). In this complex environment, the classical definition of a university is subject to redefinition:

> The protest that one cannot have a university without a philosophy or a classics or a physics department falls on deaf ears, or provokes the irritated response I heard from a minister of education in Britain. Told repeatedly at a meeting with philosophers that one could not call an institution without a philosophy department a university, he replied, 'In that case, we will call it something else!' (Gaita 2012, p. 68).

In addition, Australian Vice-Chancellors also need to manage the tensions between the managerial discourse and the surviving features of the previous public-collegial culture. Although a form of neoliberal governance was introduced into higher education,

following the 1988 Dawkins reforms, features of the previous public-collegial form of governance, still exist according to a survey of Vice-Chancellors in Australian universities (Christopher 2012). These surviving features need to exist as the reputation of the institution is dependent on the quality of the services provided by its academics:

> When pursuing their enterprise capability agendas, managers must bear in mind that as a group, scholars are essential to the work of an enterprise whose mission can't be pursued without their expertise, good will and hard work. These things can't be secured without making space for the intellectual freedom and autonomy that are essential to a scholar's professional identity, work satisfaction and productivity (Sharrock 2010, p. 375).

As a consequence, Vice–Chancellors in the study by Christopher (2012) are conscious of the value of a collegiate culture and, therefore, their need to work out how to reconcile the values of overlapping liberal governance models. Universities and academics, therefore, operate in an environment in which the principles of neoliberal marketization and performativity compete with the values embedded in the surviving features of public-collegial governance.

1.3 Purpose, scope, focus and significance of this research

1.3.1   Primary aim and rationale for this research

> *The primary aim of this research is to explore how academics in a humanities faculty experience and respond to the neoliberal managerial discourse.*

The rationale is based on the proposition that since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, higher education policy in Australia has shifted from a social-liberal framework to a neoliberal competition state framework. In fact, higher education is now largely defined in market terms and perceived as an instrument for achieving national economic objectives (Rizvi & Lingard 2009). The technologies of management associated with the neoliberal form of governance implemented, represent more than the neutral rationalized discourses associated with, for example, Weberian forms of bureaucracy. In fact, they reflect the contemporary 'regime of truth', which Foucault (1980) advises makes some discourses more acceptable than others in any society. In higher education in Australia, it is the

collection of concepts, policies programs and practices associated with a neoliberal social imaginary. However, because there is growing evidence that large numbers of students have flocked to the STEM disciplines since the introduction of the 'student choice' policy (Schubert 2012), it is timely to explore how the transition to neoliberal governance has impacted on academics located in the humanities. This study therefore, firstly explores the lived experience of eleven academic participants situated in two departments in a large humanities faculty in a university established prior to the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. Secondly, it explores how these academic participants have chosen to respond to this new form of governance.

1.3.2   Lines of enquiry and significance of this research

The lines of enquiry guiding the interviews conducted with the eleven academic participants in this study, who consented to be interviewed following the implementation of a lengthy invitation/liaison/briefing/agreement process, reflect the significant themes emerging from the literature review presented in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this thesis. These lines of enquiry essentially involve exploring how the new public management (NPM) form of governance and its accompanying quality meta-narrative, implemented following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, impacts on the academic research and teaching practice of these participants as well as intellectual leadership and collegiality. The lines of enquiry therefore explore the role quality performs in deploying external governmentality performative objectives throughout the organisation. They also explore the range of management, communal and individual strategies adopted by the eleven academic participants, interviewed in this study, to best manage the impact of the managerial discourse on their departments and academic practice. The lines of enquiry are as follows:

- The degree to which power has been consolidated in the executive
- The impact of technologies of management on faculty and academic autonomy
- The impact of new public management on intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality
- The impact of this form of governance on research and teaching practice
- The incidence of reflexivity in the institution

- The impact of the managerial discourse on academic identity
- The role of the quality discourse in marketing productivity
- The range of strategies the academic participants adopt to minimize the impact of the managerial discourse and optimize their research and teaching practice and make/find meaning
- The relationship between hierarchical and academic status in relationship to capacity to influence the managerial discourse
- The presence of alternative discourses
- The degree to which the values of the participants align with the values underpinning the managerial discourse.

This research is beneficial to the participants in this study as it allows them to reflect on the range of strategies they employ to manage the impact of the managerial discourse on their academic practice. However, it is also relevant to other stakeholders in higher education as some of the case studies explored in this study may prompt policy makers, executives and academics in other universities to compare their own lived experiences of higher education with the lived experiences reported in this study. As a result, my findings may prompt others outside this study to reflect on their own reflexive participation in the managerial discourse.

1.4 Position of the researcher and theoretical interest in Foucault

On resuming studies and employment in higher education in 2005 and 2006 respectively, following a twenty year career in management in engineering, I observed how the narrow performative definition of quality in higher education, differed to quality in engineering organizations. For example, in engineering organizations, it is crucial to the quality of a project that all stakeholders are consulted both prior to and during the project at fixed, and customer agreed, milestones. In contrast to my experience in engineering, where quality is equated with the capacity to satisfy specified and agreed project requirements, quality in higher education is conflated with productivity (Rowlands 2012, Parker 2013 & Craig et al 2014). For example, I observed that quality in higher education is managed through the mechanism of corporate standardized course delivery processes with little input from those lecturers actually

delivering them. This resulted in corporate productivity requirements being prioritized over customer requirements. For example, scheduled courses could be cancelled on the first day of the planned course if there were insufficient numbers enrolled to break even; a practice which results in the interests of two key stakeholders being disregarded.

In my most recent employment at an International English Language Centre at a large university, I also observed that corporate quality requirements were sometimes subverted by localized priorities. For example, after joining this centre in 2008, I noticed that course coordinators of some courses at this centre expressed much frustration about their ongoing failure to convince the then Curriculum Manager that these courses needed updating. They were concerned that local managers had failed to respond to changing industry and corporate graduate requirements. The local lack of compliance was partly due to marketing activities being prioritized over curriculum development activities. The prioritization of marketing activities meant that local managers were frequently absent from the centre while undertaking student recruitment campaigns offshore. However, as more than 70% of the teachers employed in this centre were on five week contracts, teaching staff refrained from raising issues about the quality of the curriculum in case their five week contracts were not renewed at the end of each course. In fact, this pattern of human resource management resulted in teachers referring to those who spoke up and whose contracts were not renewed, as 'The Disappeared'.

Despite changing external conditions, local management remained firmly focussed on forging relationships with offshore recruitment agents even though these agents had a narrow focus. For example, offshore agents were attracted by the architecture of the building, the amount of online services available, and the ratings from customer satisfaction surveys held at the completion of each five week course. Consequently, the focus on satisfying image based marketing requirements rather than curriculum development requirements, resulted in local managers failing to adequately respond to changing industry and corporate graduate requirements. For example, although the National Nurses Registration Board had increased the IELTS score required for nurses graduating from this university, the then curriculum manager failed to invest, in a timely

manner, the resources required to update the course affected. A management crisis subsequently occurred.

Due to the increasing failure of many nursing graduates to gain nursing registration on the completion of their nursing courses, student numbers enrolling to pursue nursing declined. This situation was not assisted by the emergence of a more competitive international market due to the rising Australian dollar. Unfortunately, the radical drop in student numbers was accompanied by a corporate audit report which documented a failure by the centre to comply with the policy on graduate attributes. This crisis, which could have been prevented, resulted in the long serving tenured Curriculum Manager also joining 'The Disappeared' shortly afterwards without even receiving the habitual farewell morning tea.

My observations involving the curious manner, in which quality was managed at this centre during my 4 years spent there, led me to undertake a Master of Education which explored different concepts of quality. The findings of my research were sadly as I had predicted. An analysis of the data, from a survey I had conducted with sixteen teachers at this centre, confirmed that they were very aware of the existence of serious gaps in the curriculum. Furthermore, they all expressed great frustration at not being resourced to bridge these gaps. In contrast, the data collected from the four managers, I interviewed, indicated a prioritization of marketing issues over curriculum issues. In fact, these managers reported that the curriculum was highly regarded by all the offshore agents they dealt with. This evaluation was most surprising given that a recent corporate audit report, had found that this centre had failed to comply with the institution's graduate attributes policy. As Foucault (1980) explains there is often a gap between what is planned in strategic plans and what in fact occurs at the extremities of power.

As Foucault's discourse based analysis of liberal governmentality has a strategic and local dimension, I subsequently concluded that that his analytics of government provided a tool for evaluating the gap between theory and practice in research. For example, although the corporate strategic and operational plans of the university, where I worked, reflected changing industry language proficiency requirements, my survey identified that the language centre, had failed to adapt to changing industry and

corporate requirements. It had also failed to heed the input of their teachers. This was because local managers regarded most teachers as dispensable due to their casualized status in the workforce.

My findings for my Master of Education, therefore, confirmed that local managers could subvert the corporate strategic agenda in pursuit of self-interest. As a result, their behaviour was more in alignment with the behaviour of those individuals disembedded from traditional structures described by Bauman (2000) than those individuals who practise a form of communicative reflexivity described by Archer (2012). Unlike the teachers, of whom 70% were on five week contracts and, therefore, part of the precarious class described by Standing (2011), these managers had reflexive options available for them to choose from. However, they chose to practise autonomous reflexivity which is common to *homo economicus* as opposed to communicative reflexivity (Archer 2012).

Overall, the study conducted for my Master of Education confirmed Foucault's (1980) advice that researchers need to explore how power is exercised in practice. It also confirmed that although there is a gap in the managerial discourse, access is uneven. As a consequence, my previous research in higher education has led me to employ Foucault's analytical framework, in this study, to interpret how power operates in liberal governmentality including neoliberalism. In addition, my management background, in both engineering and education, has also resulted in my awareness that, although managerial systems influence organizational culture, some individuals respond differently to new public management (NPM).

My study for my Master of Education, which explored divergent definitions of quality, resulted in a PhD scholarship being awarded for the purpose of exploring the impact of neoliberal market forces on management systems and the values of academics in universities. However, although the contemporary university reflects the form of liberal governmentality or 'regime of truth' (Foucault 1980) prevailing in society at any one time, which makes one discourse being more acceptable than another, the neoliberal university has evolved from previous variations of liberalism. As a result, it retains features from previous forms of liberalism which are explained below.

1.5   The evolution of university governance in liberal societies

1.5.1   Universities are subject to the tactics of liberal governmentality

All forms of liberal governmentality are the subject of the definition/redefinition of private and public goods. According to Foucault (1980, p. 122), the modern liberal state is conceptualised as a type of meta-power 'in relation to a whole series of power networks' with whom it shares a 'conditioning-conditioned relationship'. Governmentality is both:

> …internal and external to the state, since it is the tactics of government which make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not, the public versus the private, and so on; thus the state can only be understood in its survival and its limits on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality (Foucault 1991, p. 103).

Therefore, in forms of liberal governmentality, compacts are continuously negotiated between universities and the state, but within the umbrella of the existing regime of truth prevailing in society at any one time (Foucault 1980). The classical liberal models of universities, described by both Newman and Humboldt, both address the need for the state and the university to reconcile the needs of different interest groups. This means balancing the needs of the scholarly community with the needs of the emerging professions. However, Marginson (2011, p. 428) argues that 'all forms of liberalism struggle to understand the common and collective aspects of the public good except as the sum of realised individual benefits, or as a spill over from individualised transactions'.

1.5.2   The classical liberal university

The modern liberal university is associated with the rise of the middle class and the emergence of the modern nation state with its need for liberal forms of political rationality. The liberal values of the rising middle class represented a departure from the values of the aristocracy and medieval scholasticism as 'Bourgeois revolutionary education was rational, universal, secular and enlightened – values that came to represent the essence of a liberal university education' (Thornton 2009, p. 377). A liberal education, therefore, involves the notion that 'knowledge can be its own end, and the university can be a site of pure reason' in which individuals are empowered 'through

knowledge and the development of critical skills and values' (Harland 2009, p. 512). In fact, Harland (2009, p. 512) refers to the 'Grand claim of liberal education' that it equips those 'offered such an education to contribute to social change, and perhaps make the world a better place to live in'. The dominant academic values in the classical idea of a liberal university embody 'the disinterested search for knowledge, the critical approach to received knowledge and forms of social arrangements, and respect for logic and evidence' (Kogan 1996, p. 244). However, these ideal attributes were always the subject of emerging market forces.

Newman found it necessary to defend the liberal idea of a university against the utilitarian advocates of the period (Thornton 2009). For example, he strongly opposed the view that a university education should serve purely utilitarian purposes on the basis there is a difference between education and instruction. Education, unlike instruction, was not to be valued in purely market terms as it was an end in itself (Maskell & Robinson 2002). Although Newman acknowledged the university did have an obligation to train doctors and lawyers for the state, he was adamant that the skills and values inherent in a broad liberal education, like critical thinking and intellectual virtues, should also underpin all forms of scholarship (Pelikan 1992). Therefore, concepts of citizenship and service to society were embedded in the Newman concept of a university. Consequently, values like 'freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom' became embedded in the concept of the modern liberal university (Thornton 2009, p. 378). However, as service to society involved producing 'Christian men' who had 'the gentlemanly virtues of self-discipline and public service' (Macfarlane 2007, p. 263), it was an elitist and patriarchal vision of society. Moreover, as the university faculty were responsible for determining the reform agenda required and not public opinion (Pelikan 1992), it had an exclusive vision.

The Humboldtian notion of a university emphasizes the indirect benefits the state derives from supporting independent research (Bebbington 2012). The Humboldtian idea of a university involved the negotiation of agreements with the state on the principle that the state would be the beneficiary of objective knowledge, if the university remained a self-governing community of scholars (Macfarlane 2009). In this model, it was the university's role to focus on original research. Therefore, it was the

role of the state to provide the level of autonomy professors and students required to pursue their research interests and become the independent thinkers the professions needed (Bebbington 2012). Members of society needed to be educated in order to contribute to the shaping of the state on the basis that they were considered more than objects of the state (Long 2010).

Unlike Newman's idea of a university, the Humboldtian concept of a university emphasised the link between research and teaching (Thornton 2009). In fact, service to the state, in this tradition, is not defined by producing Christian gentlemen but 'through advanced research and scholarship that serves society best by remaining independent and objective' (Macfarlane 2007, p. 3). Three principles underlie Humboldt's idea of a university: 'unity of research and teaching; freedom of teaching and academic self-governance' (Long 2010, p. 451). The contemporary research focussed university, as we shall see from recent research and the data analysed in this study, aligns more with Humboldt's model.

The models of a liberal university proposed by Newman and Humboldt both recognize the need for academic autonomy. However, Henkel (2007) distinguishes between the Anglo-Saxon definition of autonomy and the Humboldtian definition:

> In Anglo-Saxon contexts, the single term 'academic autonomy' incorporates two distinct but connected ideas: individual academic freedom, and university autonomy or the right to institutional self-governance (Henkel 2007, p. 8).

In the Humboldtian model 'this duality is absent' as the state protects 'the academic freedom of those appointed professors or chair-holders (who essentially are the university) is central' (Henkel 2007, p. 88). Despite these differences, both models for a modern liberal university, acknowledge the need to reconcile the interests of competing stakeholders. However, the classical liberal university remained essentially elitist in nature, until the advent of mass education in the twentieth century:

> Indeed the elitism of the university was effectively deployed in the nineteenth century to exclude women and radicalized Others as well as to suppress the democratic moves by the working class (Thornton 2009, p. 378).

1.5.3 The neoliberal university

The social contract negotiated between the university and the state has been reimagined through the lens of the market in neoliberal states like Australia. Knowledge is no longer perceived as an end in itself, as it was in Newman's model, but a key to the wealth of the nation:

> Governments increasingly characterize the societies over which they preside as 'knowledge societies', in which knowledge is the primary driver of national and inter-national economic and social prosperity (Henkel 2007, p. 89).

Knowledge has been reimagined as a commodity with an exchange value. The relationship between 'the suppliers and users of knowledge' increasingly reflects 'the relationship of commodity producers and consumers to the commodities they produce and consume' (Lyotard 1984, p. 4). As knowledge is now considered just another form of production, knowledge producers are required to be cost effective and efficient. The profit objective has led to the adoption of 'the imperative of performance improvement and product realization' (Lyotard 1984, p. 45). Consequently, the performance efficiency principle is emphasised in the knowledge production sector as efficient production produces a higher return on investment; 'The desired goal becomes the optimal contribution of higher education to the best performativity of the social system' (Lyotard 1984, p. 48).

The redefinition of higher education as a knowledge producer has resulted in the efficiency principle being embedded in management thinking and management practices in the contemporary university (Roberts 2013). This has meant that public sector institutions are now expected to be more efficient while doing more with less. The contemporary university has been restructured to operate as a performative based corporate enterprise, as opposed to a self –governing community of scholars:

> Institutions have almost all adopted management structures in line with the idea of the university as corporate enterprise, as against a collegium of academics or a professional bureaucracy (Henkel 2007, p. 139).

The modern university is no longer viewed as 'an exceptionalist institution, but rather as embedded in society, which expects it to make direct contributions to general economic

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and social welfare' (Henkel 2007, p. 94). As universities now compete with other knowledge-producing organizations, this means that the research agendas of academics now have to align with corporate agendas (Macfarlane 2012). In particular, as technology is perceived as providing the key to a competitive edge, governments now promote the technologically based disciplines in higher education. For example, 'branches of science/technology (such as technology and information technology) which look very promising as sources for that competitive advantage' are promoted (Cowen 1996, p. 248**).**

The 'idea of the university as a corporate enterprise' (Henkel 2007, p. 139) has resulted in universities having to adopt new public management (NPM) which is based on corporate business models. The hierarchical strategic management system, known widely as NPM, which has been implemented in universities in neoliberal states, is designed to satisfy external economic and performative goals (Olssen & Peters 2005). This means the consolidation of power in the executive. For example, 'Vice Chancellors have effectively become chief executives' who are 'supported by teams of senior academic managers' known as 'management' as well as by administrators coordinating change (Henkel 2007, p. 93). Management systems, which are based on the principles of market efficiency embedded in neoliberal governance, contrast sharply with the principles of 'discipline enquiry' and 'intellectual truth' embedded in the 'academic (social-liberal) values system' (Winter & Donahue 2012, p. 567). Consequently, universities are now 'involved in struggles for power and ideas, including ideas about the value and definition of academic freedom' (Henkel 2007, p. 97).

The history of higher education in Australia also reflects a transition from social-liberal governance towards neoliberal governance in in recent decades.

1.6   The evolution of the Australian university
1.6.1   Vocational and elite focus

Utilitarianism has been a primary driver in Australian universities since their inception in the 1850s (Davis 2013). Although Australian universities embraced the tradition of operational autonomy and secularism, associated with the modern liberal university, universities in Australia have remained largely vocational in nature (Davis 2013). This

trend can be traced back to the need for colonial Australia to produce the 'lawyers, doctors and engineers' needed for the expanding economies (Davis 2013, p. 33). In fact, Connell (2015, p. 92) argues that Australian universities were part of an imperial order whose purpose it was to 'transmit the knowledge system of bourgeois Europe to the young gentlemen who were going to manage the colonies within the British imperial system'. For example, knowledge from or about the indigenous population was not something that was perceived as required (Connell 2015).

Academics were recruited from Great Britain to train the professionals required in the new colonies. In this environment, the production of new knowledge through research was not prioritized but perceived more as a hobby (Connell 2015). The vocational focus has remained a constant theme as around seventy per cent of students at Australian universities have historically enrolled in professional courses (Davis 2013). However, the tendency to create vocationally oriented universities has been offset by a combination of legislation, academic expectations of the role of a university and expert policy reviews like the 1957 Murray report (Davis 2013). Even specialist universities, like the ANU and the University of New South Wales, now offer a comprehensive curriculum (Davis 2013).

The Australian university remained elitist and primarily under the jurisdiction of the states until the nineteen forties. Forsyth (2014, p. 27) describes higher education, prior to the Second World War, as 'a wholly different scholarly world, which we would now struggle to recognise – or indeed condone'. This was due to the six universities in Australia then 'educating less than 0.2 per cent of the population' who mostly came from 'the top ten per cent of the nation's earners' (Forsyth 2014, p. 27). Not only did universities in 1939 still only have 10,354 students, they were 'small, under-developed and isolated from their communities' with research not being considered a key role (Marginson 2007, pp. 589-590). However, the elite nature of the university was transformed as a result of manpower requirements resulting from the Second World War 1939-1945 and post war infrastructure construction (Marginson 2007).

1.6.2   Federal-state tension

The war and post war expansion program eventually led to a change in state-federal relations and, therefore, university governance. The greater numbers of students completing secondary schooling post second world war and the boom economy of the 1950s and the 1960s both resulted in the federal government becoming more involved in the 'financing and planning of a national higher education system' (Marginson 2007, p. 590). In addition, 'research and innovation became key to Australian defence strategy and economic growth' in this period (Forsyth 2014, p. 27). However, it was not until 1950 that the Australian federal government committed to paying 25% of the operating costs of Australian universities (Marginson 2007). The role of the Federal Australian Government was further progressed when the Martin Report (1965), recommended that higher education be regarded as a national investment in human capital on the basis it increases individual skills, workforce flexibility and technological innovation while also producing more responsible citizens (Marginson 1997 & Marginson 2007).

Federal funding of research in Australian universities has traditionally been associated with a loss of autonomy. Although it was generally recognised that increased funding of research was required to support the post war economy, the campaign for federal funding, led by the Chair of the CSIRO, was cautiously supported by the vice chancellors at that time. This was because they were fearful that the conditions attached to federal funding could limit their autonomy (Forsyth 2014). However, the recommendation by the Murray Review of Australian Universities (1957) that 'a buffer body like the British Universities Grants Committee be established to administer this funding', reassured vice-chancellors that their autonomy would not be adversely impacted (Forsyth 2014, p. 25). After 1939, there was increasing recognition that the balance between 'university autonomy' and 'public interest' needed to be 'continuously renegotiated' (Forsyth 2014, p. 26).

1.6.3   The shift to a neoliberal social imaginary

The elitist nature of higher education was further challenged when the Whitlam Federal Labor Australian Government (1972-1975) reconfigured existing federal-state relationships by taking control of funding. This egalitarian period represented a shift

towards mass education in higher education and a more inclusive approach due to the emergence of social liberal agenda like equal opportunity (Blackmore 2011). Whitlam justified increased federal government involvement in education 'because education was of national importance for social reasons' (Lingard 2000, p. 25). As a result of abolishing fees, for example, the Whitlam Federal Labor Government 'enabled students from lower socio-economic background greater access to higher education' (Rivzi & Lingard 2011, p. 11).

In contrast, later Labor governments, like the Hawke-Keating Federal Labor Australian Government (1983-1996), perceived higher education as an instrument for producing 'the type of workers required in a post-Fordist economy' (Lingard 2000, p. 25). The restructuring of higher education was part of the national restructuring program initiated by this particular federal government to make Australia globally competitive. As a consequence, the subsequent 1988 Dawkins Reforms prioritised the need for universities to contribute to both the national economic objectives and national income as well as become more efficient (Bradley 2008). However, recommendations from previous higher education reviews into efficiency and effectiveness such as the 1986 Hudson Review fed into the 1988 Dawkins White Paper implemented by this government (Marginson 1997 & Marginson & Considine 2000). In the new social imaginary, 'markets were accorded a greater role, the constitution of society was re-imagined, with the rights and responsibilities of citizens re-configured' (Rizvi & Lingard 2011, p. 12). Higher education was now perceived as a sub-sector of the overall economy. A level playing field has not eventuated in the market driven higher education sector.

The 1988 Dawkins Reforms involved significant structural changes. These included the abolition of the binary divide in higher education, the need for universities to generate their own income, the introduction of the 'user pays' neoliberal concept and the introduction of new public management. Colleges of advanced education were amalgamated with universities to respond to the need for massification of the universities (Baird 2014). The student loan scheme known as the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) (1990) was introduced and universities began supplementing their revenue by competing for full fee paying students in international

markets (Pick 2008). In fact, universities have been so successful in pursuing the international student market that 'Education is now the country's third export market after iron ore and coal' (Slattery 2016). However, the top 8 universities attracted 30% of the overseas student market for the period in 2014-2015, and as a result, contributed 47% of the revenue raised for these universities (Slattery 2016). The objective of creating equality between universities, by providing them with equal funding has not resulted in equality as a hierarchy continues to exist. This is due to the 'older, more prestigious and better endowed universities' being able to use their status and reputation as research-intensive universities to 'attract the brightest students and more research funding' (Vidovich & Currie 2010, p. 47).

The neoliberal higher education reforms commenced by the Federal Labor Government (1983-1996) were seamlessly continued by the subsequent decade of Federal Liberal Australian Governments. The conservative Federal Coalition Government (1997-2007), continued to advocate neoliberal policy agendas as well as encourage universities to seek private funding (Vidovich & Currie 2010). Recent higher education policy has continued to focus on higher education's role in serving the national economy. Global neoliberal policy concepts such as human capital theory, performativity and public choice theory guide Australian higher education policy development. For example, the Review of Australian Higher Education (2008) chaired by Denise Bradley (2008), sought to assess higher education's capability to contribute to long term economic growth and to produce the professionals the labour market requires. This report also sought to benchmark the performance of higher education in Australia with other OECD countries. Furthermore, the Bradley Report (2008) recommended that universities negotiate a compact with the Australian Federal Government on the basis that, while university goals must satisfy specified government targets, funding must be related to student demand. As a result, universities are now viewed in terms of capacity to produce human capital rather than as institutions for developing informed citizens (Rizvi & Lingard 2011).

The impact of neoliberal policy and governance shifts on higher education in Australia since the 1988 Dawkins reforms, identified in the literature review, will be explored in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

1.7 The qualitative methodology employed

1.7.1 A critical hermeneutical phenomenological approach employed

Qualitative methods are used in this study as they 'contribute to the development of new knowledge' by allowing researchers 'to gain a better understanding of complex concepts or social processes' as well as 'investigating how communities and individuals make sense of their experiences' (NHRMC 2007, p. 25). As this study explores how eleven academic participants, both experience and respond to the neoliberal managerial discourse as well as make sense of their experiences, a critical hermeneutical phenomenological approach has been adopted. Although, the reasons for choosing this methodology are explained in great detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis, they are also briefly summarised in this section as well.

Phenomenological studies, such as this study, are concerned with the lived experience of people through the 'the recording of significant statements and meanings, and the development of descriptions to arrive at the essences of the experience' (Creswell 2007, p. 236). Through a process of description and reduction of those descriptions to significant themes, a systematic attempt is made 'to uncover and describe the structures, the internal meaning structures of lived experiences' (van Manen 1990, p. 9). Although phenomenological research calls for the researcher to bring a clear mind to the research, the researcher brings pre-existing knowledge and assumptions to the phenomenon being observed (Lukaitis 2011). Therefore, a methodological approach needs to be adopted in which personal preconceptions and prejudices as well as theoretical and interpretative frameworks for analysing the essence of the phenomena are acknowledged (Creswell 2007 & Lukaitis 2011). A phenomenological process, which enables data collected from the interviews to be reduced to a 'composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience of the group as a whole' (Lukaitis 2011) will be overlaid with a hermeneutic phenomenological process guided by the 'Principles for Interpretative Field Research' (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 72).

The qualitative approach, summarised above, will be informed by three theoretical and interpretative frameworks selected which are explained in more detail in Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis. Therefore, they are only briefly introduced below.

1.7.2 The relevance of a Foucauldian interpretative framework

Foucault's analysis of liberal governmentality provides the researcher with an insight into the core principles underpinning all forms of liberal governmentality including neoliberalism. In addition, Foucault's analysis of liberal governmentality has a strategic, local and personal dimension. The notion that each society has its own 'régime of truth' for recognizing 'the type of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault 1980, p. 131), enables the researcher to identify the prevailing system of thinking driving the discourses of power/knowledge at any one time. Secondly, as Foucault's analytical framework involves the programs, systems, techniques and mechanisms for deploying accountability to those 'who are charged with saying what count as true' (Foucault 1980, p. 131), researchers are aware that analysis needs to be multi-level and multi-dimensional. Research, therefore, needs to explore how 'subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted' at the local level 'through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc.' (Foucault 1980, p. 97). This approach enables the researcher to recognize that identity is the product of a set of power relations intersecting in forms of liberal governmentality. Thirdly, the notion that everyday resistance is directed at the techniques of power and its individualizing effects on the subject rather than a theoretical enemy (Foucault 1982), reinforces the importance of conducting evidence based research in specific rationalities. Finally, Foucault's (1991) notion that the state is itself the product of governmentalization or 'an effect and instrument of political strategies and relations of power' (Lemke 2012, p. 31) allows the researcher to understand the emergent and dynamic nature of governmentality.

Foucault's analytical framework, therefore, enables the researcher to understand that forms of liberal governmentality, although influenced by the regime of truth, are also the result of social practices. Consequently, a gap may exist between the intent of a program and its outcomes:

> The difference between the envisioned aims of a program and its actual effects does not refer to the purity of the program and the impurity of reality, but to different realities and heterogeneous strategies (Lemke 2010, p. 56).

In addition, two additional frameworks, which describe the shifting nature of policy (Rivzi & Lingard 2011) and governance (Olssen 2002) in higher education in recent decades, are employed. These frameworks, which are tabled in Chapter 2, are discussed extensively in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 of this thesis. However, because these interpretative policy and governance frameworks use different terminology to depict the shift from the previous form of social liberal governance to the current form of neoliberal governance in higher education, I have adopted a third form of terminology to assist clarity and consistency. For example, the policy framework by Rivzi & Lingard (2011) refers to the social-liberal form of governmentality preceding neoliberal governmentality as 'Keynesian welfare state' whereas the governance framework by Olssen (2002) refers to social liberal governance as 'Liberal'. On the basis that a form of social liberal governance shaped higher education in Australia, prior to the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, I am using the term social liberal to refer to the form of governance operating in higher education in Australia prior to 1988. As a form of neoliberal governance has shaped higher education in Australia, following the 1988 Dawkins reforms, I am using the term neoliberal to refer to the form of governance operating in higher education in Australia following these reforms. As a result of accessing the three interpretative frameworks, referenced above, readers are able to determine how I have developed my theoretical insights.

1.7.3   Sample and selection of participants

To facilitate the aim and objectives of this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven academic participants in two departments in a humanities faculty in a school I was given access to by the Head of School. These eleven academics consented to be interviewed, at the completion of the lengthy invitation/briefing/ liaison/agreement process, undertaken with all the academics listed on the departmental email lists I was given access to. Although only eleven participants eventually consented to participate, for various reasons provided in Chapter 4, they do represent a vertical slice of the faculty in which they operate. Hierarchical positions represented in the sample range from the Deputy Dean of the faculty to junior lecturers in the two departments selected. More extensive details of the recruitment and selection process are provided in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

1.8 Overview of the organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the philosophy of neoliberalism. It also tracks the evolution of the university in liberal governmentality including neoliberal governmentality. It introduces the notion of the knowledge economy and the performative university associated with neoliberal governmentality. In particular, it provides a picture of the evolution of higher education in Australia and how it more recently transitioned from a social liberal form of governance to a neoliberal form of governance since the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. In addition, the researcher's own position and background is presented including the rationale for employing a Foucauldian discourse analysis framework. The rationale for the lines of enquiry being explored in this research as well as its significance is also provided. Finally, an introduction to the methodology to be undertaken is provided.

In Chapter 2, Foucault's concept of governmentality in liberal governmentality, including neoliberalism, is explored. The notion that although there are core neoliberal principles common to all neoliberal states, neoliberalism varies in practice (Peck & Theodore 2012 & Dean 2012) is also explored. The shifts occurring in neoliberal policy and governance in Australia in higher education in recent decades are also explored including the major challenges these shifts have presented for academics. In Chapter 3, theories dealing with identity construction in late modernity are explored. Types of reflexivity (Archer 2010 & 2012) are explored as a response to the reflexive imperative in late modernity. The question of whether neoliberal technologies of the self, like agility and flexibility, represent anything more than mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the governing structures of domination are explored (Burchell 1996 & Gillies 2011). In addition, other factors impacting on academic identity, like the influence of the disciplines (Trowler 2012), traditional academic values like collegiality (Tapper & Palfreyman 2002 & 2010) and leadership (Macfarlane 2007 & 2012) are also explored.

Chapter 4 describes the qualitative methodology adopted in this research. The composite hermeneutic and phenomenological research process, adapted by Lukaitis (2011), being applied to this research is discussed as well as the reason for overlaying

this process with the interpretative principles for research designed by Klein & Myers (1999). The three interpretative theoretical and analytical frameworks, briefly described in this chapter which overlay this cycle of enquiry, are referenced in terms of application to this study. The steps undertaken to assure that the data collection and analysis phase of this study complies with the ethical standards documented in the Ethics Application, approved by the Higher Research Ethics Committee of Victoria University for this study, are also described. Limitations of the thesis are also described in this chapter.

Chapter 5 explores the participants' perceptions of the managerial discourse on their management roles, research and teaching practice. These perceptions include the participants' experience of the institution's management system which integrates quality with online platforms. In addition, it explores the notion of institutional reflexivity and the type of reflexivity practised at various organizational levels due to the institution having to continuously react to changing external conditions. In contrast, Chapter 6 explores the manner in which the participants respond to or resist the managerial discourse in order to optimize research and teaching outcomes. It also explores if there is a correlation between the degree of reflexivity available and their positional status in the hierarchy, scholarly status and access to external networks. Finally, Chapter 7 explores the impact of the institutional restructuring program on the values and academic identity of the participants. This chapter explores how collegiality has been reconfigured, in their respective departments, to focus on intellectual sharing. It also explores the role of intellectual leadership, disciplinary and personal values in fostering an alternative sub-culture.

In Chapter 8 the key findings of this research are discussed. Chapter 9 provides a theorised integration of research findings, propositions for change and directions for the future. It also includes a counter factual scenario based on how the institution might have benefited if the alternative quality discourse, created by these participants, had been integrated into the corporate quality discourse through a distributed leadership model.

1.9 Purpose of Chapter 2

In order to understand the concepts underpinning governance in contemporary universities, core neoliberal policy concepts and management techniques are explored, including those applied in higher education. Lastly, the challenges faced by academics due to the shift occurring over recent decades from a form of social liberal governance to a form of neoliberal governance, are also explored.

Chapter 2: The Neoliberal web of governmentality

2.1   Introduction to this chapter

Chapter 1 introduced the reader to the concept of neoliberalism and how higher education is perceived as part of the knowledge economy in neoliberal theory. It also provided the historical background to the neoliberal reforms implemented in higher education in Australia following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. In addition, it provided an overview of the lines of enquiry being pursued in this study as well as the methodology being employed. In this chapter, the concepts underpinning liberal and neoliberal governmentality are explored in more detail. This process involves exploring Foucault's concept of liberal and neoliberal governmentality, which is the key theoretical frame work being applied in this study. This exploration will include both the benefits and limitations of applying Foucault's analytical framework to this study. In addition, more recent research on neoliberalism in practice is explored including how neoliberal policy and governance techniques have been implemented in higher education both generally and in Australia. The challenges the neoliberal social imaginary presents for academics in higher education are also identified.

2.2   The concept of liberal governmentality

2.2.1   A system for managing the population rationally and efficiently

Modern liberal states are characterised by a broader form of government than that traditionally associated with feudal or highly centralised autocratic states. This wider form of government emerged as a response to the need for states to manage their expanding economies, colonial empires and their populations (Foucault 1991). The governing techniques developed to manage the 'new networks of continuous and multiple relations between population, territory and wealth' was termed governmentality (Foucault 1991, p. 101). Foucault's concept of governmentality involves three arms of government; self-government, government of the economy, and 'the science of ruling the state' (Foucault 1991, p. 91). In contrast to previous arts of government, which focused on defining the domain of the autocrat, governmentality involves the development of techniques for managing the interfaces between these three

arms of government (Foucault 1991, p. 91). As a result, the concept of governmentality extends beyond the power invested in the political and juridical apparatus of the state to include the range of social practices and techniques employed to exercise power (Foucault 1991).

Foucault de-emphasises the role of sovereignty, state apparatuses and accompanying ideologies in the study of power in a knowledge driven society. Foucault's extension of the art of government to the economy, in liberal governmentality, enables us to recognize that the economy is not separate to the state. For example, 'we have known since Marx, there is no market independent of the state' (Lemke 2010, p. 57). In fact, Miller & Rose (2008) argue that the more recent extension of market principles to all sectors of the economy, such as higher education, is a calculated governmental response to previous forms of liberalism which failed to secure a robust economy. For example, the social dimension, in social liberalism, was perceived as being emphasized at the expense of the competitive forces required to sustain an economy (Campbell & Pedersen 2001).

Power relations in modern liberal political systems like ours are managed through normalized discourses. Power is embedded in social practices and power relations are sustained through the mechanisms associated with discourse:

> In a society such as ours, but basically in any society there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established and consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse (Foucault 1980, p. 93) .

In this complex web of power relations, power both produces and draws on normalised discourses which are in turn the source of power/knowledge in the management of the population (Foucault 1988). As Clegg (1994, p. 159) explains, power is normalized 'through discursive formations of knowledge' and the resulting practices 'are institutionalized and incorporated into everyday life'. As a result, normalizing technologies provide exemplars of what is normal and what is deviant through their defined goals and procedures (Drefus & Rabinow 1983). Discursive practices are autonomous and can transform political decisions (Drefus & Rabinow 1983).

Discourse constitutes more than ideology. Discourse is not reducible to either the thought or intentions of individual agents (Gordon 1980). As power is based on knowledge, it is 'much more and much less than ideology':

> It is the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge – methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, apparatuses of control. All this means that power, when it is exercised through these subtle mechanisms, cannot but evolve, organise and put into circulation a knowledge, or rather apparatuses of knowledge which are not ideological constructs (Foucault 1980, p. 102).

The modern liberal state represents a plurality of power relations embedded in social practices. It constitutes:

> The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power' (Foucault 1991, p. 102).

Consequently, power does not emanate from one point.

Power constitutes relations of forces exercised through networks and individuals. It is exercised through a 'net-like organisation' in which 'individuals circulate between its threads' whilst both exercising and undergoing it (Foucault 1980, p. 98). As a consequence, the rationalities of modern liberal government transcend previous class based descriptions of society which were based on relations to the means of production (Foucault 1991). In fact, the grand narrative view of history is perceived as being one dimensional as it has focussed on exploring relations to the means of production while ignoring more elementary power relations (Foucault 1988).

In contrast to autocratic forms of government, liberal governmentality involves techniques for guiding the conduct of the governed. The 'conduct of conduct' always involves techniques for guiding the responses of individuals amid a range of possibilities (Foucault 1982, p. 220). Therefore, although individuals are constituted by power, they always have the capacity to act (Foucault 1982). This is because liberalism 'confronts itself' with questions about the nature of rule, the legitimacy and activities of rulers and critically scrutinizes the limits of their authority over another (Rose 1996, p.

47). In fact, according to Rose (1996) reflexivity is considered a permanent feature of all forms of liberalism and not just a feature of late modernity described by the reflexive modernists Beck, Giddens and Lash. As a result, modern rationalities of government are more productive than repressive as they involve 'obtaining productive service from individuals in their concrete lives' (Foucault 1980, p. 125).

However, as not all the governed will reflect the preferred values, it is the extent of resistance which provides an unstable domain 'between the government of other and the practices of the self' (Burchell 1996). Everyday resistance is directed at the techniques of power and its individualizing effects on the subject rather than a theoretical enemy (Foucault 1982). Relationships between adversaries are resolved 'when stable mechanisms replace the free play of agonistic relations' (Foucault 1982, p. 225). Consequently, modern power cannot be reduced to those who have it and those who are subjected to it or a 'phenomenon of mass and homogeneous domination – the domination of one individual over others, or of one class over others' (Foucault 2004, p. 29). However, other theorists like Bauman (2000) and Standing (2011) argue that some individuals have more choices available to them than others as we shall see in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Overall, liberal governmentality involves a continuing discussion about what is the role of the government and what is the role of the individual. In fact, the modern state is the product of governmentalization itself 'since it is the tactics of government which make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not' (Foucault 1991, p. 103). Liberal governmentality represents a fluid and evolving relationship as the state is conceptualised by Foucault as a type of meta power 'in relation to a whole series of power networks' with whom it shares a 'conditioning-conditioned relationship' (Foucault 1980, p. 122).

2.2.2 The regime of truth

Despite the modern state being conceptualized as a type of meta-power, in which it shares a two way relationship with intersecting networks (Foucault 1980) in which power cannot be reduced to the domination of one class over another (Foucault 2004),

each society has its 'régime of truth' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). In fact, it is the 'régime of truth', or 'general politics' of truth' which results in one discourse being perceived as more 'true' than another (Foucault 1980, p. 131). Furthermore, as 'truth' is 'produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses', the 'politics of truth' involves an evaluation of 'the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). For these reasons, Foucault (1980, p. 102) advises research should be directed towards 'the strategic apparatus' and techniques of power used by 'the material operators of power' in their local institutions to subjugate the subjects concerned. It is also necessary to explore the mechanisms for deploying accountability to those 'who are charged with saying what counts as true' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). Therefore, the 'régime of truth' prevailing in neoliberal competition states like Australia is explored in this chapter in relationship to whether it constitutes an ideology, a thought collective or a social imaginary which varies in practice.

2.2.3 Foucault's analytics of governmentality is problematic

Liberal governmentality involves interplay between the techniques of domination and the technologies of the self. However, Burchell (1996, p. 21) questions if Foucault's technologies of the self are any more than just another way of 'ensuring ends sought through technologies of domination' in the art of government. This is because Burchell (1996, p. 23) argues all forms of liberalism involve individuals being 'in some sense the necessary (voluntary) partner or accomplice of government'. Furthermore, Gillies (2011) argues whether neoliberal techniques of self, like flexibility and agility, while presented as self-empowering techniques, actually represent any more than mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the governing culture. In fact, Gillies (2011) argues that the notion of agility is fundamental to neoliberalism. This is because 'the image of humanity it promotes is of an ever-changing nimble self, reinventing itself in anticipation of market changes, permanently alert to opportunities to exploit and profit from' Gillies (2011, p. 216). This means 'the neoliberal self is individual not social' and, as a result, agility is required to survive 'as an economic entity and not for any sense of community' (Gillies 2011, p. 217). Consequently, Gillies' (2011) interpretation of the fate of the individual in neoliberalism, resembles the plight of the individualized individuals portrayed in 'liquid modernity' who are kept in a

state of perpetual movement from which there is no escape (Bauman 2000). Therefore, the phenomena of increasing reflexivity in contemporary society is explored in more detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis due to evidence that both universities and academics need to adopt reflexive techniques in adapting to changing external requirements.

In neoliberalism, 'the rationality of performativity is presented as the new common sense' and 'as something logical and desirable' (Ball & Olmedo 2013, p. 89). In fact, Ball & Olmedo (2013) argue a new competitive individual has been enacted. Furthermore, Flew (2012) argues that Foucault, in his lectures on neoliberalism, delivered in 1978-1979, failed to recognize the ideological component of neoliberalism, and instead chose to perceive it is just a more evolved form of liberalism:

> Foucault instead observed how the question of what would be 'too much' or 'too little' government presents itself as a recurring question in liberal modes of governmentality, existing alongside the recurring themes of *raison d'Etat* which are by no means displaced by political economy in either its classical liberal or neo-liberal forms (Flew 2012, p. 59).

However, neoliberalism 'operates not through the delimitation of individual freedoms but through their multiplication in the context of a notion of responsible self-management' (McNay 2009, p. 61). This means the self is reconfigured as part of an entrepreneurial project (McNay 2009). Therefore, in neoliberal governmentality, the ethics of the self, advocated by Foucault to resist the government of individualization, is an atomized practice which is not likely to 'pose a serious challenge to neoliberal social control' (McNay 2009, p. 57). This is because the 'experimental process of self-formation', which Foucault's ethics of the self 'revolves around is uncomfortably close in structure to governance through individualization' (McNay 2009, p. 57). As a result, Kerr (1999, p. 184), argues that 'although the techniques of domination are supplemented with the techniques of self', it is not apparent 'how the latter are any different to the techniques of domination'. In fact:

> …Foucault's conceptual "beheading of the King" constitutes a discourse within a top-down conception of power; it is the standpoint of reproduction, of the permanence of power and the subjugation of subjectivity (Kerr 1999, p. 197).

Foucault's views are, therefore, problematic as resistance is agent centred rather than collective (Caldwell 2007). However, agency needs to involve more than the capacity to

resist; it should include the capacity to make a difference (Caldwell 2007, p. 771). In fact, Caldwell (2007) poses the question:

> If the self is constituted within self-referential discourses or shifting discursive practices that appear to have no ontological or epistemological foundations, then how can we reconstruct alternative notions of the self that escape the circular entrapment of discourse? (Caldwell 2007, p. 782).

Foucault's concept of governmentality emphasizes discipline and control and involves 'systems of technology' for disciplining others as well as oneself (Thornton 2007, p. 23).

The question therefore remains that if Foucault failed to appreciate fully the constraints on freedom associated with neoliberalism, as suggested by the theorists referenced above, it is necessary to understand why 'resisting the flows of neoliberalism is different from past struggles' (Ball & Olmedo 2013, p. 93). The following section, therefore, focusses on why neoliberalism represents more than just a more advanced form of liberalism.

2.3 Core features of neoliberalism
2.3.1 Extension of market values to all areas of society

In neoliberalism, unlike classical liberalism, in which the market is conceived as a 'quasi- natural reality', markets in neoliberalism require 'certain political and legal and institutional conditions that must be actively constructed by governments' (Burchell 1996, p. 23). It is, therefore, the role of government to 'govern for the market' as 'pure competition, which is the essence of the market, can only appear if it is produced by an active governmentality' (Foucault 2008, p. 121). In fact, the market in neoliberal theory is perceived as the preferred organising principle in society (Hayek 2007, Burchell 1996, Foucault 2008 & Hilgiers 2012). For this reason, 'a model of rational-economic conduct' is extended to those areas not normally associated with the economy (Burchell 1996, p. 27).

As universities are perceived as a subset of a market economy in neoliberalism (Olssen & Peters 2005), the enterprise role of the university in competitive markets, takes primacy over the autonomy of scholars to pursue enquiry led research. This is because

neoliberal governments perceive 'the Enterprise University not as public infrastructure, part of the commons, accessible to a range of public and citizen purposes, but as an enterprise with private purposes' (Marginson 2002, p. 132). In contrast, classical liberalism, in the spirit of Humboldt, justified 'market freedom on the grounds that the State will benefit more – will become rich and more powerful – by governing less' (Burchell 1996, p. 22).

2.3.2   Human wellbeing is equated with entrepreneurial freedom

More recent versions of neoliberalism emphasize the concept of competitive markets over social integration. In contrast, an earlier form of neoliberalism known as ordo-liberalism, advocated in Germany in the early half of the twentieth century, promoted an entrepreneurial culture while simultaneously emphasizing the need for social integration. In ordo-liberalism, individuals were both empowered and provided with a meaning in their lives through being part of interconnected local and smaller enterprises (Foucault 2008). Therefore, market forces were off-set by a political and moral framework which ensured society did not become fragmented due to the small scale and local nature of these enterprises (Foucault 2008). Furthermore, ethical and cultural considerations were perceived as necessary in order to safe guard the policy of 'Vitalpolitik' or citizen engagement (Gordon 1991, p. 42). This earlier form of neoliberalism, advocated in Germany by 'a group of jurists and economists who came collectively to be known (from their participation in the journal ordo)' had a major role in the structuring of the state in West Germany following World War 11 (Gordon 1991, p. 41). In contrast, the form of neoliberalism promoted in America in the second half of the twentieth century, lacks a mechanism for preserving cultural and ethical values through the involvement of individuals in intersecting local enterprises.

The American form of neoliberalism perceives individuals as representatives of the species *'homo economicus'* (Foucault 2008, p. 250). This form of neoliberalism, promoted by economists from the Chicago School of Economics, proposed that the state has to be reengineered to create the optimum entrepreneurial social order required by *'homo economicus'* (Foucault 2008). In this market model, the governmental

infrastructure required to enhance the market order is also perceived as enhancing the well- being of individuals:

> Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (Harvey 2007, p. 2).

Consequently, the state is responsible for creating the infrastructure required to support a market based society.

Neoliberalism, represents a move away from social liberalism in the form of Keynesian economics, which sought to manage demand to create full employment. Neoliberalism gained favour in the west when Keynesian economics was criticised for failing to curb stagflation in the nineteen seventies due to the global oil crisis (Campbell & Pedersen 2001, p. 274). Neoliberalism, however, represents a move away from classical liberalism and social liberalism, in which the rights of the individual were offset by the notion of the public good. Neoliberalism has 'shifted the focus from civil society in classic liberalism to the market, with a correlative fixation on the interests of the individual and the accumulation of private wealth' (Thornton 2009, p. 376). It is a political philosophy in which freedom of the individual is elevated over equality:

> It involves an emphasis on freedom over equality, where freedom is construed in negative and individualistic terms. Negative freedom is freedom from state interference, which implies an acceptance of inequalities generated by the market (Peters 2001, p. 19).

Although, Marginson (2011, p. 428) argues all forms of liberalism struggle to understand the common and collective aspects of the public good except as the sum of realised individual benefits. In fact, market freedom is prioritized over the common good.

Overall, the literature reviewed suggests that although neoliberalism shares common features with previous forms of liberalism, neoliberalism represents a more extreme form of liberalism in which the market is the preferred organising principle of society. Therefore, market forces and market efficiency have become the meta-values driving the restructure of both national economies and higher education. As a result, resistance

in neoliberalism will differ to past forms of resistance in liberalism (Ball & Olmedo 2013). However, there is also a body of research indicating that that neoliberalism varies considerably in practice. In fact, Wacquant (2012, p. 66) argues the 'neoliberal debate has become polarised between a hegemonic economic model anchored by variants of market rule' and 'derivations of the Foucauldian notion of governmentality'. Therefore, in the following section, the concept of 'actually existing neoliberalism' is explored.

2.4   Neoliberalism represents a social imaginary

2.4.1   Neoliberalism varies in practice

Although neoliberalism is 'characterised by a series of guiding principles' which include 'fiscal restraint, tax aversion and a preference for individualised, market-oriented approaches over collectivist and progressively redistributive ones, in reality these principles 'are inconsistently and unevenly applied' (Peck & Theodore 2012, p. 179). As a result, neoliberalism is sometimes referred to as 'neoliberalisation' as it 'displays a lurching dynamic, marked by serial policy failure and improvised adaptation, and by combative encounters with obstacles and counter-movements (Peck & Theodore 2012, p. 178).

Neoliberalism also has the capacity to coexist with previous forms of liberalism. For example, since the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008, there has been a reversion by national governments to Keynesian economics, in a bid to restimulate the economy through national governments funding large infrastructure projects (Dean 2010). This is despite its principal opponent since the 1970s being Keynesian macroeconomic management, the welfare state and its associated social domain. In fact, neoliberalism represents a political 'militant movement that draws its strength and gains its frontal character from that which it opposes' (Dean 2012, p. 151). According to Dean (2012, p. 151), an analysis of neoliberalism highlights the 'contingent sources, multiple forms, and heterogeneous and apparently contradictory elements' which means 'it is irreducible to a simple and coherent philosophy or ideology'. Dean's (2012) analysis of neoliberal governmentality concurs with Foucault's (1991) analysis of liberal governmentality in which the state is conceived of as both the instrument and effect of governmentality.

2.4.2   Neoliberalism is a collective way of thinking

Neoliberalism is sometimes described as a 'thought collective'. A 'thought collective' is defined as 'an organised group of individuals exchanging ideas within a common intellectual framework' (Dean 2012, p. 151). However, because a 'thought collective' involves 'a field of dissension', it represents more of a political movement than a consistent philosophy or ideology (Dean 2012, p. 151). For example, in the case of neoliberalism, a 'thought collective' represents a type of dynamic united political movement committed to achieving common neoliberal goals whilst allowing local and global variations and mutations and united whilst motivated by a common opposition to an alternative vision of society (Dean 2012). However, Taylor (2004) distinguishes a social imaginary from a social theory. Whereas a social theory is often only embedded in a small minority of the population, a social imaginary is a way of understanding or a way of thinking, which gives legitimacy to social practices:

> By social imaginary, I mean something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows (Taylor 2004, p. 23).

A social imaginary is, therefore:

> The expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie their expectations, that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy (Taylor 2004, p. 23).

It is normalized through discourses and institutional practices:

> …a social imaginary is not simply inherited and already determined for us, it is rather something which is in a state of flux. It is through the collective sense of imagination that discourses and institutional practices are created and given coherence and acquire the character of a taken for granted common sense (Rivzi & Lingard 2009, p. 444).

However, a social imaginary resembles the 'régime of truth' prevailing in every society in which one discourse is being perceived as more 'true' than another (Foucault 1980, p. 131).

For the purpose of this study, neoliberalism is perceived as a social imaginary, or a way of thinking, which has been normalized through the powerful discourses of power/knowledge, over the last thirty years or so, following the election of the Federal labour Australian Government in 1983 and the subsequent 1988 Dawkins Reforms in higher education.

2.4.3   A shared understanding is normalized through local discourse

There is a dynamic relationship between common understanding and social practice. For example, Kjær and Pederson (2001) explain how neoliberal concepts are 'institutionalised through local discursive processes':

> Discourse is a system of meaning that orders the production and conception of the social world in a particular context', neoliberal concepts become institutionalised through local discursive processes in accordance with local requirements (Kjær and Pederson 2001, p. 220).

Social transformation occurs when new theories, held by the few, are able to penetrate the existing social imaginary and its existing concepts and social practices to the extent that a new social imaginary emerges comprising legitimized social practices (Taylor 2004). Therefore, Kjær and Pederson (2001) argue neoliberalism should not be perceived as a universal set of fixed concepts. In contrast, it should be conceived 'as a more loosely connected set of concepts' which are purposefully selected and 'then stabilized in unique ways depending on the particular discursive and institutional contexts in which this occurred' (Kjær and Pederson 2001, p. 221). Therefore, as the core principles of neoliberalism, such as competitive markets, deregulation, privatisation and marketization and performativity are normalized through localised discourses, Cahill (2010, p. 307) argues 'actually existing neoliberalism' is a more useful concept. Although new public management has become 'a dominant discourse within universities', there is immense variation across countries, and within countries, in relationship to how it has impacted traditional values and the extent to which it has 'superseded collegiality' (Hyde 2013 et al, p. 50).

While social imaginaries may represent a loose collection of concepts which have been normalised through local practise, a neoliberal social imaginary has gained global

momentum through being promoted by transnational powerful institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD. Therefore, despite core principles of neoliberalism being normalized through local discourses, a transnational neoliberal social imaginary also influences the discursive normalization process in higher education.

2.5 Neoliberalism in higher education

2.5.1 Nation states are subject to global influences

Influential global institutions can influence the social imaginary of nation states. They do this by 'directing people away from the dominant national narratives to shared transnational imaginaries, through the global distribution of particular policy ideas and ideologies' (Rivzi & Lingard 2009, p. 444). Global policy advisors such as the OECD have been significant players in promoting 'the social imaginary of the knowledge economy', in which, 'education is central to human capital formations for the development of national economies in the face of international competition and global pressure' (Rivzi & Lingard 2009, p. 445). The neoliberal social imaginary is also promoted by international and national neoliberal think-tanks, tasked with lobbying governments to establish the policies and institutional infrastructure, necessary to promote the market as the preferred regulator of society (Cahill 2013). In this social imaginary, higher education becomes a competitive market within a national and global competitive market.

Higher education has been redefined as 'a site of production' subject to the same economic "laws" as other parts of the economy' (Marginson 1997, p. 119). As a result, competitive values have replaced public service norms and students are perceived as investors (Marginson 1997, p. 65). As a consequence, the management of higher education is now 'argued in politically acceptable terms of utility, cost and efficiency' (Duke 2004, p. 308). Therefore arguments in education now emphasize 'the role of higher education in building the knowledge economy, and relative under investment compared with OECD and other Asian nations' (Duke 2004, p. 308). However, there are also other competing social imaginaries in higher education.

2.5.2 Competing social imaginaries in education

Social imaginaries, like status and networking, compete with the technologies of management underpinning the managerial discourse. The twenty-first century university embodies post-modern discourses as well as modernist discourses and provides a complex environment for academics to navigate:

> Modernist discourses based on notions of academic freedom, professional training, the power of science and the generalizability of liberal education that gained legitimacy during the twentieth century are circulating together with post-modern discourses of connectivity, diversity and inclusiveness as well as those of instrumentalism, relevance, aptitudes, problem solving and entrepreneurialism (Blackmore 2003, p. 6).

Social imaginaries in higher education such as the status and network imaginaries now coexist with the market imaginary (Marginson 2011). For example, the older established research intensive universities are more competitive due to status, power and networks (Rizvi & Lingard 2011, p. 13). Furthermore, although the 'status' imaginary overlaps with the economic imaginary, the status factor provides an ongoing competitive edge for the well-established research intensive universities:

> Status competition overlaps with the economic market. Success in one helps success in the other. Nevertheless, in research universities, the desire for status outweighs the desire for money. Resources are a necessary but not sufficient condition for the real objective: the timeless power and prestige of the university as an end in itself (Marginson 2011, p. 422).

Therefore, due to a level of status built up over a longer history, the Group of Eight (G8) universities in Australia enjoy an elevated position in a non-level playing field (Marginson 1997).

The network imaginary also overlaps with the other imaginaries. It represents a continuation of the collegiate and universal role of a university because 'as the network expands, each member receives ever-increasing benefits' (Marginson 2011, p. 422). Furthermore, because universities have the power to award selected knowledge with authority and value 'Knowledge flows and networks fit better to the ancient status hierarchy than the modern economic market' (Marginson 2011, p. 423). Consequently, knowledge networks, based on network attributes like cooperation,

team work and partnerships coexist with and challenge existing governance structures based on vertical top down relationships (Blackmore 2011).

2.5.3 Transformation of higher education in Australia

Governance, in higher education, has shifted from those associated with social liberal forms of governmentality to those associated with the ideal neoliberal competition state (Olssen & Peters 2005, Rivzi & Lingard 2011 & Marginson 2012). Firstly, the shift in policy direction in higher education in Australia, since the social liberal policies of the Whitlam Federal Labor Australian Government in the nineteen seventies, is summarised by Rizvi & Lingard (2011) below:

Table 1: Shifting polices in Australian higher education

(Rizvi & Lingard 2011, p. 13).

Table 1. Shifting Policies in Australian Higher Education

Structure and policy	Keynesian welfare state	Neo-liberal competition state
Spatial focus	Mainly the nation	Mixed national/global
Steering mechanisms	State centric bureaucratic and centralized, managed by a statutory authority	Deregulated state Emphasis on market, supported by state Dispersed and public/private mix
System structure	Binary university/college	Unified national system of universities
Funding	Largely public	Reducing levels of public funding private contributions through fees and entrepreneurial activity
University provision	Elite Low student demand Unmet demand International students: Aid support	Mass/universal Saturation of student demand: policy focus on 'enhancing' aspirations, especially of 'disadvantaged students' Unmet demand trending downwards Full fee-paying international students Global market in higher education
School–university	Schools controlled by states Low retention to Year 12 and thus low participation in senior schooling	Move towards a national system of school, through national curriculum and testing Enhanced retention to end of schooling, but differentiated senior provision with alternative pathways
Curriculum	Academic and disciplinary focus	Focus on graduates and professionally useful graduate outcomes
Education priorities	General education Nation-building through informed citizenary	Human resources development Individual responsiblization
Equity and opportunity	Abolition of university fees, 1974 State focused equity and debates over definitions – access and/or outcomes Little focus on university teaching and epistemological 'locatedness' of university knowledges	Reintroduction of 'fees', 1990 – Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS); Equity third way approaches in context of marketisation and technical numbers approach to meeting targets Some focus on university teaching and potential epistemological exclusions of university knowledges

The shift towards a neoliberal policy orientation in higher education did not occur in economic and political isolation but was accompanied by the emergence of a state in which 'markets were accorded a greater role, the constitution of society was reimagined, with the rights and responsibilities of citizens re-configured (Rizvi & Lingard 2011, p. 12). Moreover, a neoliberal policy orientation has been supported by all federal governments in Australia, since the election of the Hawke-Keating Federal Labor Government in 1983. Higher education policy in Australia represents 'a shift from social democratic to neoliberal orientations in which economic goals of education are given priority over its social and cultural purposes' (Rivzi & Lingard 2009, p. 446).

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Despite the shift in policy towards that of a neoliberal competition state, all Australian federal governments since 1988 have continued to reference social justice principles like equity associated with earlier forms of liberalism (Cahill 2010 & Marginson 2012). For example, the commitment by both the Rudd & Gillard Federal Labor Governments (2007-2013) to increase wider participation, in higher education, represents a 'Third Way policy-mix with its contradictions between social inclusion and competitive individualism' (Blackmore 2011, p. 456). However, market efficiency represents a meta-value as 'values such as social equity, social mobility and even social cohesion' are subsumed 'within its scope' therefore, resulting in learning being 'defined, arranged, valued and utilized in largely market terms' (Rizvi & Lingard 2009, p. 446). Even a crisis of the magnitude of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008 has not challenged the neoliberal social imaginary (Rivzi & Lingard 2011).

The policy shift in governance in higher education in Australia aligns with the 'Ideal-type model of internal governance of universities' described by Olssen (2002, p. 45). The comparative governance table, depicted below, is consistent with the core features characterizing university governance prior to and following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms.

Table 2: Ideal-type model of internal governance of universities
(Olssen 2002, p. 45).

	Neoliberal	Liberal
Mode of operation	Private	Public
Mode of control	'Hard' managerialism; contractual specification between principal–agent; autocratic control	'Soft' managerialism; collegial–democratic voting; professional consensus; diffuse control
Management function	Managers; line-management; cost centres	Leaders; community of scholars; professions; faculty
Goals	Maximize outputs; financial profit; efficiency; massification; privatization	Knowledge; research; inquiry; truth; reason; elitist; not-for-profit
Work relations	Competitive; hierarchical; workload indexed to market; corporate loyalty; no adverse criticism of university	Trust; virtue ethics; professional norms; freedom of expression and criticism; role of public intellectual
Accountability	Audit; monitoring; consumer–managerial; performance indicators; output-based (ex post)	'Soft' managerialism; professional–bureaucratic; peer review and facilitation; rule-based (ex ante)
Marketing	Centres of excellence; competition; corporate image; branding; public relations	The Kantian ideal of reason; specialization; communication; truth; democracy
Pedagogy/teaching	Semesterization; slenderization of courses; modularization; distance learning; summer schools; vocational; Mode 2 knowledge	Full year courses; traditional academic methods and course assessment methods; knowledge for its own sake; Mode 1 knowledge
Research	Externally funded; contestable; separated from teaching; controlled by government or external agency	Integrally linked to teaching; controlled from within the university; initiated and undertaken by individual academics

Source: Olssen, 2002, p. 45.

Governance in higher education has been reconfigured as a result of new political and economic relationships, between the state and the market, developed to produce products and

services required for the globalised higher education industry (Blackmore 2011, p. 446). Furthermore, 'The market is disciplinary in its effects' as within the meta-market framework, there exists all the 'substratum of forces, mechanisms and arrangement for order' associated with the other disciplines of power which Foucault referred to as 'panopticon':

> At the macro level, disciplinary power is exercised and deployed in techniques and norms framing, limiting and directing social relations. For instance, social relations within the university –teacher, student, and administrator –are reproduced as economic actors, notably consumers and 'providers' in the supply chain (Lindsay 2014, p. 144).

In addition, the 'expansion of formal rules and the juridical character of practices, dealings and relationships' means that 'the regulatory technologies of the university are also technologies of the market' (Lindsay 2014, p. 145).

Overall, the literature reviewed in this chapter to date, indicates that higher education in Australia has transitioned from a social liberal policy framework towards a neoliberal policy framework since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. For example, higher education reviews, since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, have reflected policies and governance techniques consistent with the central role of the market in the neoliberal social imaginary:

> Policy directions were periodically recalibrated through a series of reviews of the higher education sector between the mid-1990's and 2009 (West, Hoare, Nelson, Bradley), each representing a slightly different imagining of the role and functions of Australian universities. Little by little, these commissioned reviews redefined the balance between public and private goods in higher education higher and prepared the ground for more market–like conditions in student learning (Baird 2014, p. 147).

Secondly, the literature reviewed suggests that educational values will continue to be framed through a neoliberal imaginary despite acknowledgement of earlier liberal concepts of social inclusion. As 'Education is now an arm of economic policy' (Blackmore 2011, p. 446), the market has entered the soul of the university:

> For centuries, the university has been viewed as the custodian of culture, the seat of higher learning and the paradigmatic site of free enquiry. These lofty aims have been turned upside down by a constellation of values emanating from the interstices of neo-liberalism, the new knowledge economy, and globalization. The result is that the university as a key knowledge producer is now primarily

regarded as a source of wealth creation to be exploited. As the market enters the soul of the university, it has caused the commitment to the traditional values to contract (Thornton 2009, p. 376).

However, although higher education is still considered a quasi-market and not a full market, there is general agreement that the university governance model implemented in Australia reflects core principles and practices embedded in a neoliberal social imaginary (Harland 2009, Marginson 2009, Rivzi & Lingard 2009 & 2011, Blackmore 2003, 2011 & 2014 & Thornton 2009 & 2014). Management technologies for assuring the market efficiency of the public sector are part of this social imaginary. Therefore, these technologies form a link between external neoliberal governmentality and internal institutional governance.

2.6   New public management techniques implemented in higher education
2.6.1   Neoliberal governance is a hybrid set of practices

New public management, like other neoliberal concepts in practise, is a hybrid set of practices which includes broader bureaucratic practices which predate neoliberalism:

> It combines neo-liberal business models and market templates, with on one hand bureaucratic control systems that emphasise audit and accountability, and on the other hand, ideas of transparency and individuation that owe as much to the 1960s New Left as the1970's New Right (Marginson 2012, p. 354).

However, despite its hybrid nature, the neoliberal full market model provides an ideological template for new public management reforms in higher education (Marginson 2012). For example, the near unanimous support provided by Vice-Chancellors (Universities Australia 2015), for the Abbott Australian Federal Liberal Government (2013 - 2015) proposal to fully deregulate the higher education sector, validates the claim by Marginson (2012) that the neoliberal full market model actually provides the ideological template for new public management reforms in higher education. Furthermore, new public management principles and practices represent more than a routine reorganisation of a bureaucracy to make it more efficient as they enable governments to maintain control from a distance (Olssen & Peters 2005).

New public management techniques promote control through performance management based on quantitative evaluation measures (Harland 2009). A key technique in neoliberal governance is agency theory:

> Central to its focus is how one gets an agent to act in accordance with the interests of the principal. Rather than specify a broad job specification based on a conception of professional autonomy and responsibility, it specifies chains of principal-agent relationships as a series of contracts as a means of rendering the management function clear and accountable (Olssen & Peters 2005, p. 320).

Budgetary, accounting and audit techniques associated with agency theory enable governments to devolve accountability to agents but collect the type of information necessary to retain control from a distance. This numerical data can then be used to benchmark with international and national standards and compare performance outputs (Lingard & Rawelle 2011). Agency theory is essentially a technology of management associated with neoliberal liberal forms of governmentality (Olssen & Peters 2005) to facilitate what Foucault (1982, p. 221) refers to as 'the conduct of conduct' or techniques to 'structure the possible field of actions of others'.

Objective numerical calculation is perceived as representing decision making based on objectivity as well as allowing 'a centre to maintain its hold over the actions of those who are distant from it' (Rose 1999, p. 212). Furthermore, this approach to management enables nation states to audit their universities for compliance with national objectives and bench mark with global policy institutions like the OECD, the I.M.F and The World Bank (Rizvi & Lingard 2009). However, these same international policy makers, through their policy publications and benchmarking mechanisms, have influenced the shift in focus from educational governance to discussions about control and evaluation techniques (Rizvi & Lingard 2009). These technologies of management include: 'forms of devolution' and 'mechanisms of quality assurance, appropriate accountability regimes, sources of educational funding, effective uses of public resources and so on' (Rizvi & Lingard 2009, p. 447). Furthermore, funding tied to quantitative outcomes, which has led to the benchmarking of results both nationally and internationally, increases the tension between academics and institutions about how to satisfy these external objectives while preserving academic integrity (Sadler 2011).

2.6.2 Quality is a technology of management

Quality assurance provides a link between institutional governance and external governmentality (Cowen 2010). In higher education in Australia, quality has been an integral element of the suite of managerial reforms introduced, following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, to provide greater accountability to government (Vidovich 2002 & Anderson 2007). For example, before the 1990s, quality was initiated by the institution but in 'the 1990's systematic, formalized quality assurance accountability to government assumed greater prominence' (Rowlands 2012, p. 162). As a consequence, in 2000 the Australian Universities' Quality Agency (AUQA) was put in place to assess quality in Australian higher education. However, it was a quasi-external audit agency as the audit process involved 'a methodology of institutional self-assessment and an external expert audit panel' (Rowlands 2012, p. 101). It was not until the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) was established in 2009 that Quality became subject to external assessment standards.

TEQSA was established following recommendations by Bradley (2008) that quality needed to be standardised in order to enable national and global benchmarking. It was recommended that a national regulatory and audit framework should replace the existing audit system which was described as 'complex, fragmented and inefficient' (Bradley 2008, p. 115). The role of TEQSA was to accredit university providers, audit them to external standards, and performance indicators, and revoke their accreditation if they failed to comply with external audit requirements (Bradley 2008). However, the introduction of TEQSA was accompanied by other performance measures recommended by Bradley (2008). These measures included 'the introduction of mission-based compacts between the government and each university' as well 'sector-wide government performance measures and indicators for higher education' for assessing the quality of teaching and learning and research (Rowlands 2012, p. 101). Ironically, in a move consistent with the internal contradictions inherent in neoliberal governmentality, the Review of Higher Education Regulation Report (Dow & Braithwaite 2013) has recommended that the role of TEQSA be pared back as universities already operate in a multi-layered regulatory environment. Consequently, TEQSA (2015) is now attempting to introduce the notion of

risk management into the scope of its quality assurance relationship with individual institutions as opposed to perpetuating a one size fits all model of quality assurance.

Overall, the emphasis on performativity since the formalization of quality in the 1990s, 'the terms quality and quality assurance have become conflated' (Rowlands 2012, p. 100). In fact, these concepts have become conflated to the extent that:

> …it is now almost universally understood (at least at the level of the state if not by university management) that the key means of both achieving and demonstrating quality in higher education is by way of a performance-measurement-driven quality assurance programme (Rowlands 2012, p. 100).

The emphasis on efficiency, effectiveness and performance in the reforms implemented since 1988 has resulted in the quality meta-narrative replacing the traditional narrative of a university:

> If the meta-narrative which links universities to a search for the truth and which places academics/intellectuals as the ėlite guardians of that narrative has broken down, then quality- defining it and establishing it is a matter for managerial expertise (Cowen 2010, p. 256).

The quality meta-narrative provides the link between external governmentality and internal institutional governance as 'the roles of system quality definition –are heavily located in the hands of experts outside of it' (Cowen 2010, p. 256). Furthermore, quality has been used as a technique for marketing the concept of performance management to employees. Parker (2013, p. 11) argues that 'quality' is used as a performance indicator because it is easier to market to internal and external stakeholders as it 'embodies quantity, speed, cost, profits, and growth'. Furthermore, Craig et al (2014) argue that corporate managers prefer to deploy audit-based performance management systems in universities on the basis that they are perceived as more objective. These systems rely on 'performance indicators, benchmarks, quality assurance protocols, research assessment exercises, teaching quality reviews, and league tables' (Craig et al 2014, p. 7).

2.6.3 An audit culture in universities is problematic

Audit is not a mutual process based on a shared understanding of quality. In contrast, productivity measures transported from corporate business to universities represent an

accountancy mindset that is obsessed with quantification (Craig et al 2014, p. 4). For example, there is a lack of convergence between academics and managers on concepts of trust, managerial approach and the very idea of a university. In fact, Sadler (2011) argues that there is a clash between the rights of the institution to guarantee what it calls quality processes and quality outcomes for its stakeholders and the rights of academics to exercise academic autonomy and freedom in setting academic standards. Therefore, the audit culture has a range of divisive consequences.

The compliance culture results in academics adapting to accommodate audit requirements as opposed to retaining 'long held understandings as to what intrinsic quality governs their work' (Cooper & Poletti 2011, pp. 59-.60). In addition, researchers are no longer 'contributing members of scholarly communities' but, in contrast, have to compete with each other for publication in journals which are in turn competing with each other for status in the field (Cooper & Poletti 2011, p. 60). For example, ERA performative type rankings reflecting both managerial and disciplinary priorities have moved away from non-measurable and implicit notions of value (Cooper & Poletti 2011). Furthermore, the compliance culture impedes academic freedom. This is because academics are focussed on complying with the rules in order to survive in the workplace (Giroux 2006). Therefore, audit legitimizes performance related processes and measures that further reinforce the values of those already powerful:

> Performance measurement mechanisms that are grounded in audit culture can be seen as examples of Foucault's (1977) notion of 'disciplinary practices': that is, ways in which routine aspects of organization become normalized and taken for granted by all involved, and shape the behavior of organizational actors in terms favoured by those with most power (Craig et al 2014, p. 17).

Harland (2009, p. 519) argues that a compliance culture distracts academics from their teaching and research and shifts power 'to the state and private enterprise'. As a result, an all 'pervading university audit culture is more likely to entrench power than to encourage the deployment of reason in achieving positive university outcomes' (Craig et al 2014, p. 2).

Overall, the literature reviewed suggests that it is very unlikely that academics derive any sense of meaning from a performative concept of quality.

2.6.4   Everyday resistance takes the form of micro resistance

Resistance in neoliberalism resembles a different form. As approximately 60% of the academic work force, are now classified as casuals (NTEU 2012, p. 34), the precarious nature of the academic workforce imposes self-discipline on itself (Thornton 2007). In this precarious environment, it is unlikely that resistance will be openly confrontational. In fact, Thomas and Davies (2005, p. 701) argue that because 'the nature and form of resistance are discursively produced within specific contexts' within new public management (NPM), it 'will take different forms and emphases for different groups'. For example, individuals will exploit 'the contradictions within and between discourses and subject positions' in different ways (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 700). Therefore, their study advises that there is a need to 'move away from a meta-theory of resistance' and research the micro-politics of resistance (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 701). They make this recommendation on the basis that different types of power engender different types of responses, for example, 'within the context of NPM and its emphasis as an identity project, resistance at the micro-political level is heightened' (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 701). Their research identifies low level resistance which they perceive as a process of chipping away at the managerial discourse in order to create spaces in the discourse. For example, one of the participants in their study, known as Susan, draws on the long term educational values invested in her professional subjectivity as a leading educator to contest the competitive values embedded in local educational objectives. This same participant also draws on the 'privileged position of being a mother' to contest the expectation that working long hours is the norm (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 701).

In an Australian study of resistance strategies used by academics to resist the NPM, Anderson (2008) also found that micro-resistance techniques are widely employed. In a Foucauldian inspired study of thirty Australian academics, Anderson (2008) focussed her research on 'discussion of specific capillary exercises of power – mechanisms employed within the managerial university – and the ways in which the academics – who were their object resisted them' (Anderson 2008, p. 253). This study, therefore, supports research by Thomas and Davies (2005) for the need for researchers to go

beyond seeing resistance as a set of confrontational actions and explore how academics take up alternate subjectivities associated with the disciplinary discourse:

> In developing this discursive resistance, the alternate subject positions taken up by academics in this study were primarily related to the discourse of traditional academic culture, and the development and articulation of analysis and critique associated with these understandings (Anderson 2008, p. 256).

For example, her participants' criticisms of the quality discourse were all contested on the basis of the notion of academic excellence as opposed to notions of compliance with crude quantitative measures (Anderson 2008). Other academics contested the practice of surveillance on the basis of an infringement of academic autonomy and therefore representing an attack on academic identity. Therefore, these alternative subjectivities were not aligned with the subjectivities aligned with the managerial discourse. However, a variety of strategies were used which referenced the managerial meta-value of performative efficiency to minimize the time they spent on completing requests for information. These included knowing from past experience when it was possible to either not comply or not fully comply on the basis there were no repercussions (Anderson 2008).

Overall, these studies of micro-resistance of the NPM confirm that academic resistance has taken on a different form in responding to the individualizing techniques of the managerial discourse. Therefore, the forms of micro-resistance or 'weapons of the weak' described in the studies referred to above, confirm Foucault's (1982) notion that, because everyday resistance is directed at the techniques of power and its individualizing effects on the subject rather than a theoretical enemy, forms of resistance should be analysed in practice in specific rationalities.

2.7 Universities are part of a web of governmentality

The literature reviewed, in this chapter, reveals internal contradictions in neoliberalism which have resulted in greater regulation not less. Cahill (2010) explains that despite classical neoliberal theory promoting free markets, deregulation of the economy and a small state, in fact, increased regulation is a consequence of neoliberalism. This is because the neoliberal state is responsible for creating the infrastructure to support free

markets. In particular, as universities represent an instrument for achieving national economic objectives, they are perceived as quasi-markets rather than full markets (Marginson 2013). Therefore, in their role as gatekeepers of the knowledge economy, universities are subject to federal government policy initiatives designed to assure national competitiveness in the global economy (Rivzi & Lingard 2009 & Sadler 2011). For example, a recent review of the regulatory environment in which higher education operates, indicates that higher education is over regulated. The complex web of governmentality, in which universities now operate, is described in the Review of Higher Education Regulation (Dow & Braithwaite 2013) below.

Figure 1: Regulatory forces for universities
(Dow & Braithewaite, 2013, p. 21).
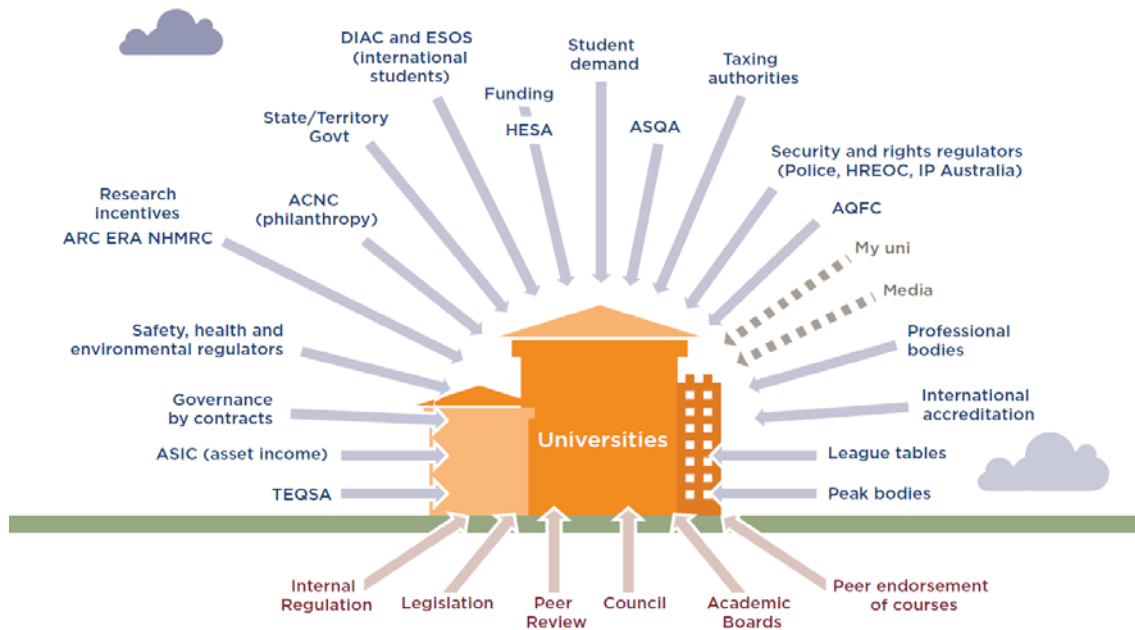
Therefore, the governance system, in which the participants in this study operate, is situated in a complex web of external governmentality. However, this complex web of governmentality can provide leeway in the managerial discourse as academics can access a range of subjectivities available in the competing discourses (Thomas & Davies 2005 & Anderson 2008).

For the purpose of this study, which is underpinned by a Foucauldian concept of governmentality, governance is treated as a sub set of governmentality. This is because the concept of governmentality and governance share common features. Firstly, they both focus on practice. Secondly, they 'extend the scope of political analysis beyond the domain of the state and institutional politics' (Lemke 2012, p. 35). Thirdly, 'the two theoretical accounts are characterized by a relational understanding of power' resulting from a 'mobile and flexible' network of relations (Lemke 2012, p. 35). However, while governance is carried out at the organisational level, it is not possible to talk about university governance as an autonomous university activity which is independent of the external web of neoliberal governmentality. For example, university governance in

Australian universities has been determined by Australian Federal Governments of both major political parties, since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms were implemented. Therefore, the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, as explained above by Lemke (2012), is compatible with the notion that the managerial systems governing institutions like universities represent governance techniques:

> Seen from the perspective of the analytics of government, the governance discourse represents a particular "art of government" that is firmly rooted within a liberal concept of the state (Lemke 2012, p. 37).

Governance in higher education has been reconfigured by the new political and economic relationships between the state and the market implemented in order to produce products for the globalised higher education industry (Blackmore 2011, p. 446). Ironically, although neoliberal governmentality is opposed to centralised regulation, universities now operate in a multi layered regulatory environment in which internal objectives must comply with external requirements.

The reconfiguration of higher education as a key knowledge producer for the knowledge economy, in order to sustain a competitive edge in a globalised economy, poses serious challenges for academics in maintaining their traditional academic and disciplinary values. Key challenges which could impact on academic identity are, therefore, identified in Section 2.8 below.

2.8   The impact of neoliberal governance on academics

2.8.1   Neoliberal governance systems erode academic autonomy

Academics now operate in a series of hierarchical principal-agent relationships in which their productivity is monitored and evaluated against external requirements (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Marginson 2002, 2009 & 2012). This form of governance promotes freedom as control due to principal-agent relationships prohibiting 'an autonomous space from emerging' and therefore eroding 'traditional conceptions of professional autonomy over work in in relation to both teaching and research' (Olssen & Peters 2005, p. 325). Academic freedom is commonly defined now as 'a negative right of individual academics – that is, the right to non- interference in their activities' (Akerlind

& Kayrooz 2009, p. 454). The neoliberal concept of freedom as control restricts the type of academic self-determination required for the radical-critical break. In neoliberalism, 'agency freedom is tethered' due to the radical critical break being 'readily excluded except within very narrow limits prescribed by 'clients' or by government as universal-ideal client' itself' (Marginson 2009, p. 91). In fact, Marginson (2009, pp. 107-108) suggests that unless 'external agents invest in radical innovation', it is difficult to appreciate how neoliberal accounting techniques like 'user-driven production' and 'performance management' can do any more than promote freedom as control. As the capacity for 'the radical- critical break' requires 'freedom as power' and 'the enhancement of autonomous identity as an end in itself' (Marginson 2009, p. 91), innovation in neoliberal governmentality is more likely to be market led rather than enquiry led.

2.8.2 Neoliberal governance erodes collegial governance

Neoliberalism is defined primarily as a philosophy in which the market is the preferred organizing filter for society. Therefore, market efficiency requirements of neoliberal governmentality require centralised planning and management systems in universities in order to respond to market requirements. This means decisions and practices, which were previously subject to mechanisms of collegial governance (Olssen & Peters 2005), are now made by the executive and the specialist managers appointed by them. University councils are increasingly 'colonised by experts in finance, law and business management' (Baird 2014, p. 152). The Vice-Chancellor is supported by managerial functions, such as marketing and finance which ensure the executive maintains tighter control over the 'faculties, schools, departments and research centres' which now operate as cost centres (Marginson & Considine 2000, p. 62). In addition, the executive has expanded its reach into the faculties by appointing the specialists required to deal with external governance requirements. These specialists include 'PVC's for quality, equity, community engagement and so on' as well as 'various sub deans responsible for teaching and learning or research' (Baird 2014, p. 154).

However, research by McInnes (2009, p. 162) indicates that the creation of new leadership roles has not resulted in academics being 'any closer to central decision

making'. This is because these new specialists are under pressure for faculty plans to align with strategic plans as their success depends on their ability to engage academic the faculty in 'collaborative initiatives' (McIness 2009, p. 162). Specialist managers ensure that executive policy is coordinated and issues identified are referred upwards (Baird 2014). The emergence of this new administrative class means 'The management of knowledge production and dissemination has become the core work of universities, repositioning academics as managed professionals' (Blackmore 2003, pp. 4-5).

2.8.3   Collegiality reconfigured

The technologies of management, associated with neoliberal governance, have reconfigured collegiality. The federal style relationship between colleges or faculties, in institutions which adopted a form of collegial management, has shifted in favour of corporate based governance (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010). Consequently, the sense of solidarity associated with collegiality 'has been compromised by significant downsizing and radical changes to working conditions' due to universities having to adapt to fluctuating market forces, reduced federal funding and the pressure to be more competitive (Pick 2004, p. 110). Academics, as a result, have become dislodged from the previous collegial governance structures and embedded into 'individualized work cultures based on competition, fixed-term contracts, and individually negotiated conditions of service' (Pick 2004, p. 110).

Academic values, associated with past forms of collegial governance, now clash with managerial concepts of governance driven by external demands. For example, academics have to satisfy the strategic and economic goals documented in university documents. This leads to identity tension for academics who feel that corporate goals 'discount normative liberal social values such as discipline enquiry intellectual truth, scholarship, and knowledge that contributes to the social welfare of all members of society' (Winter & Donahue 2012, p. 567). In addition, Winter (2009) argues that new public management has created two classes of academics with two sets of values which creates tension. The managerial discourse has shaped academic identity 'around an idealised image of corporate efficiency' and 'entrepreneurialism' resulting in two classes of academics; academic managers and managed academics (Winter 2009, p.

122). The values of the former align more with the organisation, while the values of the latter, who reference traditional values, are less aligned (Winter 2009, p. 126). Consequently, academics experience ongoing tension due to being embedded in discourses with conflicting values.

2.8.4 Quality is the new meta-narrative

Quality has been an integral aspect of the managerial strategies introduced, since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, to assure universities had the managerial processes in place required to provide greater accountability to government (Vidovich 2002 & Anderson 2006). Quality is also used as a meta-narrative in higher education as it is easier to market performance management measures disguised as quality processes (Parker 2013). Moreover, the quality discourse fails to access academic concepts of quality or feedback on operational effectiveness (Craig et al 2014). However, due to the lack of involvement of all stakeholders in the quality meta-narrative, this approach to quality has divisive consequences (Craig et al 2014, p. 7). For example, studies by McInnis et al (1994) and Anderson (2006) indicate that the institutional concept of quality is perceived by academics as burdensome as well as lacking meaning. Furthermore, more recent research indicates there is increasing recognition that quality needs to involve processes for feedback and improvement as well as compliance (Coates & Mahat 2014, Prisacariu 2015 & Elassy 2015). Corporate quantitative concepts of quality, therefore, conflict with academic notions of quality and excellence in research and teaching as well as a more enhanced interpretation of quality.

2.8.5 Intellectual leadership

Intellectual leadership in the wider sense has been moved to one side in the managerial university. Macfarlane (2012) argues that research on intellectual leadership in new public management has been largely confined to those professorial staff occupying formal management roles'. However, as intellectual leadership 'is clearly about more than a set of functions that any educated individual can be trained to perform', it is therefore necessary to re-evaluate the role professors perform as leaders (Macfarlane 2012, p. 5). In particular, Macfarlane (2012) is concerned with the type of leadership offered by the professoriate which involves a more transformational and moral

dimension including the ability to inspire and care for others. Furthermore, research by Whitchurch (2008, 2010 & 2011), Sharrock (2012) and Jones et al (2014) suggest that there is a need for a space to be created in the managerial discourse in which all academics and professional staff can discuss areas of mutual concern, not just the professoriate.

2.8.6   Intellectual collegiality

Despite the centralized managerial discourse challenging the federal type of governance associated with traditional collegiality, 'intellectual collegiality' which is an integral element of collegiality, underpins the manner in which academics engage with their colleagues 'to fulfil the purposes of teaching and research' (Tapper & Palfreyman 2013, p. 25). For example, Marginson (2002, p. 128) argues that the positional status of the university long term is dependent on 'the potency of its teaching and research' rather than its marketing agenda. Moreover, Musselin (2013) argues that academic power legitimizes institutional power through the role of institutional research elites on external research funding committees. Institutions are dependent on academic participation on research committees in order to obtain inside information on issues like 'norms to respect and the criteria that are considered to be crucial' (Musselin 2013, p. 1171). Therefore, the dualist nature of the collegiality/managerialism debate is rejected by Macfarlane (2015) and Kolsaker (2008) as representing an over simplification of the issue as they share an interdependent relationship.

2.8.7   A focus on vocational skills

Australian Federal Government policy requirements, following the 1988 Dawkins reforms that higher education contribute directly to the knowledge economy have led to a focus on vocational skills acquisition and the contraction of the liberal arts (Thornton 2009 & Gelder 2012). The Faculty of Arts at the Queensland University of Technology was closed down in 2008 and replaced by 'a new Faculty of Creative Industries, which its website tells us offers ''diverse and rewarding career opportunities''— presumably unlike the Faculty of Arts' (Thornton 2009, p. 376). Elsewhere, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Act 2010 (Part 2, Section 5) states that

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the university provides firstly 'vocational education and training' and 'further education and other forms of education determined by the university to support and complement the provision of higher education by the University' (rmit.edu.au/bm0b6e2mhz0az.pdf). Despite being called a university, it does not provide generalist education according to the RMIT Academic Plan 2011-2015 (http:www.rmit.edu/academic/plan). As a result, it has reclaimed its original purpose, which was to provide technical education, prior to being elevated to the status of a university as the result of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms.

The introduction of the market driven 'student choice' policy by the Australian Federal Government in 2011, has resulted in an increase in enrolments in vocational courses in 2012. This increase is due to universities having to now match course provision with the student demand for vocational courses (Shubert 2012). This policy has already had an effect on curriculum provision. According to Dunn (2012), the University of Melbourne dismantled the Australian studies cross disciplinary undergraduate program on the basis of falling demand. This means:

> In effect, universities are becoming less comprehensive and more vocationally and instrumentally oriented, and academics in turn are expected to align their teaching and research with university priorities. Universities are arguably less favourable to voices challenging dominant epistemological and methodological paradigms (Blackmore & Sawers 2015, p. 327).

The policy objectives steering university quasi- markets in neoliberal states have impacted adversely on the humanities. In the U.K., for example, the Browne Report (2010) recommended that direct student funding through loans replace 'block funding' to universities except for those disciplines regarded as 'high priority courses' or requiring additional funding. Following acceptance by the U.K. Conservative-Liberal coalition government, these reforms have resulted in the exclusion of the humanities and social sciences from block funding (Holmwood 2011). This reform means these faculties are dependent on student choice; the student being directly funded through loans not the university (Holmwood 2011).

2.8.8 Lack of balance between collegial and performative cultures

Research indicates that strategic planning in universities in Australia lacks balance due to the need to satisfy governmental requirements for greater market efficiency and performativity (Pick 2011, Sharrock 2012, Christopher 2012 & Christopher & Leung 2015). However, there is a lack of identifiable management mechanisms for resolving tensions between the previous public-collegial culture and the performative managerial culture (Christopher 2012 & Christopher & Leung 2015). For example, Aspromourgos (2014) and Blackmore (2014) assert that research is prioritized in the strategic planning programs of universities. Therefore, Sharrock (2010, p. 375) advises that university strategic planning managers need to remember that 'scholars are essential to the work of an enterprise whose mission can't be pursued without their expertise, good will and hard work'. In addition, Marginson (2010) argues that higher education governance and management processes, developed to satisfy national objectives, need to be reengineered to accommodate previous concepts of the public good and the public interest. A space needs to be created in institutions for securing 'the intellectual freedom and autonomy that are essential to a scholar's identity' (Sharrock 2010, p. 375).

2.8.9 The impact of the reflexive university on academic identity

Globalisation has an impact on the cultural and economic reconfiguration process in higher education institutions (Marginson 2010, p. 6963). National policy makers, higher education leaders and institutions are subject to 'global flows and forces' and their responses vary in the manner in which they engage with these forces (Marginson 2010, p. 6965). In their role as significant contributors to the knowledge economy, universities 'confront complexity, novelty and instability' as they operate in a 'multilevel' and 'multidimensional' environment (Henkel 2009, p. 6). As a result of being exposed to both the risks and opportunities associated with globalization, higher education is in a permanent state of adaption (Henkel 2009 & Pick 2004).

The shift to institutional reflexivity in Australian universities, following various policy reviews of higher education since the mid 1980's, has resulted in Australian universities being dislodged 'from their role as vehicles of national cultural, social and economic development' (Pick 2004, p. 109). Due to Australian universities having been

restructured to focus on economic outputs and investment in human capital, they are obliged to 'continually rework themselves in order to function effectively in globalized markets characterized by 'flux and uncertainty' (Pick 2004, p. 111). Consequently, 'not only are Australian universities one of the main mediating agents of individualization, they themselves are undergoing a similar process at an institutional level' (Pick 2004, p. 109).

Furthermore, the disembedding process taking place in in higher education has also resulted in the reconfiguration of collegiality and sense of identity as academics become reembedded into individualized work cultures (Pick 2004). Although 'people's lives are differentiated' by the techniques of management associated with the new order, 'they are at the same time standardized by the legalities and norms set by society's institutions' (Pick 2004, p. 105). Pick's depiction of the individualized and reflexive Australian higher education culture, fails to align with the concept of institutional reflexivity in which expert systems become 'defacto public spheres of democratic and rational will formation' (Lash 1994, p. 198). However, according to Baird (2014), the bureaucratic nature of the Australian managerial system limits institutional reflexivity:

> The highly-elaborated bureaucratic and technocratic systems that now characterise Australian universities are at odds with the fast and fluid exchange of knowledge and expertise that reflects the inroads of "liquid modernity" into established structures (Baird 2014, p. 160).

The remnants of the previous public/collegial culture further complicate the type of reflexivity practised in this institution and its impact on academic identity. The shifting power relations between the institution, the department and the discipline also impact on academic identity (Henkel 2005). This means, academics 'are now grappling with a fluid identity' (Billot 2010, p. 718). Blackmore (2003) argues that individualised academics are obliged to reinvent their identity to reflect the desired performative values. Consequently, it is necessary for new conceptualisations of academic identity due to the break own of the 'pre-modern' conditions and practices, which sustained 'strong, stable academic identities, sustained internally by the structures and cultures of academic systems' (Henkel 2009, p. 7). The relationship between the reflexive university and the construction of academic identity is a significant theme in this study and is explored further in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

2.9 Purpose of the next chapter

Given that power relations are fluid and contested in all forms of liberal governmentality, identity construction in late modernity, involves factors beyond the subjugation of the governed by the discourses preferred by the prevailing regime of truth (Foucault 1980). For example, as academics are now part of a wider web of governmentality which includes competing regulatory bodies (Dow & Braithewaite 2013), therefore their identity is the subject of a range of external influences. In addition, according to the literature reviewed, discursive processes are subject to the influence of local cultural and social practices (Kjǣr & Pederson 2001, Dean 2012, Theodore & Peck 2012 & Waquant 2012). Therefore, the next chapter explores other sources impacting on the construction of academic identity.

Chapter 3: Identity construction in higher education

3.1 Introduction and purpose of this chapter

The previous chapter focussed on exploring neoliberal policy and governance in general as well as its specific impact on higher education in Australia since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. However, we also saw how all forms of liberal governmentality share common principles such as free markets, performativity and a focus on the individual. However, we also saw that all forms of liberal governmentality involve interplay between the techniques of domination and the technologies of the self (Foucault 1982, Burchell 1996, Rose 1996, Miller & Rose 2008, Dean 2010 & Lemke 2012). In fact, it is the extent of the resistance between these technologies which provides an unstable domain in liberal governmentality and therefore provide opportunities for resistance (Burchell 1996 & Lemke 2012). For example, higher education in Australia is now subject to a myriad of external regulatory bodies and agencies which compete to influence the governance of the higher education sector (Dow & Braithewaite 2013). This means that regulatory bodies may have different policy positions and represent different stakeholder interests to that of the Australian Federal Government. Given that power is contested in all forms of liberal governmentality, identity construction, therefore, involves more than the subjugation of the governed by the governing due to gaps in the discourse which can be accessed.

However, we also saw that despite the processes of governmentalizaton, being presented as the product of rationalised discourse by a range of governmentality theorists, Foucault (1980) advises that every society has its 'regime of truth' in which some discourses are more acceptable than others. For example, in Chapter 2 of this thesis, we saw how the regime of truth in higher education in Australia has shifted towards a neoliberal orientation over the last thirty years (Rivzi & Lingard 2011). We also saw how this shift has resulted in learning now being 'defined, arranged, valued and planned in market terms' (Rivzi & Lingard 2009, p. 446). Furthermore, we saw that although Foucault advised that there is always leeway for resistance in and between the competing discourses, more recent research has queried the extent to which the

technologies of the self can resist the powerful normalized discourses in neoliberal governmentality. For example, Gillies (2011) questioned whether neoliberal technologies of the self, like agility and flexibility, represent anything more than mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the dominant discourse. Furthermore, research on resistance in neoliberalism indicates that when resistance is situated within power, resistance will be different to past forms of resistance (Ball & Olmedo 2013). In fact, resistance is more likely to be micro resistance (Thomas & Davies 2005 & Anderson 2008). As identity construction is a complex issue in neoliberalism, this chapter explores some of the complexities involved.

3.2 Identity construction theories in late modernity

3.2.1 Identity construction in the age of '*homo economicus*'

Individualization and globalisation are interdependent in late or reflexive modernity. In the era of globalization, 'globalizing tendencies intrude deeply into the reflexive project of the self' but conversely 'processes of self-realization influence global strategies' through 'the politics of choice' or life politics (Giddens 1991, p. 214). Late modernity as opposed to modernity is characterized by risk. Therefore, over the last thirty years or so, many nation states in the west and elsewhere have restructured their economies to cope with the risks associated with globalization. In Australia for example, the Hawke-Keating Labor Federal Government (1983-1996) adopted neoliberal policies to prepare the economy for globalization. As part of this restructuring package, the 1988 Dawkins Reforms resulted in the implementation of a form of new public management (NPM) in higher education. These reforms were designed to increase market efficiency and performativity. However, these reforms also promote the individualization of the academic workforce through technologies of management like principal/agency relationships (Olssen & Peters 2005). Consequently in the era of individualization, forms of resistance will be different (Thomas & Davies 2005). In the global and individualized environment, existing technologies of management such as traditional collegiality and academic tenure make way for individualized management practices.

In the globalized social order, dominated by risk, reflexivity is the new imperative (Archer 2012). However, universities are cultural depositories of scholarly values as they are colonized by academics who belong to long established disciplinary discourses with localized values (Trowler 2012). Furthermore, research by Christopher (2012) & Christopher & Leung (2015) indicates that Vice-Chancellors of Australian universities are aware of the need to accommodate these values. In addition, higher education in Australia remains a quasi-market in order to serve the 'public good nature of knowledge' and 'forms of status competition' (Marginson 2012, p. 367). For these reasons, academics are situated in an environment in which scholarly values and the notion of the public good still compete with the state driven neoliberal concepts of market efficiency and performativity. Therefore, a range of identity construction theories in late modernity are explored in this chapter in terms of their applicability to higher education.

3.2.2 The increased incidence of reflexivity in late modernity

Reflexivity has been a feature of all societies. Rose (1996) argues that reflexivity has characterized liberal governmentality since its inception. This is because it is an integral element of the ongoing scrutiny of the legitimacy of the particular political rationality being exercised over others (Rose 1996). In fact, liberalism incorporates 'a continual dissatisfaction with government, a perpetual questioning of whether the desired effects are being produced, of the mistakes or thought or policy that hamper the efficacy of government' (Rose 1996, p. 47). Furthermore, Archer (2012, p. 1) argues 'No reflexivity; no society'. However, despite agreement that reflexivity is prevalent in late modernity or reflexive modernity, theories on reflexivity vary in emphasis. For example, some theorists emphasise a cultural and social dimension to reflexivity whereas other theorists emphasize the project and new individualism dimensions.

In late modernity it has become more necessary to rely on 'personal concerns as a compass' due to a decrease in habitus as a reliable guide' (Archer 2012, p. 1). Therefore:

> Reflexive deliberation is increasingly inescapable in order to endorse a course of
> action held likely to accomplish it; self- interrogation, self- monitoring and self-

revision are now necessary given that everyone unavoidably becomes their own guide (Archer 2010, p. 285).

Archer (2012, p. 7) argues that because reflexive deliberation requires an awareness, analysis and monitoring of the social context, a reflexive response is a result of the formula 'social context + personal concerns'. Archer (2012) distinguishes four types of reflexivity: communicative reflexivity, autonomous reflexivity, meta-reflexivity and fractured reflexivity. Communicative reflexivity, which assists contextual continuity, is defined by Archer (2012, p. 13) as involving internal conversations 'which need to be confirmed by others' prior to completion. In contrast, autonomous reflexivity which is associated more with contextual discontinuity involves internal conversations which are 'self-contained' and lead 'directly to action' (Archer 2012, p. 13). In fact, autonomous reflexivity is the natural response of '*homo economicus* on which neoliberalism is founded', as '*homo economicus'* is motivated entirely by economic self-interest (Archer 2012, p. 203). However, despite the increased incidence of autonomous reflexivity in late modernity, Archer (2012) rejects the proposition that the future social order represents nothing more than institutionalized individualism on the basis that although modernity has produced changes to existing cultural and social structures, it has not diminished them to the extent argued by Beck (1994) and Giddens (1991 & 1994).

3.2.3   The disembedding of traditional structures

In the reflexive stage of modernity, reflexive modernists such as Beck (1994) and Giddens (1991 & 1994) argue that the traditional structures of society have been disembedded and replaced by newer forms due to a combination of globalisation and its associated risks. For example, established structures like class, status and gender roles are transformed and traditional political processes bypassed (Beck 1994). However, despite the dissolution of traditional structures, individuals have to engage in 'in day-to-day decisions on how to behave' (Giddens,1991, p.14). For example, the welfare state has promoted the responsibilization of individuals by the welfare state has made individuals, not families or other traditional social institutions, the 'stage director of his or her own biography, identity, social networks, commitments and convictions' (Beck 1994, p. 14). As a result, 'it is becoming questionable to assume that collective units of meaning and action exist'

(Beck-Gernsheim 2009, p. 28). However, although individuals have been made responsible for their own well-being by the state with declining assistance from the traditional structures they had relied on, new structures such as expert systems have emerged to support them in their reflexive project of the self.

In contrast, Archer (2010) argues that the intensified reflexivity of late modernity, guided by habitus, impacts on the level of interplay between agency and structure and therefore, results in the social order being reformed through a process of structuring and restructuring. Therefore, it is not valid to argue that all structures are dissolving due to extended reflexivity (Archer 2010). The morphogenetic relationship between culture, structure and agency, involving both habitus and reflexivity, described by Archer (2010) contrasts with the more radical reflexive order described by Beck (1994) and Giddens (1991 & 1994), in which the social structures associated with habitus, are being overtaken by expert systems colonised by expert knowledge.

3.2.4 Institutional reflexivity and expert systems

Modern nation states are 'a prime example of a more general feature of modernity, the rise of the *organisation'* (Giddens 1991, p. 15). Furthermore, institutions mediate reflexivity:

> What distinguishes modern organizations is not so much their size, or their bureaucratic character, as the concentrated reflexive monitoring they both permit and entail. Who says modernity says not just organizations, but organization – the regularised control of social relations across indefinite time-space distances (Giddens 1991, p. 16).

In fact, 'modern states are reflexively monitored systems which, even if they do not "act" in the strict sense of the term, follow coordinated policies and plans on a geopolitical scale' (Giddens 1991, p. 15). Giddens (1991, p. 20) defines 'institutional reflexivity' as 'the regularised use of knowledge about circumstances of social life as a constitutive element in its organisation and transformation'. Giddens distinguishes the reflexivity characterising reflexive modernity from the 'reflexive monitoring of action intrinsic to all human activity' as a result of social relations being subject to 'chronic revision in the light of new information or knowledge' (Giddens 1991, p. 20).

In reflexive modernization, individualized solutions are now guided by expert systems, as opposed to habitus. According to Giddens (1991 and Beck (1994), expert systems provide new opportunities for participation in the public domain. The new politics associated with reflexive modernization involves a shift from centralized politics to 'sub politics' or 'life politics' and is populated by a new group of experts (Beck 1994, pp. 17-19). In the emergent social order characterized by new global and personal concerns, it is possible 'to forge new, politically open, creative forms of bond and alliance' (Beck-Gernsheim 2009, p. 33). In the era of specialisation which underpins expert systems, knowledge is theoretically 'available to everyone, had they but the resources, time and energy to acquire it' (Giddens 1991, p. 30). Consequently, in the absence of traditional structures to guide the individual, the 'reflexive project of the self' is now carried out 'in the context of multiple choice' which is 'filtered through contact with expert knowledge' (Giddens 1991, p. 5). Therefore, 'Gidden's notion of institutional reflexivity involves (as does Beck's) the transformation of expert-systems into democratically dialogical and politically public spheres' (Lash 1994, p. 203). This is because expert systems are open to 'democratic debate and contestation from the lay population' (Lash 1994, p. 198).

Reflexivity, which was previously associated with individuals, has become institutional due to expert systems and institutions becoming 'defacto public spheres of democratic and rational will formation', thereby, resulting in institutional reflexivity (Lash 1994, p. 198). Like Giddens (1991), Beinhocker (2013) also argues that that reflexivity has been extended beyond the scope of the individual to the system in late modernity. Beinhocker (2013, p. 331) argues that the term reflexivity 'has generally been used to describe processes where an observer is a participant in a system and there is a two way feedback between the participant/observer and the system'. Furthermore, Soros (2013) and Beinhocker (2013) both argue, that since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, some economists have realized the need to recognize the inherent reflexivity of the economy. Systems have become reflexive and individuals are embedded in reflexive systems (Beinhocker 2013).

Beinhocker (2013, p. 331), in building on the work of Soros (2013), distinguishes reflexive systems from other types of systems on the basis that in reflexive systems, there can be 'possibly multiple agents interacting with each other' in pursuing their goals in 'that environment':

> The agents must have some way of receiving information about their environment, perceiving the state of that environment, comparing that perceived state against the goal state, and identifying gaps between the perceived state and the goal state (Beinhocker 2013, p. 331).

Furthermore, two additional elements distinguish a complex reflexive system from a dynamic feedback system. These are:

> *Internal model updating*: the internal decision model of the agents is not fixed, but itself can change in response to interactions between the agent and its environment; thus, there is feedback between the perception of the environment and the agent's internal model.

> *Complexity:* The system in which the agent is embedded in is complex in two senses: the system has interactive complexity due to multiple interactions between heterogeneous agents and the system has dynamic complexity due to nonlinearity in feedbacks in the system (Beinhocker 2013, p. 332).

In the entrepreneurial environment in which Australian higher education now operates the university as part of the knowledge economy. Higher education is, therefore, part of a wider web of governmentality or complex system in which reflexivity is a given.

3.2.5   Limitations of expert and reflexive systems

Unlike the dominant forms of subjugation, associated with simple modernity, individualization in reflexive modernization is described as offering 'autonomous subjectivity':

> If simple modernization gives us Foucault's scenario of atomization, normalization and individuation, then the reflexive counterpart opens up genuine individualization, opens up positive possibilities of autonomous subjectivity in regard to the natural, social and psychic environments possible (Lash 1994, p. 118).

However, the degree to which expert systems facilitate the democratic desires of lay people is conditional on values like trust. For example, Giddens describes 'active trust' emerging 'when institutions become reflexive and the propositions of

the experts are opened up for critique and contestation' (Lash, p. 201). Trust is an important element of institutional reflexivity in post modernity, as unlike truth in traditional society, truth in post modernity is propositional and contestable:

> The propositional truth from this democratically validated expert knowledge – which is global, that is universal and valid in any place – is then appropriated by social actors in everyday life (Lash 1994, p. 203).

In addition, the 'democratically validated expert knowledge' manifested in expert systems also represents the product of normalizing discourses (Lash 1994, p. 199). Therefore, Lash (1994, p. 207) criticizes Beck (1994) and Giddens (1994) for concentrating on the role of the experts in mediating change at the institutional level through sub-politics because they neglect the 'grass roots' and cultural element in everyday life. In fact, institutions are cultural in nature and the arbiters of cultural values (Lash 1994).

Beck (1994) and Giddens (1994) perceive reflexivity in late modernity as largely empowering individuals. This is due to the emergence of new political forms interacting with institutions and the empowerment of the individual through self-actualization. However, Lash (1994) is more critical of the empowerment element as reflexive modernization favours those with more access to new information. For example, Lash (1994, p. 120) queries the degree of reflexivity available to those employed in downgraded manufacturing jobs, the 'MacDonald's precariat' and the reflexive capability of a single mother in an urban ghetto. Furthermore, Zhao and Biesta (2011, p. 337) claim Giddens' concept of self-actualization, which is 'self-referential' in scope due to traditional moral frameworks losing their authority, is a morally defective world view as it bypasses established values. Therefore, in a precarious work environment in which some people have more options than others, it is difficult to appreciate how institutional reflexivity based on expert systems enables any more leeway for lay members, due to their lack of options, than the discourses of domination described by Foucault.

However, the literature reviewed in this thesis indicates the expert specialists steering the managerial systems in higher education have more power to regulate the direction of the system than the academics they coordinate. For example, the information flow and feedback in these systems is controlled through hierarchical principal/agency type

relationships (Olssen & Peters 2005). It is also controlled by the expert specialists appointed to coordinate managerial and quality objectives at the faculty level (Marginson 2009, McInness 2009, Cowen 2010, Rowlands 2012, Baird 2014 & Craig et al 2014). As a result, the 'dynamic complexity due to nonlinearity in feedbacks in the system' may be less present than that described by Beinhocker (2013, p. 332) in Section 3.2.4 above. For example, in Bauman's (2000) interpretation of identity in late modernity, there are no permanent mediating structures to assist individuals manage the project of the self. In contrast, individuals are responsible for resorting to their own wits to manage their own lives in the relentlessly shifting sands of 'liquid modernity'. Late modernity is characterized by the individual being pitted against society.

3.2.6 Post-modern identity in network society

In Bauman's (2000) representation of 'liquid modernity' in late modernity, all structures are subject to impermanence. In contrast to the reflexive modernization described by Beck (1994) and Giddens (1991), there are no new permanent replacement structures to replace those that have been disembedded. In fact, individuals are cast as partners with society in a shifting landscape from which there is no escape:

> That casting, however, was not a one-off act; it is an activity re-enacted daily. Modern society exists in its incessant activity of "individualizing" as much as the activities of individuals consist in the daily reshaping and renegotiating of the network of mutual entanglements called "society". Neither of these two partners stays put for long (Bauman 2000, p. 31).

In this scenario, identity is no longer something which is taken for granted. Instead it represents the outcome of tasks allocated to individual actors who accept the consequences of their performance (Bauman 2000). In contrast to the expert systems mediated by newly embedded open and democratic processes in institutions (Giddens 1991 & Beck 1994), networks are the new modus operandi according to Bauman (2007). This is liquid modernity.

In globalised capitalism, in which society has been transformed from a structure to a network, the success of individuals is related to access to networks. Networks are characterised by a 'matrix of random connections and disconnections and an essentially infinite volume of possible permutations' (Bauman 2007, p. 1). Consequently,

individuals need to not only position themselves advantageously at either the centre of networks or the interface of multiple networks as well as learn how to quickly jump from one to another (Bauman 2005). Therefore, in the 'ongoing individuality play', individuals are kept in a perpetual state of change from which there is no option to escape (Bauman 2000, p. 22). There are only 'musical chairs to occupy' in the re-embedding process as opposed to the availability of different beds to occupy in early modernity (Bauman 2000, pp 31-33). Consequently, progress will be individualised rather than collective with individuals being expected to 'use their own wits, resources and industry to lift themselves to a more satisfactory condition' (Bauman 2000, p. 135). However, some have more control than others due to their 'capacity to control the social settings which render such self-assertion feasible' (Bauman 2000, p. 38).

3.2.7   New individualism is a product of neoliberalism

The pressure on instant transformation in today's globalized world, with its accompanying fears, anxiety and uncertainty, distinguishes new individualism from the individualization described in reflexive modernization. Elliot (2009 & 2012) links the phenomenon of new individualism to neoliberal ideology and its individualizing concepts such as self-responsibility and personal choice. These concepts, which have been normalized in recent years, are promoted by the neoliberal state to the extent that perceiving one's life as a as a project of the self 'is deeply rooted as both a social norm and cultural obligation' (Elliot 2009, p. 60). However, Elliot (2009) does not perceive new individualism as offering the benefits of self–actualization, described by Beck (1994) and Giddens (1994) due to the ongoing pressure on individuals to continuously reinvent themselves.

The state of being of individuals described by Elliot (2009) is more similar to those individuals in liquid modernity who rely on their own wits to survive in a society characterized by uncertainty change and reinvention (Bauman 2000). In fact, Elliot (2012, p. 353) argues that 'the high-tech culture of globalization and its associated short-termism' has produced 'a new paradigm of self-making in which reinvention is the key'. Furthermore, the impact of market forces on social relations has led to 'a shift from a politicized culture to a privatized culture ' as people seek 'personal solutions to

social problems - in the hope of shutting out the risks, terrors and persecutions that dominate life in the global age' (Elliot 2009, p. 62). However, unlike Bauman (2000), Elliot (2012) argues that identity construction in neoliberal society is the result of a political process.

> What is obvious from current cultural struggles over the fate of the self is the contested, tensional, critical and above all, political nature of the process of identity constitution and reconstruction (Elliot 2012, p. 353).

In the era of 'globalisation, new information technologies and multinational capitalism' individualism is a product of the more recent 'neoliberal crusade to free individual initiative from the controls of the state' (Elliot 2009, p. 60). In contrast to Elliot (2009), the identity theories of the reflexive modernists ignore the relationship between the régime of truth and the subsequent preferences awarded to some discourses over others identified by Foucault (1980). Therefore, the theories of Elliot (2009) are more consistent with the concept of the régime of truth (Foucault 1980). In higher education in Australia, the régime of truth impacting on academic identity construction is neoliberal policy and governance.

3.2.8 Limitations to self -actualization in network society

The capacity for self-actualization in global society in which local structures designed to protect employees have been dissembedded is contestable. In fact, Bauman (2009) queries the degree of political agency available to atomised individuals in network society, where real power is global power, not localised power:

> There can be no rational response to the rising précarité of human conditions so long as such a response is to be confined to the individual's action; the irrationality of possible responses is inescapable, given that the scope of life politics and of the network of forces which determine its conditions are, purely and simply, incomparable and widely disproportionate (Bauman 2009, p. 9).

In the precarious workforce in late modernity, employees voluntarily discipline themselves on short term projects in order to stay afloat:

> No one has to force the runners to keep running; as far as the fitness to stay in the race is concerned, the burden of proof has shifted decisively to the runners and to all those who wish to join the race (Bauman 2005, p. 130).

Furthermore, 'as globalisation proceeded, and as governments and corporations chased each other in making their labour relations more flexible, the number of people in insecure forms of labour multiplied' (Standing 2011, p. 6). Consequently, a precarious class has emerged which cannot be defined in terms of traditional class concepts, like income, as it includes professional people and others on short term contracts, the casual workforce as well as migrants (Standing 2011). Many academics in higher education in Australia have now joined the precarious class. For example, a NTEU survey reported '52% of casuals and early career researchers related intellectual freedom to job security' despite reference to the intrinsic value of intellectual freedom in Commonwealth legislation in 2011 (NTEU 2012, p. 24).

Members of the precarious underclass are unlikely to be in a position to be able to individually contest corporate policy in large organizations like universities. As a consequence, casual workers are 'like docile workers on the assembly line expected to serve the corporate mission without question if they want to keep their jobs' (Thornton 2007, p. 23). Furthermore, as a result of their lack of permanence in the workforce and their more limited range of rights, the precariat experience 'Anger, Anomie, Anxiety and Alienation' (Standing 2011, p. 12). These states of being are not those associated with a state of empowerment in the workforce but, in contrast, a state of disempowerment.

3.2.9 The transition from individualization to resistance identity

Castells (2010) draws a different conclusion to Bauman about the impact of globalisation, the rise of global elites and network society in relationship in relationship to forms of resistance. While Bauman (2000) concludes that progress will be individualized rather than collective, due to the rise of global power at the expense of localized power, Castells (2010) proposes that communal resistance is the solution to the atomisation of the individual in this stage of modernity. Castells (2010, p. 8) distinguishes between 'three forms and origins of identity building'; these being: legitimizing identity, resistance identity and project identity. Legitimizing identity produces civil society. This identity is constructed when the dominant institutions of the state interact dynamically with 'structured and

organised social actors', which although sometimes conflicted, produces 'an identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination' (Castells 2010, p. 8). In contrast, 'resistance identity' arises from the collective resistance by particular segments of society to perceived exclusion from society (Castells 2010, p. 9). While Castells (2010) essentially agrees with Giddens' analysis of the construction of the self as a project in late modernity, he advises, like Bauman (2000), that the rise of the network society has introduced a new factor into identity construction. This is because the rise of network society has made the 'reflexively organized life planning', described by Giddens (1991 & 1994), 'impossible except for the elite inhabiting the timeless space of flows of global networks and their ancillary locales' (Castells 2010, p. 11).

Civil society is in retreat. Unlike modernity, where project identities could be constituted through the processes of civil society, they are no longer built 'on the basis of civil societies, which are in the process of disintegration' (Castells 2010, p. 11). In contrast, due to the increasing 'systemic disjunction between the global and local level for most individuals and social groups', the quest for meaning will involve building 'defensive identities around communal principles' (Castells 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, identities are different to roles as identities involve conscious construction by individual themselves. Roles are defined by external sources like normalized discourses, whereas 'identities are stronger sources of meaning' because they result from 'processes of self–construction' Castells (2010, p. 7). The question, therefore, arises as to the extent to which academics consciously construct their own identity or identities or whether their identities are a by-product of the roles they perform within the discourses associated with power/knowledge.

3.2.10 Impact of intensified reflexivity on identity construction

Overall, the literature reviewed on the impact of risk due to globalisation and the emergence of network society on the construction of identity indicates that individuals have become individualized in late modernity. They are therefore responsible for both the choices they make and the consequences of those

choices. However, the literature reviewed also suggests that the degree of reflexivity available to individuals is related to their acquisition of expert knowledge or access to expert systems or global networks. For example, Bauman (2009) considers the impact an atomised individual can have on global forces in network society is considered a disproportionate contest. In contrast, the rise of network society is perceived as limiting the capacity for individuals to construct their own project identity as they did in earlier stages of modernity (Bauman 2000). Unlike Bauman, Castells proposes that 'defensive identities' are now developed around 'communal principles' (Castells 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, Elliot (2009) links the phenomenon of new individualism to the rise of the neoliberal state with its objective of freeing individual initiative from the mechanisms of the state and the need for instant transformation. However, these objectives have resulted in additional pressures on individuals to comply with the normalized managerial discourse or face the threat of being marginalized by the discourse (Elliot 2009).

Therefore, from the literature reviewed, it could be argued that universities as agents or franchisees of the knowledge economy represent a reflexive system charged with the delivery of services required to satisfy changing national and global forces. This situation is consistent with the state of institutional reflexivity described by both Giddens 1991 and Beck (1994) but without the advantages of self- actualization which they attach to expert systems due to the hierarchical nature of principal/agency relationships implemented in higher education. For these reasons, the expert managerial systems colonised by specialists in higher education are more consistent with the dominant Foucauldian technologies of management influenced by the prevailing regime of truth.

Overall, the reflexive modernization theories of Giddens (1991) and Beck (1994) are highly relevant to higher education in Australia following the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins reforms. This is because both Beck (1994) and Giddens (1991) have related the phenomenon of individualization to 'various institutional forces operating at a global level' (Elliot 2012, p. 351). However, the literature reviewed also indicates, that although academics are subject to the various forces operating at a global level, these forces are driven by a neoliberal global social

imaginary which prioritizes market forces. Therefore, higher education in Australia since the 1988 Dawkins reforms has not been exempt from market fluctuations in the globalized economy. Consequently, universities have had no option other than to become reflexive institutions in order to respond to changing external market conditions and, as a result, remain viable in the new global order.

3.3 Reflexivity in higher education
3.3.1 The unbounded strategic university

In late modernity, the university no longer occupies a privileged space whereby it was largely self- regulated by a community of scholars who were responsible for defining the course of academic enquiry it pursued. Universities now operate in a dynamic environment which is subject to external forces (Delanty 2008 & Henkel 2009). Since higher education was redefined as a significant contributor to the knowledge society, universities have had to gear up to be able to confront the novel circumstances and opportunities provided by a 'multidimensional' and 'multi-dimensional' environment (Henkel 2009, p. 6). For example, science is no longer divorced from society as 'contemporary society speaks back to science' (Henkel 2009, p. 6). As a result, institutions are 'no longer a closed system of structure' which is stable but, in contrast, it is a process which responds to change and has the capacity for change built into it (Delanty 2008). In other words, it is a reflexive system. Due to the fluid nature of universities, they represent 'clearing houses for new identities' (Delanty 2008, p. 127).

Trowler (2012) explains that academics are more conditioned now by external processes than internal processes. This is because 'universities and individual departments are open, natural systems, not the ivory towers of legend' (Trowler 2012, p. 29). In fact, the individual academic has been de-centred due to being 'part of a network of things and other people that operate relationally' (Trowler 2012, p. 31). Consequently, academic identity is no longer developed in stable communities of practice with enduring authority structures. In contrast, the changed 'ideological framework', which expects universities to contribute to the national good and which requires academics to function outside their previous 'bounded space', necessitates the rethinking of autonomy (Henkel 2007, pp. 93-94). In fact, universities, like other

organisations in late modernity, need to 'reflect on and learn from their practices in order to be more flexible, efficient and/or profitable, and/or effective' and effectively engage their employees (Edwards 2006, p. 382).

3.3.2 Reflexivity in higher education in Australia

Due to the market forces of globalization, higher education is in a permanent state of adaptation. Consequently, universities not only mediate individualization, they themselves have become reflexive:

> In the language of reflexive modernization theory, not only are Australian universities one of the main mediating agents of individualization, they themselves are undergoing a similar process at an institutional level (Pick 2004, p. 109).

The shift to institutional reflexivity in Australian universities is a function of the Australian Government's commitment 'to pursue a policy trajectory that is effectively a decision to let globalization run its course without intervention' (Pick 2004, p. 109). This particular national policy orientation has resulted in various policy reviews, in higher education since the mid 1980's, which have 'disembedded Australian universities from their role as vehicles of national cultural, social and economic development' (Pick 2004, p. 109). In contrast, these policy reviews have focussed 'on the economic value of outputs and the private benefits people accrue from a university education (Pick 2004, p. 109). Therefore, Australian universities have no other option except to 'continually rework themselves in order to function effectively in the emerging international market place' characterized by 'flux and uncertainty' (Pick 2004, p. 111).

In the dynamic and fluid global market place, institutions and academics are both in an ongoing struggle to position themselves favourably. As a result, front line academic leaders 'need to understand their own situation well, and what will work and not work' (Trowler 2012, p. 34). This process involves institutional reflexivity. This means discourses are mediated through faculty level academic structural units, managed by professorial level academics, who are reflexively engaged in positioning their faculty advantageously within the corporate management discourse. For example, Deans are

now expected to represent the management line of the university while bridging the gap with 'scholarly professionalism' (Sharrock 2010, p. 367). University Councils are now increasingly 'colonised by experts in finance, law and business management' and the Vice-Chancellor, who performs the role of Chief Executive Officer, is supported by managerial functions, like marketing and finance (Baird 2014, p. 152). In addition, specialists have been appointed by the executive to deal with external governance requirements in the faculties. Specialists include 'PVC's for quality, equity, community engagement' as well as 'various sub deans responsible for teaching and learning or research' (Baird 2014, p.154). Therefore, the expert systems and professional experts colonizing higher education following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms identified by McInness (2009) & Baird (2014) have resulted in practices, which were previously subject to mechanisms of collegial governance. Former practices, associated with collegiality, are now subject to neoliberal governance mechanisms such as centralised planning (Olssen & Peters 2005).

However, the implementation of expert systems colonised by experts, has not resulted in academics being 'any closer to central decision making' as it is the accountability of the new specialists to ensure faculty align with strategic plans (McIness 2009, p. 162). In contrast, specialist managers ensure that executive policy is coordinated and issues identified are referred upwards (Baird 2014). Furthermore, the managerial discourse is a disciplinary discourse. This is because the market is 'disciplinary in its effects', due to its 'substratum of forces, mechanisms and arrangement for order' (Lindsay 2014, p. 144). The emergence of this new administrative class means 'The management of knowledge production and dissemination has become the core work of universities, repositioning academics as managed professionals' (Blackmore 2003, pp. 4-5). Furthermore, as 'disciplinary power is exercised and deployed in techniques and norms framing, limiting and directing social relations', human relations in universities are now 'defined in terms of market relationships' (Lindsay 2014, p. 144). Consequently, universities represent reflexive systems of the type described by Beinhocker (2013). This is because there are levels of reflexivity operating in tandem in the entrepreneurial university.

The disembedding process taking place in higher education has resulted in the reconfiguration of collegiality, and sense of identity. This is because academics have been reembedded into self-governing, individualized work cultures based on competition, fixed term contracts, and individually negotiated conditions of service (Pick 2004). As a result of these policy directions, 'Australian universities are becoming consistently more reflexive and self-referential' (Pick 2004, p. 110). Consequently, Pick's (2004) depiction of the individualized and reflexive institutions in higher education, fails to align with the notion of institutional reflexivity in which expert systems become 'defacto public spheres of democratic and rational will formation' (Lash 1994, p. 198). In contrast, the bureaucratic nature of the Australian managerial system limits institutional reflexivity:

> The highly-elaborated bureaucratic and technocratic systems that now characterise Australian universities are at odds with the fast and fluid exchange of knowledge and expertise that reflects the inroads of "liquid modernity" into established structures (Baird 2014, p. 160).

Sections 3.2 and 3.3, above, have focussed on theories related to identity construction in globalization. These theories include the impact of the global economy, reflexive systems and institutions in shaping identity. Therefore, the following sections explore other forces in shaping identity. These forces include the influence of the disciplinary discourses, access to networks and the diversity of roles academics now perform in shaping identity.

3.4 Changing conditions shaping and academic identity

3.4.1 Faculties are now entrepreneurial knowledge producers

Faculties are now expected to align their plans with institutional objectives. Faculty and departmental workloads are no longer independent of the strategic objectives of the institution. For example, 'Workload management plans are closely tied to institutional strategic plans and operational targets' and 'research activities that contribute most to institutional performance are given priority status' (McInnis 2009, p. 159). However, institutional plans are adapted at the school and departmental level to accommodate local requirements or priorities. These negotiations include determining the type of academic work undertaken, negotiating research programs and instituting new educational programs (Henkel 2007, p. 94). Furthermore, cutting edge science

researchers, in research intensive universities, have used their academic status to negotiate entrepreneurial agendas while simultaneously maintaining their freedom (Henkel 2007, p. 96).

However, because the managerial discourse, in higher education, is performative in nature, academics are assessed on a range of hard data (Parker 2013 & Craig et al 2014). Therefore, performative evaluation measures force academics to play the game which can have a significant impact on academic freedom (Gendron 2008). For example, they may modify the direction of their research to meet external standards of excellence thus side lining projects which may not result in short term pay-offs (Gendron 2008). Therefore, academics engage in reflexivity in order to align their personal responses with changing institutional conditions. Consequently, the need to play the game impacts on identity as 'Being castigated as abnormal or outside the norm – or being fearful of being seen as abnormal – tends to incite effort to normalize and alter identity' (Gendron 2008, p. 106). Furthermore, the performative culture results in management being obsessed with the performance of their academic unit and the concept of the productive researcher (Gendron 2008). Those academic units which embrace the entrepreneurial culture successfully are the professional fields and multi-disciplinary units with ready access to markets and research funding and, therefore, less reliant on student fees (de Zilwa 2007). Their values also align more with managerial and market values than academic units whose values were less aligned and referenced the past (de Zilwa 2007).

3.4.2 Academic identity is flexible

The new role being performed by universities means they have had to create new management functions and organizational and policy development roles as well as work as partners with faculty management (Henkel 2009). Therefore, there are now multiple layers of management in higher education. For example, specialist roles have been created in the faculties to coordinate the implementation of corporate strategic goals in the faculty (Baird 2014). These positions which 'include associate deans positions with specialist designations such as teaching, research, international development industry or community relations', can be mirrored in schools and departments (McInnis 2009, p. 162). In addition, the inclusion of professionals from vocational areas as well as

increased opportunities for academics to work on cross-boundary projects in the university, in business and in the community, have resulted in the creation of new career paths (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010). The new reality is that most academics now 'have to perform many roles, ranging from teaching to research to administrative roles and entrepreneurialism' (Delanty 2008, p. 129).

Multiple identities have become more prevalent as academics move between and perform a wider range of roles. Due to the diverse roles academics now perform, identity is therefore contingent and academic identities are multiple in the unbounded university:

> Thus, it is something that is situated and contingent, involving interpretation and negotiation on the part of an individual, and identities are seen increasingly as being multiple, overlapping and provisional' (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, pp. 129-130).

Academics 'may find that in different contexts with different groups, they foreground different values, aspirations, strengths, and sources of self- esteem' but, they may also find that 'multiple identities may not be easily reconcilable' (Henkel 2009, p. 10). In fact academics are now 'pulled in many directions and many academics have difficulty performing all these roles' (Delanty 2008, p.129). However, Delanty (2008) like Castells (2010) distinguishes between role playing and identity:

> In terms of identity formation, the multi-positionality that results from role differentiation, does not necessarily lead to multiple identities, for not every role leads to identification with it. The majority of academics would appear to identify with teaching and research, preferring to leave administration to the professional administrator (Delanty 2008, p.129).

In fact, Delanty (2008, p. 130) argues that 'following Foucault', it is possible to perceive 'higher education as a system of governance that creates a variety of subject positions out of which emerge a great variety of voices and identities'.

Academic identity is becoming more flexible in a bid to respond to changing conditions. Flexible identities are also presented as a successful strategy for working the system. Smith (2012) found that academics in the health policy area who need to adopt entrepreneurial values for funding purposes, could role play one identity while simultaneously maintaining a

longer term goal or alternative view. Their hybrid identity resembles the 'flexians', in Wedel's (2009) study, who move between stakeholders by adopting 'flexible personas and messages to suit these different guises' (Smith 2012, p. 168). Therefore, identity is not a fixed property but is 'part of the lived complexity of a person's project' (Clegg 2008, p. 329).

Moreover, academic identity is actually expanding as opposed to being threatened. For example, 'none of her respondents identified in any simple way with their discipline' (Clegg 2008, p. 340). Although the rules of discourses limit options available, rules are subject to discretionary interpretation in implementing strategies or in adding value (Clegg 1994). For example, Lea & Steirer (2011, p. 612) report that an analysis of non-academic type texts, produced by academics, reveals that academics continue to build new identities and find 'authoritative spaces' in the constantly reconfiguring university. Therefore, despite the implementation of managerialism, 'academics have their own way of practising and a personal sphere of meaning of their own' (Clegg 2008, p. 343).

3.4.3 Changing boundaries lead to role redefinitions

Due to the diffusion of management roles throughout the institution and the cross boundary nature of emerging management roles, it is necessary to reconceptualise the definition of management as well as academics in the institution. For example, professionals and academics experience people management issues resulting from a lack of consensus about work, research and teaching practices (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010). As a consequence, the range of new career options for academics has an impact on identity:

> This phenomenon results in both convergence and divergence between academic and professional identities and also opens up spaces for new types of identity to emerge, with associated activities (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 130).

Winter (2009) argues two classes of academics have emerged with different identities. Academic identity has been reshaped 'around an idealised image of corporate efficiency' and 'entrepreneurialism and profit making ideals' which has resulted in two classes; the 'academic manager' and the 'managed academic' (Winter 2009, p. 122). While the values of the former align more with the organisation, the values of the latter

who reference traditional values, are incongruent with those managers who embody the performative culture (Winter 2009, p. 126). Tensions between the values of these two groups are also exacerbated by the rebadging of educational goals in consumer terminology instead of 'normative social-liberal values' (Winter 2012, pp. 566-567). However, 'managed academics' soon learn to 'internalize the behaviour of those who are watching them so that they become their own guardians' (Thornton 2007, p. 23). In addition, the casualized academic workforce promotes self- imposed conformance as casual workers focus on keeping their jobs (Thornton 2007).

However, while Whitchurch & Gordon (2010) acknowledge that the workplace has changed radically for academics, due to the introduction of cross-disciplinary projects and professional specialists, they do not see the problem in terms of class but more as a blurring of boundaries. Whitchurch & Gordon (2010, p. 135) argue that the trend of devolving management responsibilities further down the organisation, due to the need to manage more aspects of teaching and research, represents a blurring of lines between 'management' and the 'managed'. Therefore, due to the blurring of traditional demarcation lines between professionals and academics there is a need for universities to consider alternate structures 'that can accommodate multiple partnerships and lines of communication, as opposed to singular reporting routes and chains of command' (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 135). On the basis that the convergence and divergence between academics and professional staff is an emerging issue in the academy, the idea of a third space in which mutual issues can be discussed, is explored in the concluding chapters of this this thesis.

Overall, the literature reviewed reveals that academic identity is not fixed due to the new roles and challenges presented by the unbounded university. For example, Whitchurch & Gordon (2010) perceive academic identity as a cumulative project, involving the interplay of the agency of the individual with the structures and boundaries that they encounter both internally and externally. Moreover, the engagement of some academics in more unbounded type projects and joint ventures is also leading to these academics displaying 'a more freewheeling approach' than that of more bounded staff who are 'more strongly influenced by the rules, opportunities and

recognition criteria of the institution in which they work' (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 134).

The literature reviewed suggests that as the institution is no longer stable, academics have to adjust their identities accordingly. Therefore, in a complex environment of changing boundaries, 'the concept of embedded distinctiveness now competes with the more fluid idea of individual positioning in and between spaces' (Henkel 2009, p. 10). As a result of universities attempting to position themselves in relationship to other institutions 'disciplinary cultures generate significantly different organizational cultures within institutions at the level of the school or department that sharpen differences in academic identities' (McInnis 2009, p. 156).

As Section 3.4 above has explored the impact of the changing institution on academic identity, Section 3.5 below explores the impact of sets of values and understandings on academic identity.

3.5 A range of values shape academic identity

3.5.1 The influence of localised cultures

Academics belong to established disciplines with their own sets of knowledge, sets of understandings and systems of thinking:

> Reservoirs of knowledge resources shaping regularised behavioural practices, sets of discourses, ways of thinking, procedures, emotional responses and motivations. These provide structured dispositions for disciplinary practitioners who reshape them in different practice clusters into localised repertoires (Trowler 2012, p. 9).

The way things are done around here is a significant source of academic identity due to 'common background knowledge about key figures, conflicts and achievements' (Trowler 2012, p. 9). Furthermore, Trowler (2012) emphasises the significance of localised cultural practices:

> People in universities, departments and work groups engage in clusters of practices in different locales, and in so doing develop partly unique sets of recurrent behaviours and meanings about the world they are dealing with, ones that are particular to their location (Trowler 2012, p. 31).

Consequently, universities comprise 'different clusters of social practices in different locales within them –usually departments – as well as many commonalities (Trowler 2012, p. 31). In fact, the individual is decentred because 'knowledge lies not in a single person's head' but is situated in practice:

> Knowing, or knowledgeability, is situated in practices so that knowledgeability - and emotionality –is a constituent of practice. Intentionality, knowing, desiring and behaving are all tied into social practices. They are situationally contingent, therefore, and are distributed among the people and things which make up the practice (Trowler 2012, p. 31).

As a result, social practice theory (SPT) is a suitable mechanism for exploring both the disciplines and academic practice. This is because 'social practices always consist of patterned relations between human and things, including those things that together create the physical context of practice' (Trowler 2012, p. 31). The communal nature of academic practice identified by Trowler (2012) is consistent with the role communal factors perform in identity construction proposed by Castells (2010).

3.5.2   The influence of the disciplinary unit on academic identity

Faculties are still structured to reflect disciplinary structures. Despite the inroads made by managerialism into the faculty, through the creation of replicate corporate positions to coordinate corporate policy, the vast majority of academics are still located in disciplinary faculties housing disciplines. Therefore, disciplinary based faculties are still able to condition academics into the practices and values associated with their respective disciplinary departments:

> People are carriers of practices; they enact in specific ways a reservoir of ways of behaving, understanding and responding in ways which are to a certain extent particular to them in a social field (Trowler 2012, p. 32).

These disciplines still have their own hierarchical structures which include the authority to confer privilege or withdraw it (Trowler 2012, p. 9). Consequently, the disciplinary unit still remains a powerful influence in shaping identity. In fact, despite the challenges to the disciplinary unit, it remains 'the primary basic unit of higher education institutions' and therefore, 'academic commitment to it remains powerful' (Henkel 2009, p. 11). Therefore, 'disciplinary organization is still a model that is aspired to and reproduced by newer epistemic communities' (Henkel 2009, p. 11). However,

disciplines are also subject to change. Disciplines, like identity, are also reshaped by individuals in localised practices (Trowler 2012, p. 93).

Although, the disciplines continue to shape academic assumptions about professional performance values and standards (Ylijoki et al 2011), many academics experience ongoing tension in satisfying both managerial and academic values. This is due to 'economic-consumer conceptions of higher education and associated systems of corporate management are taking centre stage' in 'framing the nature of academic work and identity' (Winter & O' Donohue 2012, p. 566). Although the majority of academics still preference professional values over managerial values (Sharrock 2012), 'managerial, bureaucratic and market driven structures have been superimposed onto disciplinary practises, changing the climate of university departments' (Miller 2007, p. 105).

Power relations are fluid between the institution, the discipline and the department with some being more privileged than others (Pilbeam 2009). While the institution has been viewed as dominant in shaping identity, and the department the nexus between the institution and the discipline, they are both experiencing challenges (Henkel 2005). For example, departments are emerging as forces of power with their own sub cultures, although the institution is more influential than the discipline in key areas such as responsibilities, workload, students and research (Lee 2009). Departments traditionally implement and shape disciplines through the delivery of subjects. While the discipline is related to 'the field of study', the subject 'is more concrete in form and more likely to be used in relation to teaching' (Trowler 2012, p. 11). Henkel (2002) emphasises the co-dependent relationship between the institution and the department and the influence of the department over both academic dispositions and the discipline:

> Membership of a department can influence individual orientations to the discipline, through the media of collective responsibilities and day to day dialogue. At the same time, departments are constructs of the enterprise, as well as being crucial to its well- being. Both departments and enterprises, as local and defined entities are, arguably, more open than the invisible colleges of the disciplines to the influence of other bodies with their own agendas. They might, however, derive power from those other bodies (Henkel 2002, pp.138-139).

Spurling (2012) refers to the tension experienced by departments in mediating their own research objectives with institutional objectives in order to maximize their research opportunities. In addition, the adhocracy, involving the interdisciplinary interaction required to produce funding, undermines both the 'collegiate and disciplinary focus of most departments' (Pilbeam 2009, p. 350). Henkel (2002, p. 138) also acknowledges that departments 'experience tension in reconciling their objectives with those of the institution' but she also notes that weak departments are more dependent on the institution than strong departments.

3.5.3 The role of collegiality in shaping academic identity

The spirit of collegiality, which also embodies academic autonomy, is central to the purpose of a university in terms of its teaching and research agenda:

> There is a powerful belief that the university cannot fulfil its central functions of teaching and research unless academics act collegially. For teaching, this means that degree programmes have to be organised to create a coherent intellectual identity from the input of individual tutors, and that the various pedagogical strands (for example, tutorials, seminars and lectures) have to complement one another. For research to blossom there needs to be the continuous exchange of ideas (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010, p. 3).

Therefore, managerial values like performativity do not substitute for an absence of intellectual values in assuring quality research or teaching programs. In contrast, intellectual collegiality is the unifying and value adding factor. Without this factor, the courses provided by universities would resort to being skills based vocational training courses which emphasise competency not intellectual vigour (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010). As a result, academics 'hold collegiality high on their list of defining values' (McInnis 2009, p. 150).

Intellectual collegiality is defined by Tapper and Palfreyman (2010, p. 17) as one of the four core elements comprising the traditional notion of collegiality; the others being 'a federal structure of governance,' 'donnish dominion' and 'commensality'. However, intellectual collegiality is not something confined to interdisciplinary research conducted at collegiate university colleges such as Oxford and Cambridge but an integral element of many, if not all universities (Tapper and Palfreyman 2010). In fact, because intellectual collegiality occurs on a daily basis amongst academics as they

undertake their daily research and teaching activities, it is not restricted to interaction among equals. In fact, 'it is the very lifeblood of the profession' (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010, p. 26). Furthermore, as the definition of intellectual collegiality includes the social purpose of research, in this respect, it is 'also embodies a powerful educational ideal that embraces the very purpose of the university' and a liberal education (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010, p. 36).

3.5.4 Challenges to the traditional concept of collegiality

Academics now have to compete for power with both the professional managers, academic leadership and manage the dynamics resulting from these new layers of management and the new ways of working. For example, there is increasing mobility between the academy and other sectors of the economy (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 133). The emergence of a professional stream of academics, further challenges traditional notions of collegial governance as academics increasingly face having to choose between careers in governance or pursue academic careers (McInnis 2009, p. 162). Furthermore, Giroux (2006) argues collegial governance has been replaced with 'corporate based professionalism' as academics focus on survival rather than collegial practice:

> Pressured by the harsh lessons of financial deprivation, overburdened by workloads, and having lost power to shape the governance process, many faculty now live under the constant threat of being downsized, punished or fired and are less concerned about the realm of high theory than about following the new rules of corporate based professionalism in order to simply survive in the new corporatized academy' (Giroux 2006, p. 94).

Furthermore, Tapper and Palfreyman (2013, p. 25) argue 'intellectual collegiality' is threatened by the hierarchical form of governance, associated with new public management, as it has now filtered down into the decision making processes in academic departments.

In contrast, Kolsaker (2008) downplays the role of hierarchical relationships which Tapper and Palfreyman (2013) perceive as threatening collegiality. Although conceding managerialism represents a distinctive discourse, which involves the notion that one group manages the work of another, Kolsaker (2008, p. 515) argues that in practice, all

social actors play their part in maintaining discourses. However, this truism is discounted by theorists of late modernity like Bauman (2000) who highlights the fact that some social actors have more power than others in influencing outcomes. In addition, recent research by Christopher (2012) indicates that the Vice-Chancellors of Australian universities have the power to affect the relationship between the managerial and collegial discourses, if they wish to.

The traditional form of collegiality was a product of an elitist culture. This culture, which it is argued, served the interests of an elite male class of academics and is therefore redundant in a more open society as:

> It glosses over the inconsistencies in the historical realities of collegial practices, particularly in the terms of the role afforded to the "underclass" of the academy –women, academics from diverse sociocultural backgrounds and other marginalised groups, excluding the students altogether' (Kligyte & Barrie 2014, p. 166).

The traditional form of collegiality is further challenged by changing cultural expectations in society. For example, younger members of the academy desire an improved 'work-life balance, more flexible working patterns, and more project oriented, portfolio careers' (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 133). Therefore, the notion of collegiality needs reconceptualising by both institutions and academics as the present gap in understanding leads to ongoing tension between management and academics:

> Academics' allegiance to the unattainable collegiality ideal situated in binary opposition to management ultimately disguises the contingent character of this relationship and prevents both leaders and academics from imagining alternatives (Kligyte & Barrie 2014, p. 165).

Reconceptualising collegiality would enable both the leadership team and the faculties to develop an attainable definition of collegiality rather than grieving for a traditional elitist form of collegiality which has ceased to be relevant to academics in a dynamic institution (Kligyte & Barrie 2014).

3.5.5   The role of academic leadership in identity construction

Leadership has been defined as different to management by some theorists because it is value driven. While management and leadership are 'used interchangeably', they are

different as management has a procedural focus, whereas, in contrast, leadership 'is about influence, values and vision' (Jones et al 2014, p. 419). Therefore, leadership involves more than just managing from one day to another as it 'demands passion and commitment toward certain value-based goals such as environmental sustainability' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 21). Leadership is wider than the occupation of formal management positions by professors. For example, Macfarlane (2012) considers that his definition of intellectual leadership, which is not restricted to the occupation of academic management roles, aligns more with recent notions of distributed leadership.

Aaccording to Macfarlane (2012), intellectual leadership transcends the assigned management responsibilities performed by a professor in a dedicated management position. In contrast, intellectual leadership is concerned with transformation. It involves 'developing new insights about the world, either empirically or conceptually' as well as 'transforming the lives of students, fellow academics and professionals as well as members of the wider public' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 119). For these reasons, 'intellectual leadership', involves more than being a knowledge producer as it also involves being an 'academic citizen, boundary transgressor and public intellectual' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 10). This concept of intellectual leadership is related to the concept of academic freedom which involves 'the space to have ideas, experiment and take intellectual risks without interference' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 20). It contrasts with the negative form of freedom associated with new public management. However, Macfarlane (2012, p. 36) also argues that 'the leadership of the academe is still largely in its own hands' and that 'we have no one to blame but ourselves if we do not like how we are being led and by what set of values and objectives'.

There is increasing institutional pressure on professors, who have taken management and leadership roles in the academy, to decide whether their career interests lay in research or management at an earlier stage and an expectation that 'university leaders will have risen through the rank of managerial positions' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 29). As a consequence, university leadership is increasingly being associated with the managerial academic stream as 'distinguished scholars are now less likely to be recruited to a senior leadership position directly from academe' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 29). This development

has resulted in professors not occupying formal management roles, feeling 'excluded from the life of the university' due to their leadership skills not being fully accessed by the institution (Macfarlane, 2011, p. 71). In addition, academic citizenship is less likely to be rewarded, whereas, roles associated with being a knowledge entrepreneur are more likely to be rewarded in the knowledge society (Macfarlane 2012). Therefore, there is a need for a third space which recognizes academic leadership outside of the academic managerial stream.

Whitchurch (2008 & 2012) is concerned with creating an alternate mainstream career pathway for academics moving in and out of institutional projects or professional staff performing quasi-academic roles, such as learning support, than creating a third space for accessing intellectual leadership. Whitchurch (2012) argues that because academics now move in and out of 'academically oriented institutional projects', which involve academic, and specialist skills, the binary division of 'academic' and 'non- academic' has become more blurred. In contrast, Macfarlane (2012, p. 36) is concerned with restoring the role of the professoriate 'in the leadership of the university' due to the professoriate representing an invaluable resource. Macfarlane (2012) proposes new approaches to human resource management. These approaches involve training professors to meet changing expectations and engaging them in aspects of intellectual leadership wider than accountability for 'producing new knowledge and capitalizing on its market potential' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 139). However, Jones et al (2014, p. 419) are concerned with creating a space for leaders at every level to discuss ideas as opposed to furthering the 'traditional (heroic) leadership based on individual leaders'. Therefore, a collaborative space is required in which all academics and professionals can work together to align 'learning and teaching and research quality to strategic aims and accountability' (Jones et al 2014, p. 425). This approach to leadership, which can operate at all levels of the organization, is underpinned by values traditionally associated with collegiality like trust and respect which enable collaboration to achieve identified goals (Jones et al 2014).

3.6 The art of finding gaps in the discourse

Thomas and Davies (2005) explore how U.K. public servants access different subject positions within the NPM to transform discourse to satisfy personal interest. By confronting tensions experienced between work requirements and personal positions, they are able to identify gaps 'within and between discourses and subject positions' (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 687). Therefore, the NPM represents a dynamic discourse rather than the powerful hegemonic discourse commonly portrayed in research studies (Thomas & Davies 2005, p. 700). However, Castells (2010, p. 8) argues that institutions have a range of 'legitimised' positions used to rationalise their domination.

Minor non-compliance and minor reforms are also possible. Anderson (2008, p. 257) found that academics drew on 'the weapons of the weak' such as micro resistance as well as utilising scholarly and disciplinary concepts of quality to resist quality assurance practices. For example, some academics have used the need to comply with external accreditation bodies as a counter argument in management debates as well as using techniques such as 'minimal compliance' and 'avoidance' to resist managerial requirements which they viewed as time consuming and of little value (Anderson 2008, pp. 261-264). Other individual strategies designed to reference the wider view in discursive debate include 'coming to the rescue' of someone who has 'gone off track' and adopting the position of the 'concerned academic' to role play an autonomous rational academic rather than an ideologically motivated individual' (Peterson 2008, p. 394). However Sharrock (2007, p. 12) reports that although most of the managers in his research could initiate minor reforms, everyday decision making was makeshift and pressurised.

The everyday type of minor individual resistance in Australia, as opposed to more organised collective resistance, aligns with Foucault's notion that intellectuals are no longer representatives of universal truths. In contrast, they are engaged in everyday resistance practices just like the 'proletariat' (Foucault 1988, p. 126). He also suggests that as they are subsumed within disciplines, they may need to find non-disciplinary forms of power such as 'a new form of right' to resist them (Foucault 1988, p. 108).

3.7 Conclusion

Although, in late modernity, individualized individuals are expected to find solutions to their own lives, academics are members of faculties structured around disciplines with their own sets of values, understandings and practices. Furthermore, departments are emerging as powerful in a highly fluid organizational environment (Lee 2009 & Pilbeam 2009). This is because the department still serves as the nexus between the institution and the discipline (Henkel 2005). In addition, although the managerial discourse is an all invasive performative discourse, academics are still housed in faculties which are disciplinary based rather than based on management functions. As a consequence, academics are members of powerful disciplinary discourses with their own well established values. In fact, these discourses have transcended the boundaries of nation states for a lot longer than the managerial discourse associated with a global neoliberal social imaginary. Although academics may not be inclined to act collectively as a profession (Sadler 2011, p. 88), the literature reviewed suggests that the values of academics remain firmly in place:

> Academic faculty share key characteristics of identity with other professionals; their moral and work values are closely tied, perhaps more intensely than most; their core values are exceptionally stable, sometimes to the point of intransigence and self-defeat in the face of new realities; and their commitment to an ideology of reform and the public good remains undiminished. Most striking is their continued preference for service over personal profit, with salary taking second place to the pursuit of knowledge (McInnis 2009, p. 150).

Therefore, this study is concerned with exploring the range of values and practices underpinning the academic practice of the participants in this study.

3.8 The purpose of the next chapter

Chapter 4 discusses the composite hermeneutic and phenomenological research process, being applied to the research. The rationale for using this methodology is described as well as the reason for overlaying this process with the interpretative principles for research designed by Klein & Myers (1990). In addition, the interpretative theoretical and analytical frameworks, overlaying this cycle of enquiry, are also described in terms of application to this study. The manner in which the study complies with the Ethics

Application approved by the Higher Research Ethics Committee of Victoria University for this study is also addressed.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Aim of this research

The primary aim of this research is to investigate how academics in a humanities faculty experience the managerial discourse as well as respond to it.

4.2 Background and rationale for the research

The national restructuring program undertaken by the Hawke-Keating Federal Labor Australian Government, perceived higher education as a sub-sector of the knowledge economy. As a consequence, the 1988 Dawkins Reforms were developed and implemented to assure higher education contributed to the national economic objectives. This objective involved producing the graduates required for a competitive nation state as well as generating income (Bradley 2008). These reforms involved imposing a governance system based on the neoliberal core principles of market values and efficiency over the previous social–liberal or public sector/collegiate governance system (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Rivzi & Lingard 2011). This form of governance, which incorporates core neoliberal principles like marketization, user-pays, performativity, and public choice (Rivzi & Lingard 2011), has been perceived by successive Australian Federal Governments, since 1983, as being more able to meet national economic objectives. Governance in higher education in Australia is now characterized by:

- The imposition of a series of hierarchical principal/agency type relationships, over the previous social liberal form of governance, which promotes freedom as control (Rivzi & Lingard 2011& Marginson 2002, 2009 & 2012)
- The imposition of a strategic planning system which prioritizes one group of stakeholders over another (Sharrock 2012)
- The imposition of a quality assurance and audit culture which reflects a performative approach to quality as opposed to a more enhanced definition of quality which reflects the requirements of all key stakeholders (Anderson 2007, Rowlands 2012, Parker 2013, Craig et al 2014 & Baird 2014)
- Institutional reflexivity (Pick 2004)

- The reconfiguration of academic identity as a response to continuously changing external circumstances and the need for academics to perform multiple roles (Pick 2004, Marginson 2009 & Sharrock 2010)
- The dissonance experienced between managerial and academic values (Winter 2009, Sharrock 2010 & Winter & Donahue 2012).

This form of governance has many challenges for academics. Blackmore (2011) argues that while higher education remains an instrument of economic policy, the traditional idea of a university is severely challenged. Moreover, the redefinition of 'the university as a key knowledge producer' accountable for being 'a source of wealth creation' has resulted in the contraction of traditional values (Thornton 2009, p. 376). In addition, the market efficiency approach to higher education, has resulted in the downsizing and amalgamation or closure of some liberal arts departments due to policies like 'student choice' (Thornton 2009 & Gelder 2012). Moreover, as approximately 60% of the academic work force is now classified as casuals and half the undergraduates are taught by casuals (NTEU 2012), it is therefore, timely to explore how academics experience the managerial discourse as well as how they respond to it.

4.3 Methodological stance and lines of enquiry

4.3.1 Methodological stance being adopted in this study

This research is applying one primary theoretical framework and two interpretative frameworks to the analysis and interpretation of the documented experiences of the managerial discourse by the eleven academic participants in this study. As this study explores how these participants experience and respond to neoliberal governmentality and governance in their institution, the theoretical and interpretative frameworks chosen are directed at understanding how power relations operate in both liberal and neoliberal governmentality. These frameworks include firstly, a Foucauldian analysis of how power relations operate in liberal governmentality and secondly, frameworks depicting the shift from social liberal policy and governance towards neoliberal policy and governance, over recent decades in higher education.

4.3.2   Relevance of Foucault's analytical toolkit to this study

Foucault (1980) advises that each society has its 'régime of truth' or its 'general politics' of truth for recognizing 'the type of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). However, as 'truth' is 'produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses', the 'politics of truth' involves an evaluation of 'the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). The Foucauldian notion that some discourses are prioritized over other discourses, at any one time, provides us with the awareness that the discourse normalization process is subject to the prevailing political and economic strategies of the state or the current social imaginary being pursued by the state. For these reasons, Foucault (1980, p. 102) advises research should be directed towards 'the strategic apparatus' and techniques of power used by 'the material operators of power' in their local institutions and systems in terms of the subjection of the subjects concerned.

Furthermore, Foucault's analysis of power relations in liberal governmentality involves exploring the mechanisms for deploying accountability to those 'who are charged with saying what count as true' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). Consequently, our task as researchers, is to discover how 'subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc.' (Foucault 1980, p. 97). In addition, as everyday resistance is directed at the techniques of power and its individualizing effects on the subject rather than a theoretical enemy, Foucault (1982) advises that forms of resistance should be analysed in specific rationalities rather than in general or theoretically. Foucault's analytical framework enables us to explore the multiplicity of forces of power impacting on the constitution of the self, both at the strategic and local level, as well as explore the techniques employed to find a gap in the discourse.

Foucault's, analysis of power relations in liberal governmentality encompasses the interface between the technologies of power/knowledge and the technologies of the self (Lemke 2012). Therefore, his analysis of power is very relevant to a study of power relations in a university. This is because the technologies of management, which include

the managerial discourse, intersect with the disciplines of knowledge which are based on a different set of values. Furthermore, as academics are an elite group in society (Bauman 2005), they have more options available to them in responding to the technologies of management than others. For example, academics have access to powerful disciplinary discourses and disciplinary based networks.

As this study involves interviews with eleven academic participants, located in two disciplinary based departments in a humanities faculty in a large Australian university, a Foucauldian interpretative framework enables us to explore how everyday resistance is directed at the localised techniques of power. In addition, as a Foucauldian analysis of liberal governmentality reveals there are core concepts underlying all forms of liberal governmentality, this insight enables us to interpret neoliberalism in terms of both the similarities and differences with previous forms of liberalism from which it evolved. For example, neoliberalism took traction in western states as a direct response to the growing dissatisfaction with the previous Keynesian form of social liberalism which was perceived as favouring big government and the welfare state (Campbell & Pederson 2001). Therefore, as a result of Foucault's insights into all forms of liberal governmentality, the researcher is able to apply a historical, political and economic context to this study.

4.3.3 Additional interpretative frameworks

The two additional interpretative frameworks being applied depict shifts between both policy and governance frameworks in liberal governmentality over recent decades. These 2 frameworks are framework 1 "Shifting Policies in Australian Higher Education" (Rivzi & Lingard 2011, p. 13) and framework 2 "Ideal-type model of internal governance of universities" (Olssen 2002, p. 45). Both frameworks are in included in Section 2.3, Chapter 2.

Framework 1 provides a comparative policy framework which enables the researcher to identify and compare policies and outcomes associated with a 'Keynesian welfare state' with those associated with a 'neoliberal competition state'. Framework 2 provides a comparative governance framework which enables me to identify and compare the

management practices characterizing neoliberal governance with those practices associated with liberal governance in universities. Together, these tables provide baselines for comparing policy and governance shifts in higher education, in Australia, over the last three decades.

The reasons for choosing these comparative frameworks are related to the nature of the study. Firstly, as the study explores the impact of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms on a group of academic participants in two departments in a humanities faculty in a large established research focussed university, this study has strategic and local dimensions. Therefore, an interpretative framework needed to be chosen, which would enable me to compare the degree of transition from social–liberal policy towards neoliberal policy over the last three decades. Secondly, the selection process was also informed by my extensive review of the literature on liberal governmentality in general and, in particular, on neoliberal governmentality in Australia during this period.

4.3.4 Lines of enquiry

The lines of enquiry, being pursued in this study, are designed to explore the following aspects of the lived experience of contemporary governance in higher education by the eleven academic participants interviewed in this study:

- The degree to which power has been consolidated in the executive
- The impact of technologies of management on faculty and academic autonomy
- The impact of new public management on intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality
- The impact of this form of governance on research and teaching practice
- The incidence of reflexivity in the institution
- The impact of the managerial discourse on academic identity
- The role of the quality discourse in marketing productivity
- The range of strategies the academic participants adopt to minimize the impact of the managerial discourse and optimize their research and teaching practice
- The relationship between hierarchical and academic status in relationship to capacity to influence the managerial discourse
- The range of strategies adopted to make/find meaning

- The presence of alternative discourses
- The degree to which the values of the participants align with the values underpinning the managerial discourse

However, because research design has an emergent design, due to research involving learning about the subject from your participants, questions and forms of data collection can change during the research phase (Creswell 2007, pp. 36-39).

4.4 Significance of the study and benefits for participants

This study is significant because the broader scope of this study enables the participants to not only reflect on the impact of new public management on the more traditional collegial culture existing prior to the reforms, it also enables them to reflect on the practices they have adopted to offset the impact of the managerial discourse on the qualitative nature of their research and teaching.

In particular, the lines of enquiry have been developed to enable the participants to explore the impact of the changing relations between the managerial and disciplinary discourses on both their faculty and departmental sub-cultures and their academic and personal values. For example, the participants who are academic managers or, who have been academic managers, have an opportunity to reflect on how the managerial discourse has impacted on power relations between their faculty and the executive. They have also been provided with an opportunity to reflect on the strategies they adopt in responding to the corporate managerial discourse in order to minimize the impact of this discourse on faculty disciplinary goals and values and on their fellow academics. Therefore, they have an opportunity to reflect on the tensions involved in satisfying the requirements of both the managerial and disciplinary discourses as well as identify any compensatory processes they have put in place in order to maintain their alternative concept of quality. In addition, the participants who are full time researchers or teachers have been provided with the opportunity to reflect on the strategies they employ in order to assure both their disciplinary and personal values still guide their academic practice. Furthermore, the lines of enquiry adopted in this study, enable the participants to explore how and if localized forms of intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality transcend the boundaries of the measurable managerial discourse. This line

of enquiry reflects research on both intellectual leadership (Macfarlane (2007 & 2012) and intellectual collegiality (Tapper & Palfreyman 2002 & 2010) which suggests that these traditional concepts operate beyond the boundaries of the measurable managerial discourse. Therefore, this study has the potential to reveal the core role these concepts perform in underpinning the quality of both research and teaching in contemporary higher education in Australia today.

Overall, this study provides the participants in this study with an opportunity to reflect on the strategies they adopt in upholding their scholarly, disciplinary and personal values. Lastly, this study is important because once:

> …knowledge ceases to be an end in itself, knowledge transmission ceases to be the exclusive responsibility of scholars and students and the general effect of the performativity principle is to subordinate the institutions of higher learning to the existing powers (Lyotard 2006, p. 94).

4.5 The Methodology employed in this study

4.5.1   The phenomenological research process

Phenomenology is 'aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of our everyday experiences' through asking questions the subjects of the research about what the experience is like (van Manen 1990, p. 9). Through a process of description and reduction of those descriptions to significant themes, a systematic attempt is made 'to uncover and describe the structures, the internal meaning structures of lived experiences' (van Manen 1990, p. 9). Therefore, the phenomenological research process presented below, adapted by Lukaitis (2011) and consistent with (van Manen 1990), enables data collected from the interviews, conducted with the eleven academic participants, to be reduced to a 'composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience of the group as a whole'. This process is a necessary stage in a hermeneutic phenomenological research process as it allows the subjects to speak for themselves prior to the application of an interpretative overlay.

Table 3: Phenomenological research process details

(Lukaitis 2011, Table 1, p. 54)

Stage	Process	Outcome
Epoché	Declaration and articulation of biases and prejudices. Reflection upon one's position or stance.	A mind free of judgement, receptive to the observed phenomena, capable of fresh and even a naïve view of the world. Receptiveness and criticality of one's own thoughts and interpretations.
Texturation – Textural Representation	Capturing the phenomena in text form from interview transcripts, personal observations, sidebar notes and memos. Collection of other pertinent documents.	Raw text in a form suitable for analysis and further manipulation (e.g., word processor format).
Preliminary Grouping	Analysis and grouping of text of text into statements about "something" or an individual aspect of the phenomenon under investigation. Each statement is treated equally (horizonalisation).	A derivative document of individual statements accompanied by a suitable identifier (code) of the nature or aspect of the phenomenon under investigation.
Reduction and Elimination	For each statement test that it contains a moment of the experience and contributes to the understanding; is it possible to extract and label it as a horizon of the experience? Eliminate vague, repetitive or overlapping terms.	A derivative document of statements that are exemplars of the experience described and so labeled. These are the invariant constituents of the experience.
Clustering into Themes	Cluster the invariant constituents of the experience that are related into a thematic label.	This derivative document will hold the core themes of the experience with their component parts.
Invariant Constituents – Textural-Structural Representation	Check the invariant constituents and their accompanying theme against the complete record of the texturation and check that they are explicitly referenced. If they are not they should be deleted.	This derivative document will hold the final invariant constituents, their themes and groupings.
Imaginative Variation	The resulting themes, experiences and component parts are reflected upon. Vary the possible meanings and the possible perspectives of the phenomenon from different vantage points. Explore causality and precedence.	Various outcomes including suggestive diagrams, explanatory statements, re- flections on paradoxes and conundrums and dialectical analysis.
Synthesis and Essences	From the results of the imaginative variation develop a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experiences representing the group as a whole.	Essence statement.

4.5.2 The hermeneutic phenomenological cycle of enquiry

An 'interpretive (hermeneutic) methodology' is also applied to this study on the basis that 'there are no such things as uninterpreted phenomena' (van Manen 1990, p. 180). In fact, Lukaitis (2011) argues it would be naïve not to acknowledge that the researcher brings pre-existing knowledge and assumptions to the phenomenon being researched. Therefore, an approach needs to be adopted in which personal preconceptions, values and prejudices, as well as theoretical and interpretative frameworks for analysing the essence of the phenomena, are acknowledged (Creswell 2007 & Lukaitis 2011). For example, the limitations of the Epoché stage, referred to above, which involve 'A mind free of judgement, receptive to the observed phenomena, capable of fresh and even a naïve view of the world' (Lukaitis 2011), are offset when a critical hermeneutic circle of enquiry overlays the phenomenological process. The hermeneutic cycle of enquiry, which leads to greater understanding of the data collected, is identified below.

Figure 2: Hermeneutic phenomenological research process model

(Lukaitis 2011, Figure 1, p. 53).
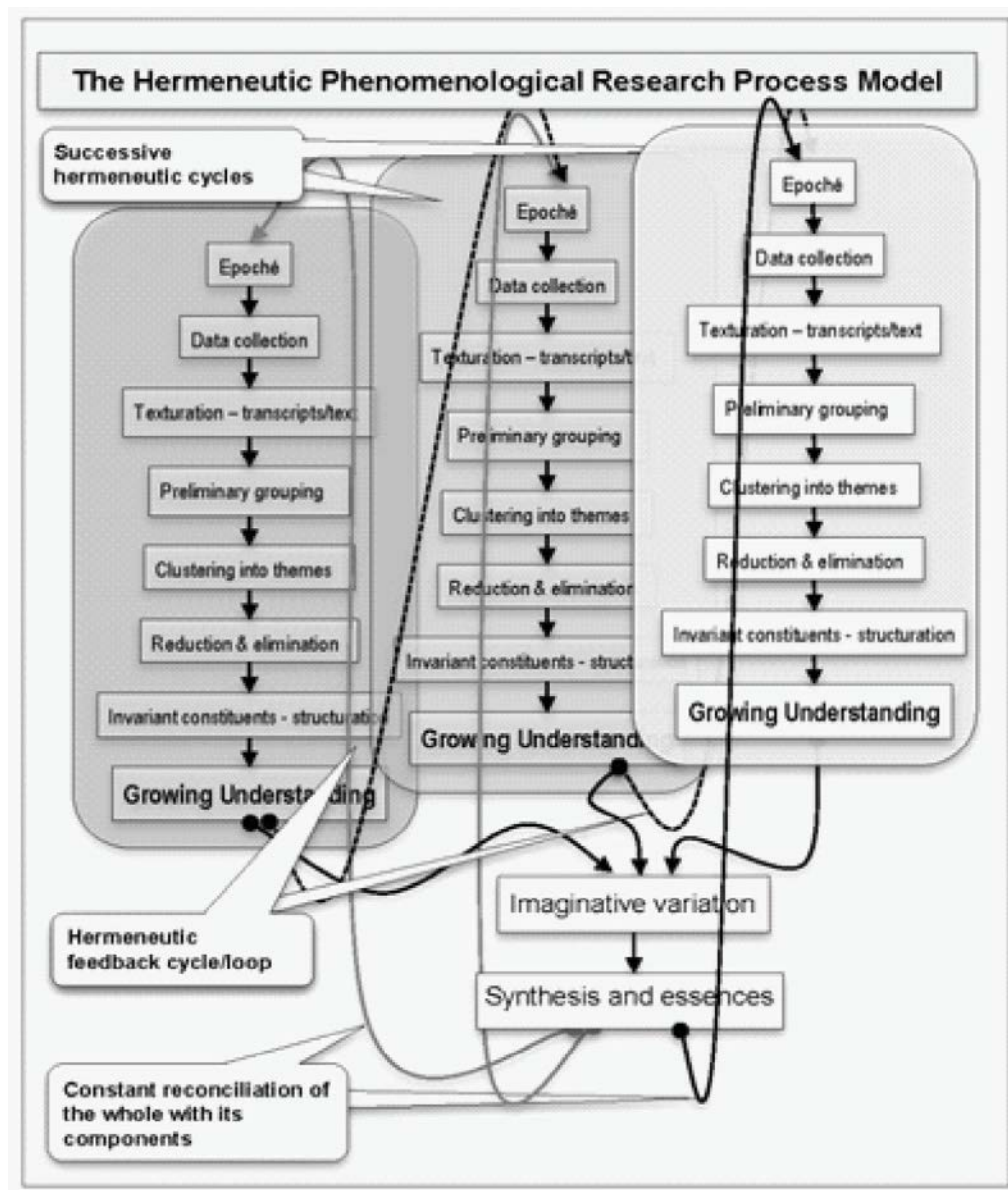
The hermeneutic phenomenological research process described above is guided by:

1. The 'Summary of Principles for Interpretative Field Research' (Klein & Myers 1999, Table 1, p. 72).

2. The theoretical and interpretative governmentality related frameworks, referred to in Section 4.3 of this chapter.

4.5.3 Principles for interpretative field research adapted for this study

4.5.3.1 Summary of the seven principles for interpretative field research

The seven principles in the 'Summary of Principles for Interpretative Field Research' (Klein & Myers 1999, Table 1, p.72), presented below in Table 4, which guide the steps cited in Figure 2, in sub section 4.5.2 above, are as follows:

Table 4: Summary of Principles for Interpretative Field Research
            (Klein & Myers 1999, Table 1, p. 72).

Table 1. Summary of Principles for Interpretative Field Research
The Fundamental Principle of the Hermeneutic Circle. This principle suggests that all human understanding is achieved by iterating between considering the interdependent meaning of parts and the whole that they form.
The Principle of Contextualisation This principle requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged.
The Principle of Interaction between the Researchers and the Subjects. This principle requires critical reflection of how the research materials (or "data") were socially constructed through the interaction between the researchers and the participants.
The Principle of Abstraction and Generalisation. This principle requires relating the idiographic details revealed by the data interpretation through the application of principles one and two to theoretical, general concepts that describe the nature of human understanding and social action.
The Principle of Dialogical Reasoning. This principle requires sensitivity to possible contradictions between the theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings ("the story which the data tell") with subsequent cycles of revision.
The Principle of Multiple Interpretations. This principle requires sensitivity to possible differences in interpretations amongst the participants as are typically expressed in multiple narratives of stories of the same sequence of events understudy.
The Principle of Suspicion. This principle requires sensitivity to possible "biases" and "systematic distortions" in the narratives collected from participants

However, these guiding principles have been further adapted for this study by accessing the interpretative frameworks referenced in Section 4.3 of this chapter. These frameworks are firstly, the Foucauldian interpretative framework, and secondly, the policy and governance frameworks provided by Olssen (2002) and Rivzi & Lingard

(2011) which document governance and policy shifts in education. In addition, I have described below how the seven 'Principles for Interpretative Field Research' (Klein & Myers 1999, p.72) apply to this study.

4.5.3.2 Expanded version of the seven principles for interpretative field research

1. The fundamental principle of the hermeneutic circle

The notion that 'we come to understand a complex whole from the preconceptions about the meaning of its parts and their interrelationships' is expressed in the first principle as 'a meta-principle upon which the following six principles expand' (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 71). For example, this notion involves the circular process of constantly checking of the parts with the whole and vice a versa 'which in turn gives us the lead toward a better, fuller more specific reconstruction of totality' (Bauman 2010, p. 17). Therefore, as 'The cognitive mind sets higher ends for itself; it obviates the limitations imposed by naturalistic attitude; it does not settle for the mere description of things as they are', the researcher needs to bring a critical interpretative dimension to the study, in a bid 'not to settle for a mere description' of the phenomena (Bauman 2010, p. 20). As a result of this advice, I am applying the three interpretative frameworks, described in sub sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 of this chapter, in order to assist draw out the 'truth' of the documented lived experiences and, thereby, offset the limitations of the phenomenological research process. For example, by applying a Foucauldian interpretative framework to the hermeneutic phenomenological research process, I am able to identify from the individual exemplars of the documented experiences and the emerging themes, the extent to which these exemplars and themes reflect either strategic or local power relations. Therefore, the component parts are visited and revisited from the vantage point of the range of strategic and local mechanisms, at play, in normalizing discourses. These include the 'multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc.' which subjugates the individual (Foucault 1980, p. 97). The cycle of enquiry in the hermeneutic phenomenological research process, is assisted by reference to the policy and governance frameworks provided by Olssen (2002) and Rivzi & Lingard (2011). The manner in which these frameworks contextualise this study is explained below.

2. Principle of contextualisation

This principle 'requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged' (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 72) as well as recognise that the situation is also 'constantly changing' (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 73). For example, Table 1 (Rivzi and Lingard 2011, p. 13) provides a comparative policy framework for framing the interpretation of the experiences of the participants in terms of the degree of shift from social liberal to neoliberal policy in education in Australia. Whereas Table 2 (Olssen 2002, p. 45), provides a comparative governance framework for framing the interpretation of the experiences of the participants in terms of the degree of shift from social liberal to neoliberal governance. As a result of applying a range of interpretive filters, my findings will be based on both the participants' perspectives and my 'own interpretation' (Creswell 2007, p. 43) filtered through the interpretative frameworks referred to above. In addition, the study will be further contextualised by reference to higher education documents published by both higher education and institutional stakeholders. These include:

- Recent Australian Federal Government policy documents and key reports on higher education policy directions and recommendations

- National audit policy documents such as TEQSA policy and recent reports

- University level governance documents such as current Mission Statements and Strategic Plans

- Union surveys and reports related to governance issues

- Other documents which emerge as relevant during the study.

3 'The principle of Interaction between the researcher and the subjects'

I am reminded by this principle that I need to be mindful of the fact that the manner in which interact with the subjects has some influence on the outcome (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 81). This is because I bring my own experience and understanding of how neoliberal governance has operated in Australia since 1983, to the study. For example, due to my management experience in both education and engineering since then, I am

conscious of bringing alternative management baselines to the study. This is because engineering organizations are accredited to the ISO (International Standards Organization) management standards which are not used to assure the managerial discourse in higher education in Australia. In contrast, I observed that universities were self-accrediting quality assurance institutions until the advent of TEQSA in 2009 and, therefore, audited by external agencies only against internally developed standards. This awareness led me to provide the participants in this study with a full Curriculum Vitae (CV) which documented my extensive management and auditing experience in quality management in engineering organizations as well as in education.

My CV generated discussion with some participants due to some thinking that my understanding and objectivity may have been limited by my quality assurance background in industry. For example, two full professors requested that I submit a written statement of my understanding of Foucault's analysis of the role of discourses in power relations prior to both of them consenting to being interviewed. However, due to my extensive reading on Foucault, I was able to satisfy these objectivity and knowledge tests. In addition, other participants wished to know if the lines of enquiry would be sufficiently open ended to ensure that my knowledge and experience of the subject matter did not predetermine the direction of their responses. However, as the lines of enquiry had been carefully formulated under the supervision of the Chief Investigator of this research, and trialled in mock interviews, prior to being finalised, this issue had already been considered in the design phase of this study. However, my considerable experience and extensive qualifications in education offset the fear by some participants that I might be a management consultant employed to report on them.

4 The principle of abstraction and generalization

As Klein and Myers (1999, p. 75) state that 'unique circumstances can be related to ideas and concepts that apply to multiple situations', I am applying Foucault's analytical framework to analyse and interpret data collected from interviews in this study. This framework, which is described fully in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 of Chapter 2 of this thesis is summarised below:

I. Power does not emanate from only one source. The modern liberal state is conceptualised as a type of meta-power 'in relation to a whole series of

power networks' with whom it shares a 'conditioning-conditioned relationship' (Foucault 1980, p. 122). Therefore, power neither represents 'the domination of one individual over others, or of one class over others' (Foucault 2004, p. 29).

II.   Modern rationalities of government are more productive than repressive as they involve 'obtaining productive service from individuals in their concrete lives' (Foucault 1980, p. 125). Therefore, the 'conduct of conduct' always involves trying to guide the responses of individuals amid a range of possibilities' (Foucault 1982, p. 220).

III.   Power is embedded in social practices and power relations are sustained through discourse. Power produces and draws on normalised discourses which are in turn the source of power/knowledge in the management of the population (Foucault 1988).

IV.   Although individuals are constituted by power, they have the capacity to act in liberal governmentality as they are not in the same category as slaves who are physically restrained (Foucault 1982).

As a result of being fully conscious of the complexities of power relations in all forms of liberal governmentality, the reader can 'follow how the researcher arrived at his or her theoretical insights' (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 75).

5   The principle of dialogical reasoning

This principle requires the researcher to 'make the historical intellectual basis of the research (i.e. its fundamental philosophical assumptions)' clearly apparent to both the reader and themselves (Klein & Myers 1999, p. 76). As a result of the extensive literature review of the evolution of both liberalism and neoliberalism in relationship to higher education, documented in both Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of this thesis, I am equipped to apply both an historical and intellectual dimension to this study. For example, I am conscious that although neoliberalism has core principles (Cahill 2010), which are widely advocated by global policy makers like the International Monetary Fund (Rivzi and Lingard 2009 & 2011), neoliberalism in practice, is also shaped by local cultural and social history. As a consequence, neoliberalism represents more of a social imaginary than a rigid ideology as concepts and practices, drawn from a global neoliberal social imaginary, are normalized at a local level through discourses

associated with power/knowledge.

6 The principle of multiple interpretations

This principle requires the researcher to both collect and confront multiple experiences of the phenomena experienced. This means the researcher may have to adjust or revise their understanding, where required, in order to explain the causes of multiple viewpoints (Klein & Myers 1999, p.77). For example, as some of the participants, interviewed in this study, have only ever experienced the neoliberal managerial discourse, it is possible their interpretation of it may differ to others in the study due to them not having experienced the preceding social-liberal managerial discourse. It is also possible that those participants interviewed at professorial level, may have more options available to them for engaging in and responding to the managerial discourse than the non-professorial participants interviewed. Consequently, I am mindful that the participants, who consented to be interviewed for this study, have widely varying experiences of the managerial discourse, due to their hierarchical positional status, tenure, and length of employment in higher education. In addition, I am equally mindful of my own biases due to having spent most of my career in in engineering and vocational education and not in universities.

7 The principle of suspicion

This principle requires sensitivity to possible "biases" and "systematic distortions" in the narratives collected from participants (Klein & Myers 1999). For example, I am aware from the literature review documented in Chapter 3 of this thesis, that responses to novel circumstances, in late modernity, are characterized by a high level of autonomous reflexivity in which economic self-interest is a prime consideration (Archer 2012). Therefore, as I am conscious that decision making often reflects personal self-interest as opposed to the interests of the collective, I am equally aware of the need to be mindful of the motivations underpinning my own decision making in an environment in which the reflexive imperative now dominates (Archer 2012).

Overall, the critical phenomenological hermeneutic methodology, adopted in this research, enables me to achieve the descriptive and analytical outcomes associated with a phenomenological method as well as the interpretative outcomes associated with a critical hermeneutical method. This is because this method 'combines the rigour of phenomenology

with the cyclical enquiry and development of understanding that is the hallmark of the philosophy of enquiry of hermeneutics' (Lukaitis 2013, p. 5).

4.5.4 The phenomenological hermeneutical interpretative research process applied in this study

A summary of the phenomenological research process (Lukaitis 2011) adapted to reflect the hermeneutic overlay informed by the Summary Principles for Interpretative Field Research (Klein & Myers 1999) and also designed to respond to the interpretative frameworks, referred to in Sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4 of this chapter, is presented in Table 5 below:

Table 5: The phenomenological hermeneutical interpretative research process
Adapted from Lukaitis (2011, Table 1, p. 54) and Klein & Myers (1999, Table 1, p. 72)

Stage	Process and outcome
Epoché	**Process** Interview the participants in a manner which allows them to speak for themselves rather than allow the researcher's own experience and expertise of the phenomena unduly influence the experiences being related by the academic participants in the one and a half hour interviews conducted with them. **Outcome** The adoption of an open and receptive stance towards the flow of the interview, casts the researcher as a facilitator in the recording of the experiences as opposed to a participant.
Texturation – Textural Representation	**Process** Transcribe the recorded interviews into text form and have them verified by her participants for authenticity and consent purposes before attaching a coded label for the purpose of anonymity before sharing the raw data captured in the transcripts with anybody else. **Outcome** All participants in this study are given an alpha-numeric label to protect their anonymity.
Preliminary Grouping	**Process** Analyse and group the individual texts in terms of statements which reflect the individualized experiences of the managerial discourse and those aspects of the phenomena emerging as significant to each participant interviewed.

	Outcome
	Emergent themes.
Reduction and Elimination	**Process**
	Review key statements identified and their exemplars in terms of how they contribute to the shared understanding of the aspect of the phenomena focussed on by each participant and eliminate peripheral data that does not enhance understanding or is repetitious.
	Outcome
	Narrowing of focus to what is significant in their lived
	Experiences.
Clustering into Themes	**Process**
	Reduce each individual account down to a derivative document comprising those key statements which reflect the focus of the interview and attach exemplars of their experiences to these statements.
	Use the derivative documents, produced from implementing the process above, to identify the themes emerging from the review of all the individual derivative documents.
	Outcome
	The derivative documents will hold the core themes of the experience with their coded component parts. This process assists the cross referencing of individual statements and their exemplars as illustrations of themes presented and discussed in the Analysis Chapters of this study; Chapters 5, 6 and 7.
Invariant Constituents – Textural-Structural Representation	**Process**
	Reflect upon the meanings of the individual experiences identified in the derivative documents from the vantage point of the common themes identified.
	Outcome
	Develop common understandings of the themes from the individual understandings of the phenomena through a process of contrasting and comparing the individual experiences with the essences of experiences emerging for the group as a whole implementing a hermeneutic cycle of enquiry.
Imaginative Variation	**Process**
	Reflect upon the resulting themes, experiences and component parts from the vantage points of the common themes emerging from the individual components of the study as well as the interpretative frameworks and guiding principles, referred to above.
	Outcome
	Better understanding of the broader philosophical implications of the individual and common experiences of the phenomena.

Synthesis and Essences	**Process** Develop some conclusions as a result of scrutinising the emerging findings from a number of informed interpretative vantage points as well as from the researcher's knowledge of the phenomena, gained through the reading for this thesis, and documented in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this thesis. **Outcome** Findings which are true to the data but reflect the application of relevant and informed theoretical and interpretative governmentality frameworks.

4.5.5   Location of the research

As Foucault (1980) advises that the 'politics of truth' involves analysing how power functions at its hidden and elementary level, research should be directed at the systems and techniques of domination experienced by subjects in their local context. As everyday resistance is directed at the techniques of power and its individualizing effects on the subject rather than a theoretical enemy, forms of resistance should be analysed in practice (Foucault 1982). For these reasons, this study is located in two departments of a large humanities faculty, in a well-established Australian university, which underwent extensive restructuring following the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. A humanities faculty was also chosen on the basis that the humanities have been under increased stress since the introduction of the 'student choice' policy in 2012, by the Australian Federal Government which was accompanied by a flocking of students to the STEM disciplines (Schubert 2012). There is also evidence that universities prioritize research in the STEM faculties (Thornton 2009 & Gelder 2012).

4.5.6   Risk identification process

Phenomenological research, unlike quantitative research, is employed to enable the researcher to explore, analyse and interpret 'the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it' (Creswell, p.131). However, as this research involves humans it involves potential risks. Because this study involves the conduct of one and a half hour long interviews with practising academics, at a range of

hierarchical levels, issues related to the participants' career opportunities, relationships with other colleagues, and personal well-being needed to be considered in terms of risk. Therefore, considerable time was spent preparing an ethics application which addressed how to minimize potential risks to the participants. These issues included addressing the need for confidentiality and anonymity as well as organizing access to counselling services if the situation arose. Therefore, many safe guards assuring confidentiality and anonymity were documented in the ethics application submitted as well as the name of an independent counsellor the participants could contact if necessary. In addition to identifying processes designed to reduce risks to the participants, a profile of the intended research sample and procedures to be followed, were also documented in the ethics application.

4.5.7 The composition of the sample interviewed

Key details of the sample group to be interviewed, proposed in the Ethics Application, for this study, are as follows:

- A group of eleven participants to be interviewed
- The participants represent both academic managers and managed academics
- The participants represent both senior and more junior academics
- The participants reside in a humanities faculty of an established university which has a history prior to the 1988 Dawkins reforms
- The sample did not include tutors employed as sessional teachers as they were not included on the staff email lists I was given access to

As a result, a sample of eleven academics was selected on the basis of firstly, having consented to be interviewed at the completion of a lengthy invitation/briefing/ liaison/agreement process and secondly, on the basis of being available during the six month period allocated to the data collection phase of the study. A breakdown of their gender and a legend, indicating their academic status, is tabled in Section 4.5.12 of this thesis.

4.5.8   The approval process and recruitment process implemented

Following approval of the Ethics Application for this study at the researcher's university, which also included the approved process to be implemented at the research site university, the liaison process was initiated by the Chief Investigator of this study. This process involved the following steps:

- Contact the Chair and Secretary of the HREC Committee at the university where the study was to be conducted and determine the process for forwarding the approved HREC Ethics Application and its attached approved documentation, to the HREC Committee at the proposed site
- Liaise with the Secretary of that university's HREC Committee about the protocol to be adopted in approaching potential participants
- Seek permission from the Secretary of the HREC Committee, at the proposed university, for the researcher to have access to departments within one of the schools located in the Arts Faculty
- Contact the Head of School, of the selected school in the Arts Faculty at that university, to determine and agree on the process to be used in contacting potential participants in two departments in that school.

Following agreement between the Chief Investigator of this study with the Head of School of the selected school, regarding the protocol to be followed by the researcher in contacting potential participants in departments within that school, the researcher:

- Chose two of the larger departments in this particular school
- Contacted all academics in these two departments by email explaining the purpose of the study and seeking expressions of interest in the study
- Forwarded to those academics, who expressed interest in participating in the study, the supporting documents approved by the HREC Committee at the researcher's university. These documents included the following: Information to Participants Involved in Research, the Consent Form for Participants Involved in Research, a Recruitment Flyer for Potential Participants Involved in the Study and the researcher's comprehensive Curriculum Vitae
- Sent follow-up emails to those who did not respond within two weeks of emailing the supporting information.

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4.5.9 Reassurance process undertaken by the researcher

As a study of this type has potential employment ramifications for the participants taking part unless confidentiality is safeguarded, there was some employment related concerns expressed in the initial responses received. These concerns related to:

- The details of the approval process undertaken at their university. These concerns related to whether the study proposal had been through the HREC process at their institution. The participants also wished to know exactly which managers in their faculty had been party to the approval process and, in particular, what their attitudes were towards the subject of the proposed study. In particular, they wished to know if their Head of School was favourably disposed towards the study

- Concern that any criticism of management practices, which became public, would impact on their career advancement as well as relationships with the managers they reported to

- Clarification about confidentiality related matters during the interview process in their institution

- Clarification about the consent and verification process and

- Clarification on the confidentiality process that the researcher would use after the transcripts were verified.

4.5.10 Confidentiality safeguards

As a result of enquiries about confidentiality, more details were provided about the safeguards, to be put in place, to guarantee the confidentiality of the participants. These safeguards were highlighted in a follow-up email to those expressing concern about confidentiality. Although, the safeguards were the same as those documented in the copy of the Ethics Application which had already been forwarded to them, they were explained more clearly:

- An alpha-numerical code would be assigned to each participant following verification and approval of the transcript of the interview by the participant concerned before sharing with my supervisors or anybody else

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- The original tapes of the interviews are to be stored in the Chief Investigator's office and not accessed by anyone other than the researcher
- All identifying information, in the transcripts of the interviews, to be de-identified before sharing the coded transcripts with either of my supervisors, who are both members of the professoriate, in hard copy. Soft copies were not to be shared
- The Chief Investigator to assure that specified safeguards are complied with in full.

In addition, follow up phone calls were made to each potential participant, who had raised a query, to discuss additional queries which included the details of the approval process implemented at their university and the attitudes of managers in their faculty towards the proposed study. However, as the attitudes of those academic managers involved in the approved approval and recruitment process had been only positive, this factor was perceived as a great source of relief to the potential participants.

4.5.11 Timing impacted on the recruitment process

There was a considerable degree of interest displayed in this project by many academics, in both of the departments, nominated by the Head of School as being interested in the study. However, the final group of eleven were finalized on the basis that they were available during the six months allocated to the data collection phase. For example, some of those who expressed interest apologised for not being available as they were either about to accept a temporary or permanent position elsewhere, go on leave, take maternity leave or alternatively had just returned from extended leave and were in catch up mode. A few respondents, who were visiting scholars, replied that they did not feel they had the type of knowledge or insight into either the higher education system in Australia or the institution's managerial system, in order to be able to participate meaningfully. However, a small group in both departments canvassed, replied explaining that as they had no interest in the subject, they could not make an informed contribution to the study.

Overall, every academic contacted on the staff lists in both departments, indicated their intention to participate or not participate within a month or so of being contacted. Furthermore, they all took the time to provide a reason for either accepting or rejecting the invitation to participate in the project.

4.5.12 The composition of the group of participants interviewed

As some research suggests that the values of academic managers align more with managerial values than those of managed academics (Winter 2009), it was important to seek academics from both categories of academics. Furthermore, as some research indicates that academics employed on short term contracts were more likely to be interested in compliance than resisting the managerial discourse (Giroux 2006 & Thornton 2009), it was also important to get tenured as well as non-tenured academics in the sample. The composition of the eleven participants interviewed in this study, which represents a vertical slice of academics located in the two departments involved, is presented below. It includes:

- Three full professors, four associate professors, two senior lecturers and two lecturers. At the professorial level, the participants had or currently perform a range of academic management roles. One had been the Dean of the Arts Faculty and one was the current Deputy Dean, two had been Head of School, two had been the Head of their respective departments and one is a current Head of Department. It should also be noted that the policy of the school is that academics move in and out of management roles so that they do not lose sight of what it means to be an intellectual
- The four lecturers in the study had all joined the faculty following its restructuring in the late nineteen nineties
- The sample includes five women and six men; two of the women had been or were currently acting as academic managers while four of the men had been or were currently acting as academic managers
- The sample also includes two academics on short term contracts.

A table depicting the legend used to indicate the academic status of the participants interviewed is presented below.

Table 6: Legend indicating academic status

Symbol	Status
P	Full professor
AP	Associate professor
SL	Senior Lecturer
L	Lecturer

A table presenting the gender breakdown is presented below.

Table 7: Gender breakdown

Number & Status	Gender
3 Full professors	2 males & 1 female
4 Associate professors	3 males & 1 female
2 Senior Lecturers	2 females
2 Lecturers	1 male & 1 female

Note: I am using the pronoun 'she' to represent a singular female and the pronoun 'he' to represent a singular male. As a result, the gender of a singular participant is revealed due to the use of these conventional grammatical identifiers.

4.5.13 Occupational Health & Safety Issues

Although the academic participants are unlikely to be impacted by unequal power relationships between the researcher and participant, it was anticipated that some participants may experience anxiety due to the retelling of their experiences with the managerial discourse, departments. Therefore, preventive action was taken by identifying a risk reduction process which was documented in the approved HREC Ethics Application.

4.5.14 The interview process and lines of inquiry

In order to enable the participants to offer full and reflective perspectives on themes being researched, the semi structured interview approach comprises:

- A semi structured interview format. A semi structured interview format is regarded as more suited to the highly educated participants than the employment of pre-determined 'structured interviews' which are accompanied by instructions such as 'never interpret the meaning of a question, just repeat it and/or give instructions or clarifications provided in training' (Silverman 2006, p. 121). However, although the interview format is semi-structured, a document 'Appendix G – Research Lines of Inquiry for Participants at Proposed University' was developed and approved as an attachment to the Ethics Application approved by the HREC Committee

- A one to one 'Being-With' approach on the basis I consider myself 'as one's own person in relation to another person, bringing one's own knowledge and experience into the relationship' (Patton 2002, p. 8).

Note:

On the basis that the Ethics Application for this study had already been approved by the university, of the researcher, the Secretary of the HREC Committee at the research site university determined that it was not necessary for the HREC Committee at that university to also approve it.

The approved lines of enquiry to be pursued are summarised below:

- Vision and values motivating everyday academic practice
- Perception of collegiality
- Issues perceived as limiting autonomy
- Perception of Quality
- Challenges in research and teaching
- Degree of alignment of values (personal, scholarly and disciplinary) with the managerial discourse
- Degree of tension experienced in satisfying both the managerial discourse and disciplinary discourses
- Type of responses adopted in managing the managerial discourse
- Challenges and new opportunities presented by the managerial discourse.

However, these lines of enquiry, which were discussed with the participants at the beginning of each interview, provided a guide only. This is because the hermeneutical and dialectical approach, described by Guba & Lincoln (1994, p. 111), suggests that 'individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondents'. It was, therefore, important that the participants were able to narrate personal stories which they felt illustrated the point they wished to make about their encounters with the managerial discourse, before the researcher referred back to the lines of enquiry indicated above. For example, two participants recounted quite harrowing experiences about how they were affected by the massive restructuring program undertaken following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. However, when asked if they wanted to stop, they both replied that their stories should be told. In fact, it was some of these more emotionally charged encounters with the management discourse, which provided key insights into the values of these participants.

4.6 Limitations of this research
4.6.1   Small sample size

The principal methodological limitation of this research is that it is qualitative and phenomenological. This means my findings only refer to the specific small group of eleven participants interviewed. This means these finding cannot be directly extrapolated to all academics in other universities, however, where these findings resonate with other qualitative research findings in a range of other universities, an indication of similarity can be made.

Although the sample size of academic participants is small, this limitation is partly offset by the fact it represents a vertical slice of the faculty and departments in which these participants are located. The managerial roles performed by these participants, past and currently, include the dean and deputy dean of the faculty, head of school and head of department in the institution as well as a range of senior managerial roles in off shore ventures. In addition, a number of the professorial participants have been or are still serving on a range of research and teaching related committees at various levels in

the institution. Moreover, the professorial participants, with the exception of one only, were in the faculty either before or during the restructuring of the faculty commencing in the late nineteen nineties. Furthermore, although the four participants at lecturer level had all joined the institution following the restructuring of the faculty, they have all experienced similar managerial systems in other universities. Furthermore, as three of the participants at lecturer level are accountable for an end to end teaching delivery process, they operate at the coal face in the institution. In addition, the remaining academic at lecturer level is perceived as a 'productive researcher'. Therefore, because she is currently in the research pipeline, she is able to contrast the life of a researcher with the life of a teacher in charge of a service delivery process as she previously was in this position herself.

4.6.2 Selection of interpretative frameworks

It is also possible that the different interpretative frameworks accessed in this study may result in different interpretations of the data collected. However, these limitations are offset by my own operational experience of other management systems in other industries. Therefore, I can access my own experience as a point of contrast and comparison in the analysis process. In addition, my training as a quality manager and quality auditor in engineering organizations means I bring a systems interpretation to the data collected in the project. This system of thinking equips me to continuously contrast the part with the whole, which is also a characteristic of the phenomenological/hermeneutical methodology being employed. Therefore, although the sample comprises only eleven participants, the data collected in this study will be subject to an exhaustive process of analysis and interpretation.

4.7 Contribution to knowledge

This study provides the opportunity to explore not only the impact of the managerial discourse on the participants, which is the subject of most research in this area. In contrast, the scope of this study is also designed to explore the range of strategies which the participants adopt to respond to the managerial discourse. In addition, the lines of enquiry are designed to encourage an open discussion on those issues emerging as significantly impacting academic identity in the literature review. In addition, the scope

of the study is designed to focus on a number of issues which the literature suggests are under researched. These issues include institutional reflexivity and the role of intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality in assuring quality of research and teaching. Therefore, it is proposed that the contribution these participants offer in relation to some of these under researched aspects of academic practice will result in the production of new knowledge.

4.8 Purpose of Chapters 5-7

The next three chapters of this thesis present an analysis and discussion of the significant finding of this research. In particular, Chapter 5 is focussed on the participants' perceptions of how the managerial discourse impacts on research and teaching.

Chapter 5: Less than flattering perceptions of the managerial discourse

5.1 Introduction to the pparticipants' perceptions of the managerial discourse

5.1.1 Higher education policy background in Australia

In Chapters 1-3 of this thesis, the recent history of higher education in Australia since the Hawke-Keating Federal Labor Government (1983-1996) restructured the Australian economy, including higher education, in order to be globally competitive was discussed. This discussion included how higher education transitioned from a social liberal policy framework to a neoliberal policy framework (Rivzi & Lingard 2009 & 2011) following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. As a result, the macro and micro administrative regulatory architecture underlying university governance, now reflects the concepts and technologies associated with new public management thinking and practices (Cowen, 2010, Roberts & Lindsay 2014). In Chapter 2 of this thesis the notion that liberal governmentality cannot be reduced to an ideology, nor reduced to the domination of one individual or class over another, due to it being the product of rationalized discourses (Foucault 1980), was also discussed. This was despite Foucault (1980, p. 131) also advising that every society has its 'régime of truth', consisting of a 'a few great political and economic apparatuses' comprising mechanisms for making one discourse more acceptable than another (Foucault 1980). However, the role of global policy institutes such as the IMF and the OECD in promoting a neoliberal social imaginary (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Rivzi & Lingard 2009) as well as the notion that neoliberal core principles and concepts vary in depth in local practise (Cahill 2010, Dean 2012, & Theodore & Peck 2012) were also discussed.

Overall, as the literature reviewed indicated that governmentality is a complex process which has global, national and local dimensions, this study is directed towards the analysis of local practices in order for the rationality and techniques of management underlying them to be revealed (Foucault 1988). This chapter is the first of three analysis chapters.

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5.1.2   The focus of the first analysis chapter

This chapter seeks to explore how the eleven academic participants, interviewed in this study, perceive and experience the managerial discourse in their institution. In particular, it seeks to explore their perceptions of the impact of marketization and performativity on their research and teaching practice as well as the shifting power relations in the institution. It also seeks to explore the relationship between quality and performativity. This is because recent research, by Anderson (2007), Parker (2013), Baird (2014) and Craig et al (2014) indicates that academics find quality quantitative in nature, burdensome and non-value adding. The following two chapters explore the strategies these respondents adopt to respond to the managerial discourse as well as the impact of neoliberal governance on their academic values and identity.

5.2 The participants' perceptions of power relations
5.2.1   The consolidation of power in the executive

The restructuring of the faculty, in the institution in which these participants are located, commenced in the late 1990s following the appointment of the 'interventionist' Vice-Chancellor. Prior to his appointment, the executive had focussed on integrating the newly acquired Colleges of Advanced Education as well as devising strategies for positioning the university advantageously globally (AP2). This meant that faculty deans had all continued to act as 'little gods' in their own 'self-governing little bodies' which also stymied radical change (P3, p.6). However, this situation changed radically when the 'interventionist' Vice-Chancellor appointed deans whose values aligned with those of the executive. From this point on 'you got vigorous interference' (P3, p. 6). The consolidation of power, at the executive level was rapidly progressed, when the 'financial rug was pulled out from under us' shortly afterwards (P3, p. 6).

The control of the faculty by the executive has been further consolidated through the creation of specialist positions, which are replicated at the faculty level:

> There's not just not one dean anymore, there's an Associate Dean of speciality areas; kind of sub deans, so at that level, it starts to come down as pressure; they're responding to the Vice-Chancellor's office which has the same sub

divisions; research, education etc. and, all the rest of it, and they have professional advisories attached to them (SL1, p.13).

Deans are no longer perceived as little gods of self-governing territories. In fact, the faculty now report to the Senior Management Group, in the executive, on a regular basis:

> They actually visit the faculty. They send a delegation over to the faculty and we have to report to them whether we're achieving their goals. It's extraordinary. The faculty responds to them …the VC, Provost Deputy VCs, the Finance Group … They literally come over here as a delegation (AP1, p. 10).

As a result, faculty academic managers are now perceived by many of the participants as translators of corporate edicts at faculty level:

> In some sense it is us against them the managers. We go to faculty meetings where're you're basically told what's happening. It doesn't come from the bottom anymore. It's all imposed from above. They're literally readings of the latest policy that we will be instituting and what you all have to do. I've got a number of colleagues who have just joined us from America and they are astounded at what we have to put up with. And people take it. I'm astounded (AP1, p. 10).

In addition, the new class of specialists advise 'on things like how are we going to measure research activities (SL1, p. 13).

5.2.2 The emergence of an official management class

The new class of executive managers are regarded as a highly ambitious group of mangers who are motivated by personal agendas. As they commonly join the executive at Vice Chancellor or Pro Vice-Chancellor level with a vision of what they want to achieve in their new portfolio, they are not easily subject to faculty persuasion:

> They have their KPIs they are expected to make. They come in with an agenda and they don't take kindly to people further down the food chain saying that look you're putting an enormous amount of effort into this but it's not working or even worse this isn't going to work (P1, p. 8).

Therefore, negotiation on key corporate performance indicators is extremely limited in nature, if non-existent in some areas. In fact, key performance indicators 'were just given to us and we were told this is what you must do in the faculty' (P1, p. 8). These findings are confirmed by research by McInness (2009) and Baird (2014) that firstly,

the executive has increased control over the faculties through the appointment of expert managers and through replicating corporate positions in the faculties. Secondly, it confirms research by McInness (2009) and Baird (2014) that this initiative has not resulted in greater access to power at the faculty level.

Some participants perceive that the consolidation of power at the executive level and the creation of replicate corporate specialist roles in the faculty have resulted in the emergence of an official management class. Two classes of academics have emerged with different identities. However, the academics who identify with the official management class have 'got one identity now, except that, they insist on calling themselves professors; but they're not professors by any stretch of the imagination (AP1, p.14). Consequently, these academics experience great difficulty in empathizing with the pressures of being a practising academic. However, participant AP1, believes that if academic managers only deal with people who resist being cooperative, they can be conditioned into thinking policies need to be designed for the most recalcitrant academics rather than the majority. Therefore, as a result of dealing with 'the complainers and the ones who don't want to be collegiate and that sort of stuff', these managers develop 'a distorted view of humanity' which results in them designing 'the worst policies designed to deal with the worst student or the very worst person' (AP1, p. 14).

5.2.3 The corporate approach clashes with the collegiate approach

There is a common view among the professorial participants interviewed that managers need to trust their staff and treat them with respect:

> My view on this and has always been that you trust your staff, and I did this with my staff, and if someone tries to rip you off, you go and get them but you don't treat everyone as if they're a potential thief (AP1, p. 15).

But the 'official management class', according to AP1, share a different set of values:

> Some of them are quislings. They are the sort of people in any organisation who would be on the make. They're just that type. As I said earlier on, there's a long tradition of people, and to a certain extent it still exists, of people who are good academics putting up their hands for doing some management tasks but seeing themselves fundamentally as scholars. But we've moved away from that and now what we have is an official management class and some of them actually

talk about their former careers when they were scholars. I was quite shocked when I first saw that (AP1, p. 14).

Members of this class no longer trust their staff. In fact, unlike AP1, they have a negative view of staff. In fact:

The standard model is that you are guilty until proven innocent, but anybody who's had any success in any organisation will tell you that's exactly the wrong way to operate (AP1, p. 15).

However, their behaviour is also attributed to personal disposition 'it is personality driven. You can still be a dean or senior academic or whatever but not lose that focus and I know many people who have been in that situation' (AP1, p. 9). The role of personality in determining how specialist managers behave towards their colleagues was also referred to by participant P1 and AP4. Unfortunately, because of the growth of the managerial class in the last 5-10 years, this type of management culture is becoming entrenched (AP1).

Overall, the data analysed in this study, confirms research by McInnis (2009) that the expansion of the managerialist discourse into the faculty, with its tiered levels of specialist positions, is beginning to test traditional scholarly values like autonomy and capacity for self-regulation. Furthermore, it is also testing the level of trust that these academic participants have in the experts colonizing the new expert systems which Giddens (1991) advised would lead to greater self-actualization for those who access them.

5.2.4   External governmentality drives micro management

The data analysed also indicates that federal government policy requirements are driving the corporate focus on micro management. Participant AP2 thought 'The Office of Teaching and Learning in Canberra, drives the system in subtle ways through the criteria set out in its Teaching Awards' (AP2, p. 4). As a result 'universities now have to spend a lot of work on what is legal what is not legal and what's transparent for Canberra' (AP2, p. 4). In addition, the level of micro management is a direct response to the range of accountabilities now devolved to universities:

I think there has been a huge increase in micro management of universities by government. It's not just reporting, there's a whole lot more accountability of

various kinds. If you go back to the 1990's, there was no idea of targets. In my role then, nobody said you have to publish two papers a year and you have to pursue research income and you have to make sure your graduate students are completed. There was none of that (P2, p. 6).

Overall, there is consensus, among the professorial participants interviewed that firstly, there has been a radical shift in policy direction from the early 2000s when policy was essentially driven from the faculty or department (P2, P3 & AP2). Secondly, there is consensus that external policy requirements are driving the shift towards micro management (P3, P2, AP2 & AP4). There was also awareness among non-professorial participants that academic managers have to deal with 'the real world' and all its 'exigencies and contingencies and therefore, 'have to do what it takes' (SL2, p. 3). In fact, participant SL2 thought that academics, who are not academic managers, are somewhat protected from the world of management. The capacity of academics, who haven't served as academic managers, to fully appreciate the struggles faced by leaders in struggling to 'hold the university together' in a complex environment, is a phenomenon also referred to by Blackmore (2014, p. 208). However, the pressure on managers, including academic managers, to continuously adapt to changing external requirements has fostered a climate of institutional reflexivity.

5.2.5   Institutional reflexivity results in dramatic shifts in direction

As a result of the institution having to continuously adapt to satisfy the demands of external governmentality as well as market forces, the institution has become more reflexive. The Senior Management Group is perceived by many participants, in this study as acting reflexively in responding to changing market forces. For example, many of these managers are perceived of as consistently making U turns in policy direction: Moreover, dramatic shifts in policy direction are made without any input from the people at the coal face:

> Three years ago it was RESEARCH, RESEARCH, RESEARCH, but since the international student numbers went down, it's TEACHING, TEACHING, TEACHING. I mean it drives you nuts and the university does it without any consultation with the staff and there is this feeling there are two camps, one the administrators and the other the academics (L2, p. 3).

Radical policy shifts of this type are also perceived as an outcome of the executive trying to manage competing objectives. For example, although the strategic focus of the university, involves pursuing international rankings through research, the Senior Management Group is perceived as being in a perpetual quandary about how to reconcile this objective with their revenue base. This is because the reality is that it is teaching and students who generate the primary revenue stream, not research:

> At times, the strategic focus will be on the quality of teaching and at other times the quality of research. The university has always had this difficult situation where we want to be a G8 university but we're so reliant on student fees. We always have more students than we really should, so if we wanted to push the research agenda, we'd have to shrink the number of students but if we shrink the number of students we are in deep doo doo because the marginal rate is so little it makes much more sense to pack as many in as possible (AP1, p. 16).

The Senior Management Group is similarly caught between the contradictions within the managerial discourse involved in maintaining a high rate of HDR completions:

> What I've seen is a sort of cycle. Two years will all be about HDR completions and then the way to ensure HDR completion rates. Let's let less students in and make the barriers higher, then your % completion rate will be higher. If you only let the very top students in you might end up with 100% completion rate. Some people will do that and some managers will say look at the stats and say enrolments have plummeted, whereupon places will be opened up and rewards for enrolling them and prepared to take more on and completion rates will plummet and so on (AP3, p. 8).

In a reflexive system like the knowledge economy (Soros 2013 & Beinhocker 2013) with its franchisee institutions, national level policy changes have ramifications for other parts of the system. As a consequence, institutional reflexivity has emerged as a necessary system response for universities needing to respond to policy changes as well as downturns in the international student market. However, the Senior Management Group is also perceived as making decisions which advance their own career prospects.

Senior managers feel the need to make visible improvements. Consequently many of the improvements to online platforms are perceived as not only a mechanism for increasing productivity, but as a way of senior management making a visible career mark:

> Managers like to say they're keeping up with technology. They like to be seen as doing something. So it seems easy to sell the university the idea of a system, so

that when you leave the university, you can say I introduced this amazing system (AP3, p. 7).

Therefore, the strategy of advancing one's own career through highly visible improvements, mirrors a characteristic of behaviour exhibited by elites in late modernity in which individuals 'need to be well connected and continuously on the move' in order to stay ahead of the game (Bauman 2005, p. 134).

5.2.6   A lack of morality underpins institutional reflexivity

Some participants interviewed perceive the degree of reflexivity adopted by the Senior Management Group as immoral. This is because they are perceived as indifferent to both staff and student needs. For example, even though the university had purposefully chased the funding, the previous government had made available for lower socio-economic students in response to the 2008 Bradley Report, it failed to provide any additional resources to support them:

> With the last government, there was money to be had for the extra funding of lower socio-economic students, so we went out and chased these students and it wasn't that we cared about them. But for many of us on the ground, it became a real problem, because, I hate to have to say this, but the students we were chasing were marginal students, which was an awful lot of work for us and not much real benefit for them, and the money was just creamed off (AP1, p. 16).

Furthermore, the failure to honour social responsibilities is not considered something which a socially committed university would engage in. For example, 'a university that was genuinely committed, would have poured money into the bottom to support these people' (AP1, p. 16). In addition, a particular regional campus had suffered because 'some faculties chose to take good people out and put less attractive programs there and this was to the detriment of the campus' (P1, p. 13). Consequently, the data analysed in this study, indicates that the Senior Management Group is prepared to prioritize status seeking programs over those programs established for a social purpose.

The Senior Management Group is also perceived as purposefully sending contradictory messages to the workforce to satisfy conflicting managerial requirements. For example, one email will tell staff to lead a balanced lifestyle while the next one will tell you to work harder. However, everyone knows which is the 'real message' and that

management is just going through the motions of being seen to have complied with conflicting corporate requirements:

> The Deputy Vice-Chancellor made a remark about that to be a good researcher you must work all the time. This is said in the context of getting emails about work/life balance. Yeah, well one is the real message and the other one is someone somewhere trying to make sure they don't get sued for people's nervous breakdowns. We've got a policy…we've sent the emails to spend (AP3, p. 12).

Although, there is also a perception that there is a misanthropic intent behind many global emails:

> We get these global emails just sent down to us and they're quite often written by people who are misanthropic and whether that's the nature of the beast, the tone of these things is contemptuous (AP1, p. 14).

However, the perception that management send contradictory messages of a misanthropic nature is perceived as a product of the pressure on them to satisfy the requirements of competing discourses. For example, due to an external requirement for all managers in every organisation to be able to demonstrate compliance with the requirements of Occupational, Health and Safety legislation, they are obliged to communicate information about work lifestyle balance. However, everybody knows what 'the real message' is in a university in which the executive prioritise research at the expense of everything else (AP3, p. 12). Therefore, some of these participants place little trust in the emails of senior managers whom they perceive as having more interest in being seen to have complied with regulatory requirements than in progressing academic well-being.

5.2.7 Academic long term goals clash with corporate goals

Many participants interviewed perceive the long term goals of both the institution and its academics clash with the short term goals of the Vice-Chancellor and the Senior Management Group. Both participants (P1 & SL1) perceive the long term goals of the institution and the short term goals of senior management conflict with each other due to 'the performance indicators and the contracts of senior management placing a priority on achieving short term goals' (P1, p. 10). However, 'the reputation of the university is a long term goal' (P1, p. 10). For example, participants P1 and SL1 explain that scholars

are not bounded by institutional goals as their audience includes international specialists in their discipline. Whereas, 'international career prospects depend on how you are ranked with international colleagues', in contrast, 'promotional goals in the university are based on internal goals and internal metrics' (SL1, p. 16). This means there is an ongoing conflict between managerial and disciplinary goals.

The differences between managerial and disciplinary objectives are exacerbated by the three year planning cycle plus a lack of understanding among corporate level specialists as to what academics actually do. For example, management underestimates the resources and length of time required to produce a major book:

> If you have an evaluation process that considers a book to be the equivalent of five articles, I can tell you straight out that a major book is far more than producing five articles (P1, p. 9).

Although these particular participants appreciate the complexity of decision making in a changing environment, fundamental differences in the values underpinning disciplinary objectives result in a conflict in focus:

> I think there's a fundamental contradiction here between a line management kind of approach and one that sees itself as being directed to specific institutional goals, on the one hand, and the objectives of people at the chalk face and people who are engaged in, as I was saying before, communicating to an audience that is international (P1, p. 10).

The type of values embedded in the traditional collegial form of governance and those embedded in the present form of governance are perceived as incompatible by some participants. For example, the 'fantasy of the idea of tenure' is still embedded in the existing structure for academic employment whereas neoliberalism promotes workplace flexibility in order for businesses and the public sector to be more competitive (SL2 p. 3). This means:

> They're really caught between a rock and a hard place… because the fantasy of the idea of tenure is so contrary to the demands of labour in neoliberal economics; we need labour to be flexible, moveable, and sackable…the idea of tenure is the absolute opposite to the aims of neoliberalism (SL2, p. 3).

Furthermore, the problem is compounded by the fact that many of these managers lack the management skills to be successful neoliberal managers. For example, 'if these people want to be authentic neoliberal managers, they need to do an MBA and learn

about risk management' (SL2, p.7). However, the reality is, they're situated in the worst of both worlds because 'they've got the academics anal obsession with getting things wrong, but they don't have the chutzpah of the neoliberal because neoliberals will take calculated risks' (SL2, p.7).

5.2.8   The need for a coherent vision which academics can trust

The institution is perceived as lacking clarity of vision due to trying to appease everybody. This is because the executive fail to 'actually work out what they are' and therefore, try to be 'everything to everyone' with the result that everyone is 'stressed out' (SL2, p. 8). In contrast, this participant, who has since taken up a position at a non G8 university in another state, reports that her new university has a much more relaxed and democratic managerial style. She thought this could possibly be because 'my new university is comfortable with its position and has decided to do what it does well and not go bonkers' (SL2, p. 8). As a result of the more relaxed managerial style at her new university, she would 'definitely rather be there than at the more prestigious university because 'if people seem relaxed and nice, it really assists your well-being' (SL2, p. 8).

Overall, there is a perception that many of the initiatives undertaken by the executive were reflexive, contradictory and misanthropic. In addition this type of management approach led to a waste of resources as well as resulting in a highly pressured academic workforce. Therefore a participant, at the teaching coalface, pleaded for a moratorium on change:

> I think that the most respected VC at this university, and at others, would be the one who has the courage to say I am here for the next 5 years, I'm not changing anything, just all get on with doing what you do and do it to your best ability. I'm not going to establish any new criteria or make any new demands. I'm going to give you all a respite for five years; a breather from all of these innovations in research and teaching (L2, p. 5).

In contrast, this lecturer felt that 'At the moment we are like Colgate, repackaging the same thing into flashier wrappers' (L2, p. 5).

5.3 Participant perceptions of the research driven institution

5.3.1 International alliances and linkages waste limited resources

The executive pursue international rankings through the prioritization of research. This strategy involves pursuing international alliances and linkages in order to position the university and its students on a global stage. While there is a general awareness that the prioritization of research has both benefits as well as costs, the four associate professors, interviewed expressed more extreme positions on this strategy. For example, one associate professor virtually paraphrased the current Vice-Chancellor's justification of a strategy to establish an alliance with a top British university:

> Given the GNP of Australia, we can't generate enough money to support our higher education system, so in the [name of British university] Alliance, pairing with a matching university was basically to create a funding base for research which is a framework for creating the ideas which actually support our student base, because our student base can no longer support our research infrastructure and the ARC can't either but we just can't generate enough money (AP2, p. 8).

Like the Vice-Chancellor, participant AP2, was equally concerned about the source of future funding, given the decline in the government contribution. For example, he advised that the government had only contributed '23% of the cost of running the university five years ago' and that 'this small contribution was now being pared back even more'(AP2, p. 8). Therefore, this participant defends the strategy of appointing corporate experts to manage the changing policy context in which the institution was now expected to do more with less. His analysis of the plight of the institution was also supported by participant AP4 who had also just been appointed to a new managerial position. In contrast, the other two associate professors regarded elements of the research focussed executive strategic agenda as a waste of limited resources. In fact, both participants AP1 & AP3 thought the Vice-Chancellor should be more realistic and refrain from spending limited resources on pursuing his personal dream for the university to have a Nobel Prize winner.

The four associate professors interviewed also shared more extreme positions on the adoption of a business mentality. The two recently promoted associate professors, AP 2 and AP4, thought the adoption of a business mentality by the Senior Management

Group both broadened the definition of what an academic traditionally does as well as opening up new career options in management:

> The sheer size and diversity of the university, built up through this type of program over many years, offered both the institution and its staff a level of protection, not available to lesser institutions if deregulation were to proceed (AP4, p. 9).

Therefore, these participants admired the Vice-Chancellor for his entrepreneurial off-shore vision.

In contrast, the two more critical associate professors thought the executive was pursing an outdated business model. One participant thought the 'Think Big' and 'economies of scale' Japanese management model, adopted by both the government and the Vice-Chancellors in the 1980s as flawed in nature (AP1, p. 6). This participant referred to the rise and fall of the Skase and Bond corporations in Australia, during this period, as prime examples of flawed thinking. He also noted that while these conglomerates all broke up in the nineties 'we're stuck with it' (AP1, p. 6). Furthermore, chasing expensive international linkages was also considered duplicating what academics naturally do this in the course of their research:

> We've gone out and created these international linkages with different universities but they have nothing in common. It's just a pain in the backside for everyone but it's because some senior people think this is a good idea but, whereas, if you really wanted to collaborate with people you would have, because you would've met them at a conference or you looked at their work or something. It's like a form of matchmaking or something; you two KISS. You know, it's just ridiculous, it wastes everybody's time. It's just basically people flying around the world wasting megabucks (AP1, p. 4).

5.3.2 Unrealistic research objectives given limited funding

The strategic plan was also the subject of criticism by the two more critical associate professors due to the executive strategy to compete with well supported international and regional universities being perceived as completely unrealistic. For example, participant AP3 cited the ambition to be the top university, in the Asia/Pacific, as particularly fanciful. Moreover, participant AP1 thought the executive strategy of competing for international rankings with well-endowed universities, like Harvard, represented a flawed business strategy:

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> We are never going to compete so why bother? If you are a genuine entrepreneur, a genuinely smart businessman you go for a niche but these idiots, and they are total idiots, spend their time competing with universities that have fifty times the endowments, that are funded privately, and they are forcing us to this stuff. It drives me mad. Who do they think they are? It is colonial cringe of the worst type (AP1, p. 7).

Furthermore, they considered the executive's desire to chase international rankings was at the expense of other stakeholders, including the students and the tax payers of Australia. Participant AP1 thought it was immoral that members of the executive were 'jetting round the world talking to each other' while pursuing rankings while people like his 'migrant mother, who had worked hard and paid taxes all her life were obliged to fund the lives of the rich and famous' (AP1, p. 8). Consequently, the Vice-Chancellor needs to be reminded that:

> You're not a corporate CEO, you're meant to be a scholar. So why are you sitting down the front of the plane jetting off to colonise some far flung place? (AP1, p. 6).

Moreover, 'the grandiose VC' pursues this business model even though 'those of us on the ground are just working our backsides off for no real outcome' (AP1, p. 6). Even worse, participant AP3 perceived the executive to be particularly indifferent to the welfare of the academic researchers. This was because they were expected to work round the clock in order to fulfil unrealistic ambitions for the institution to compete with the top universities in the region:

> The University Research Master Plan has as its goal something. I don't see how anyone can say with a straight face, which is to become the top ranked university in the Asian Pacific region. If you thought about that for a moment that would mean competing with the University of Singapore and the University of Tokyo which are both funded in a way no university in Australia is funded. So having a crazy aspiration is not good for an institution (AP3, p. 12).

Overall, these two associate professors strongly objected to the unrealistic and 'grandiose' schemes of the executive on the basis they were conducted at the expense of the welfare of others.

5.3.3 The corporate research strategy prioritizes some disciplines

The expansionist corporate research strategy was also perceived as favouring some faculties and some researchers over others. For example, the policy of student led places

introduced in 2012, which increased revenue for faculties like business and the humanities, did not translate into benefits for these faculties which have low overheads. This was because '60% of it is not returned to the originating faculty' (AP1, p. 17). Instead, it is used to cross subsidize STEM faculties:

> Most of us think that medicine does quite well out of this, partly because the medicos are all well represented in the higher echelons at the moment but if your goal as a senior executive in the Senior Management Group as they call themselves, is to get a Noble Prize, you don't invest in the Humanities … you must invest in Biomedicine as that's where they'll all come from (AP1, p. 17).

The data analysed, from this study, regarding the prioritization of research in STEM disciplines, is also confirmed by other research which indicates the knowledge economy's preference for STEM disciplines over the humanities. For example, the cross disciplinary research study by Ylijoki et al (2011) found that the sciences had the greatest access to multiple sources of funding, external markets and research options while the humanities had more restricted access. In addition, Taylor et al (2013) found that knowledge economy policy objectives which steer university quasi-markets, have impacted adversely on the humanities in particular university markets. For example, research universities 'appear to have de-emphasized humanities doctoral programs' (Slaughter et al 2013, p. 670). Furthermore, interaction with external markets can provide departments like 'Technology and Medicine' with greater research and teaching funding than departments such as 'Divinity and Education' (Askling & Henkel 2006, p. 98). Overall, the requirement that the university becomes a knowledge economy producer has led to a focus on vocational skills acquisition and the contraction of the liberal arts (Thornton 2009).

5.3.4   Some research is prioritized over other research

Some research projects are considered more likely to obtain funding than others in this institution. For example, individual research projects, and Australian focussed research, are considered less attractive in terms of obtaining funding (AP4, p. 9). In contrast, collaborative projects are considered more attractive than individual projects; in particular, collaborative projects with an international focus:

> From the university's point of view multinational collaborative projects with funding from all sorts of places, with a lot of books, conferences, articles etc. as outcomes would be a dream come true (AP4, p. 11).

However, collaborative research proposals, which are preferably directed 'towards the policy sort of stuff are more likely to get funding' in an Australian context (P3, p. 14). Ironically, participant, P3, who has spent her entire career working on collaborative projects, while being advised by university management that publishing as an individual was a pre requisite for promotional purposes, now finds it more difficult to get funding as an individual. Therefore, data analysed in this research confirms that researchers are subject to self-disciplinary pressures which increasingly regulate 'the conduct of researchers' and constrain academic freedom (Gendron 2008, p. 119).

5.3.5 Market focussed research practices distort the discipline

The amount of research funding obtained by faculties, in this institution, is a key corporate performance indicator and, is benchmarked with faculties in other institutions. Therefore, this strategy has led to the practice of researchers being encouraged to inflate the cost of research proposals even though these additional funds may not be necessary for good research:

> You're not rewarded for doing good work cheaply. You're rewarded for getting a lot of the money so the institutional imperative is to make the grant really expensive and that had all sort of distortions on the discipline. …You'll be rewarded by getting lots of money even if the cost benefits are less than the case of the person who doesn't want money (AP3, p. 9).

Furthermore, the focus on applied research distorts the discipline. For example**,** **'**although clients want expert input, they also want extreme positions in recommendations' in order to be able to demonstrate that they have employed experts to consider both ends of the continuum. Therefore, 'there is an unwritten understanding that, if you want to be employed in this area, you will adjust your recommendations to suit the research brief' (AP3, p. 15). It was explained by participant AP3 that extreme positions suit the client brief more than considered moderate positions.

5.3.6 The quantitative approach is stressful and wasteful

The quantitative approach to research and the focus on productivity has led to academics feeling stressed out. This is partly because they are encouraged to write research proposals for fellowships, which are a waste of time as most people can see they won't get one. As a result, these proposals also waste the time of those who have to 'read it, rank it and then comment on it' (AP3, p. 4). Furthermore, as the administrative load attached to how you spend the grant is so time consuming, it makes you careful about what you wish for. As a result:

> It's hard not to think if they just took the entire ARC budget and divided it up equally among the academics and they gave you a bit more time to do research you'd get a better outcomes (AP3, p. 10).

In addition, the practice of rewarding researchers on the basis of quantity of publications has led to researchers publishing the same research in different ways. For example, 'these days, we quite cheerfully publish the same article three times' (P3, p. 14). However, the practice of publishing the same piece of research in three different journals, by giving it a 'different spin', makes this professorial participant feel like she is 'selling the academic enterprise down the gurgler' (P3, p. 15). Furthermore, this professorial participant felt particularly worried about the additional stress suffered by young academics, who are also mothers, due to a lack of time:

> You've got to have space, it's terribly hard to do it and the young mum, some of the young ones who are also mums are trying to be a full time teacher and a full time researcher, you know and there's a lot more reporting that has to be done and there's more committee work. The whole thing, the pressure is much worse than it used to be (P3, p. 16).

Generally, there was agreement that it would be a far more cost effective strategy if researchers were allocated the time they needed to do good research. In addition, stasis is regarded as necessary in order for researchers to be fully productive:

> I think change is good, and often times resistance to change is that people don't want to change their practices where they are comfortable and but there's the other side of that is that research flourishes in benign environments and I think there are studies about that. So if you want to do good research you actually need stasis around you, you can't deal with change, so I think that's where the conflict is. If you've got to deal with change in the teaching realm, you've got to

engage with it all the time which means you haven't got as much space for research (AP2, p. 10).

5.3.7 Consequences for researchers

The corporate focus on devising strategies which prioritize the obtaining of research funds has also lead to the cult of the 'genius researcher' and specialisation:

> This mad system we have now, where suddenly people are genius researchers, so they must have their bums kissed all the time. But it's just not the case, employ good all- rounders and you'll shine (AP1, p. 13).

In contrast, the focus on producing and rewarding 'genius researchers' has led to the university adopting recruitment strategies which reward departments that can attract highly cited researchers to the university:

> The university has a scheme with lots of money where if you can identify HI CI researchers, and if you can persuade them to come here, the university might pay their salary for the first five years without any cost to your school program or until they are established and bringing in income themselves (P2, p. 8).

However, the phenomenon of 'genius researchers', who stay in the research pipeline for years at a time, on the basis of their ability to attract funding, is perceived as leading to more junior lecturers picking up heavy teaching loads:

> There is a problem with the grants, especially with the ARC, which is a clique of people who get grants then do the research and based on that they do publications and based on that they get more grants and so on while other academics are left doing the lion's share of teaching and other obligations, so there's a huge inequality…these academics go from grant to grant to grant and have been on research for fifteen years (L2, p. 3).

The cult of nurturing 'genius researchers', who because of their revenue raising capacity are treated like 'publishing machines', results in systemic level inequality for other academics:

> Success breeds success. It's a vicious circle. Younger academics are left with the burden of teaching while all the time scrambling to get a few publications here and there but never get enough (L2, p. 3).

Furthermore, other research also identifies that quantitative research measures place particular pressure on younger academics on short term contracts (Teelkens 2013).

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5.3.8 Consequences for teachers and teaching

In the research focussed university, teaching is seen as something that can be sub-contracted out to contract staff and sessional staff in order to buy time for productive researchers. One professorial participant, due to pressure from the executive to obtain more research funding, devised processes when he was Head of School to buy researchers time out from teaching:

> The pressure is on from the top of the university. These people have to show they are meeting targets. The upshot of that is the response of getting people out of tutoring and marking to reach those targets …we are actually buying our way almost out of all tutoring and marking (P2, p. 6).

However, the downside is that teaching is then contracted out to sessional staff with the result that 'when it comes to undergraduate students there is very little teaching done by continuing staff' (P2, p. 6). In contrast:

> It is done by graduate students and sometimes by adjunct faculty members. That's a huge change and not one that you necessarily feel good about. This seems to me to be one of the most significant structural changes (P2, p. 6).

But, unfortunately for the undergraduates, these people have little interest in investing in the teaching curriculum on the basis that everybody knows that 'you won't get tenure on the basis of your teaching, you'll only get it on the basis of your research' (AP3, p. 4). Furthermore, this practice is considered very exploitative by some participants as it exploits sessional teachers who do 'Sixty per cent of the teaching':

> That's a horrible thing. The sessionals have a worse position because on contract you get sick leave but they get nothing ….What the university says is one hour is actually three hours. It's impossible to read 5000 words in an hour, so we are actually underpaying them. I have nothing against making a profit if the profit went into employing people in permanent teaching positions (L2, p. 4).

The efficiency motivated practice of sub-contracting the bulk of undergraduate teaching to sessional staff is also considered highly exploitative as 'we only exist in the teaching area because all the PhDs work flat out' (P3, p. 15). This participant also considered it a real loss for undergraduates because lecturers take only 'two to three tutes' as they have to administer up to ten others. They also have to spend all their time 'trying to get Quality across the board' which means assuring 'some kind of generally uniform work across the various tutorials' (P3, p. 15).

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Overall, the strategy of promoting research to the detriment of teaching was considered wasteful, divisive, and exploitative. Furthermore, the corporate focus on research was perceived as failing to pay the appropriate return on investment. This is because although research consumes vast costs, it is paid for by teaching (AP1).

The recognition by these participants that the separation of research from teaching has led to the cult of the productive researcher, the exploitation of junior academics and sessional staff and a loss of undergraduate students is linked to external policies is also confirmed by other research. For example, government policies in the U.K. Australia and New Zealand, promote the separation of research from teaching as they are perceived as two distinct sets of activities:

> The fractualization of academic work along teaching and research lines is reinforced by national higher education policy frameworks and funding schemes that conceptualise research and teaching as mutually exclusive endeavours addressed by distinctly separate policies and funding arrangements (Krause 2009, p. 416).

Therefore, national policy frameworks have filtered down into 'institution level policies and practices underpinning academic work' (Krause 2009, p. 416).

On the basis that high quality research contributes to national economic objectives, as well as potentially increasing international rankings, research-led teaching is sacrificed in the bid to satisfy economic objectives. For example, Krause (2009, p. 418) found that while Australian universities invariably established a link between research and teaching in their policy level documents 'only one stated that teaching informed research in their university'. However, the prioritization of research in the entrepreneurial market driven university is the trend in neoliberal states:

> Within global higher education markets, research remains critical to the distinctiveness of both the field and the status of an individual university and its positioning relative to the state and other educational providers (Blackmore 2014, p. 180).

Therefore, the data analysed in this study confirms other research that the market efficiency 'regime of truth', which accompanied the implementation of the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, has led to the interests of some stakeholders being prioritized over others.

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 above have focussed on the reflexive strategies pursued by the executive in positioning the university competitively in a competitive global environment. These sections also explored the costs involved in prioritizing the research agenda over the interests of other stakeholders. In contrast, Section 5.4 below, is going to explore the perceptions of the participants in relationship to the impact of the performative managerial system on the teaching and learning process, or what some of the participants refer to as 'the service delivery process'.

5.4 Perceptions of the integrated management system

5.4.1   The integrated quality management system is metric based

The participants interviewed agree that they operate in an all invasive performative culture which is dominated by an integrated quality management system. This system, which integrates the quality discourse with online platforms, monitors every step taken in both research and teaching. However, the integrated quality management system is perceived as devaluing the teaching/learning relationship by redefining this relationship in market terms. Furthermore, the 'obsession' with online technology is perceived as serving the reporting and promotional interests of managers more than servicing the pedagogical needs of teachers. Therefore, the integrated quality management system is generally perceived as a mechanism for monitoring the level of compliance with standardized processes.

There is consensus that the metric based integrated quality management system is not appropriate for measuring intellectual capital as it is based on providing short term profit statements to share markets. However, as the university does not 'have to report to the stock market every six months', this system 'has been shoved in, entirely in the wrong situation' (AP1, p. 15). It is perceived as being more suited to those professions like lawyers 'who charge every six minutes but we're not allowed to charge a student every six minutes' (AP1, p. 13). However, as neither intellectual capital nor the success of the institution can be measured in corporate hourly rates (P1, AP 1 & AP3), the Senior Management Group had to devise a management system for presenting numerical reports to other managers (AP4). Therefore, the system chosen relies on

artificial targets for satisfying executive short term requirements. However, this system has little meaning to these participants as it conflicts with their notion of quality:

> The metric based evaluation of research and teaching performance, which I don't find particularly meaningful, doesn't tell me anything about the Quality of things. It's very hard to measure humanities work and teaching in a shorthand sort of way, so they've fallen back on numbers; numbers of publications, numbers of students, and it doesn't necessarily tell you anything more than a number (AP4, p. 11).

Overall, the practice of using numerical indicators as a substitute for qualitative evaluation is also consistent with the literature reviewed on performativity in higher education. For example, Gendron (2008, p. 106) argues that academics are now cast as 'performers' whose performance is measured in terms of 'hard' data such as the number of grants obtained, the number of publications published as well as citations. Furthermore, measurement by numbers masks significant qualitative considerations as numbers 'render invisible and hence incontestable-the complex array of judgements and decisions that go into a measurement, a scale, a number' (Rose 1999, p. 208). Moreover, corporate style managerialism emphasises external performance outcomes and techniques for controlling behaviour (Currie & Vidovich 2009).

Although Marginson (2009) acknowledges there is capacity for variation in implementation and compliance in quantitative performance systems, he also argues it is the external performance indicators and benchmarks, controlled by others, that most restrict academic self-determination and radical-critical innovation. In addition, more recent research demonstrates that the reconfiguration of university governance to satisfy changing 'external demands and trends' has resulted in the economic dimension being placed above both the moral and academic dimension by the 'agile' university (Gillies 2011, p. 212). Therefore, academics are now actors in a service delivery process (Lindsay 2014). The extent to which academics are merely actors in a service delivery process is explored in the following sub-sections of Section 5.4 below.

5.4.2 Lecturers are stressed out complying with requirements

Course information in the university is now provided in a standardized format called the Course Unit Guide. However, because this guide is also designed to satisfy

performance, legal and contractual type requirements, it is perceived as a form of contract between the university and students:

> It's a sort of legalistic document because here's the policy for the student and if you're not happy with something, here's where you go and the part of it that's actually talking about what you're teaching, what they need to do is probably about 20% of the document so what they're doing is they're drawing us as academics to compliance, management awareness sort of stuff. It's ridiculous so all of that just to produce the Unit Guide (SL1, p. 5).

It is also perceived as providing a mechanism for measuring the achievement of standardized learning outcomes even though the skills they value are not measureable:

> It's also about how everyone reports on outcomes. You put stuff in the Unit Guides that tells the students what the learning outcomes should be and everything is about being transparent about giving them as much information as possible and I think it's so that everything becomes measureable whereas everything is not measureable (SL1, p. 8).

However, the 'tick a box mentality' of this system is unanimously perceived as devaluing their sense of academic identity and authority as well as increasing pressure on time reserved for scholarship (P3, p. 4).

The administration associated with the course delivery process is fully devolved to the lecturer coordinating the course. However, although the course unit guide is top heavy with non-course related material, the lecturer is accountable for ensuring the latest version of corporate documents are referred to even though they are continuously changing. As a result, the participants object to sifting through layers of policies and procedures in order to find the latest version of an administrative policy, which they consider external to the teaching and learning process:

> So the tyranny of the standard form for everybody means there's all this extra stuff you have to tick. Do I have to tick this? I don't know so I'll have to go and look it up. It takes so much time, and of course, they change every year so you cannot just recycle the old one (SL1, p. 5).

Therefore, the activities associated with the online platform element are very time consuming:

> You've got to get your little teaching website going. If that's not working the student contacts you. If the lecture recordings failed, they'll contact you, or if they don't pick it up the guide, they'll contact you (SL1, p. 5).

Therefore, these participants consider the focus is more on managing the legal contract between the university and the student than focussing on the teaching/learning process.

5.4.3   Evaluation is based on customer satisfaction criteria

Instead of the course delivery process being evaluated in terms of traditional notions of what constitutes good teaching, course evaluation measures are now based on quantifiable measures of customer service. Students can rate a lecturer on availability and response time in answering enquiries:

> If the overall satisfaction of the unit is less than 3.6 out of 5, you have to offer an explanation as to why and explain what you are going to do in order to increase the rating; it has a relationship only with the students. For example, one question is how much access they have outside of teaching hours. So for example, they write an email on the weekends and I respond on Monday, therefore, they can say they have no access to me (L2, p. 7).

Furthermore, the capability of students to evaluate a course after ten weeks is queried by these lecturers:

> Next week the students will get an email from the university to evaluate this course. There are students who have been on the course less than 10 weeks, often less, students whose attendance is less than 50% because everything is taped. So how can you really evaluate this course on this basis when what you're really left with is just a vague impression of the teacher, perhaps how entertaining the teacher was (L1, p. 10).

Therefore, a professorial level participant perceives this approach to evaluation as having limited long term application:

> If you thought about it, you'd be looking for real performance indicators. You wouldn't be asking the students what they thought at the end of every semester, you'd be asking them in ten years' time. If you were looking for real research indicators you wouldn't be asking what you did in the last 6 months, you'd be asking what you did in the last 10 years. But no, they can't have that; it's got to be driven by NOW (AP3, p. 15).

Therefore, the academic participants interviewed in this study, at the lecturer level (SL1, L1 & L2) who both coordinate and teach courses, describe student evaluation surveys as more suited to the type of customer service measures used by an online call centre service. In fact, other research also indicates that student evaluation, based on criteria

like whether they like staff or not, is leading to the lowering of teaching standards (Teelkens 2012, p. 285).

5.4.4 Impact of online platforms on the teacher/student experience

The relationship between teachers and their students has been transformed by online technology. The emphasis on online technology is seen as impacting negatively on the student experience as it reduces their relationship with the university to 'a series of websites rather than any sort of experience of participation in the university community' (SL1, p. 7). Moreover, the focus on technology is perceived as an attempt to mirror the social media experience for the 'digital natives':

> The university is talking about finding ways to basically interact with students through things like Facebook where the student produces their little portfolio of what they did (SL1, p. 6).

However, it is an entirely depersonalized process due to their personal contact with students now being largely confined to managing grievances. In contrast, these participants would prefer a more personal relationship with their students:

> We'd rather say here is the Unit Guide, come to the lectures, we are not recording them, we'd rather see you, talk to you, get to know you, have you ask questions, have you come by the office, have smaller classes, talk to you um and get to know you. It's extremely impersonal (SL1, p. 6).

Due to the dehumanizing aspect of online platforms, teachers are questioning their self-worth due to lack of meaningful interaction:

> You know you're lucky if 50% of the students turn up. So there's a sense of what am I doing all this for? What are they getting out of it? If they're not here, they can't ask questions, you know, they're listening to it remotely on some device. We've become dehumanised (SL1, p. 5).

The teacher and student relationship is largely confined to online interactions which are constant:

> You give a lecture and they're all sitting there with their laptops but they're not just sitting there writing notes, some of them, you can tell, sometimes they're looking at their Facebook, doing other stuff. It's just very weird (SL1, p. 6).

As a result, teachers feel estranged from the student body due to the intervention of online platforms. However, despite 'all these bureaucratic barriers that the university

puts in place', lecturers continue to work very hard at maintaining face to face interaction with their students (SL1, p. 7).

Some lecturers also thought the students were being overloaded with information to the extent they have an aversion to reading it:

> The students usually ask a single question which they usually have on those electronic platforms but they can't be bothered looking there. I'm sick and tired of answering questions about queries for which the information is clearly presented there (L2, p. 7).

However, the aversion to reading in depth and processing the information for themselves may be due to the students having 'other competing demands' (Beilharz 2014, p. 43). For example, one of these is the necessity to work long hours to pay for their studies. As a result of these challenges, the student's identity is perceived as being 'less cogent; you are a bar tender who also goes to university rather than a university student who also does a bit of bar tending' (AP3, p. 7). This participant compares the online learning experience to online banking; 'you do your online banking and you do your online study' (AP3, p. 6). The student experience is generally perceived as becoming more isolated as the need to be on campus declines.

Overall, there is also a perception that the relationship between the teacher and the student is 'symptomatic of the core principles which guide the university' (L1, p. 11). This includes the type of language used:

> The relationship between the teacher and the student is more and more that of a relationship between a service provider and a customer and, you can see it in the type of language used. It is very much the kind of language used to rate a movie or a hotel room (L1, p. 11).

However, it appears from this study, that the service delivery process is perceived as both an impersonal and dehumanizing experience for both the providers and the customers and, therefore, just another example of a self-defeating strategy.

5.4.5   High overheads mean the system is self-defeating

Participants AP1, AP3 and SL2 also objected to the high level of overheads in enforcing the performative compliance system as being self-defeating:

A couple of years ago all our guides had to be vetted for compliance so that's a very expensive task and then they said we have to have less costs and that means less units because the costs of overseeing these units guides is so expensive. So they used that as a measure to say we can't have as many units and so again that's self-defeating (SL2, p. 7).

Many participants objected to the administrative costs in administering a system managed by managers who fail to understand risk management, as particularly frustrating:

What shits me is the proliferation of administration which is then used to justify the cutting of things because the administrative costs are too high. To me that's the actual insanity. It's like they're playing us for fools. I mean are we that stupid we are not going to notice actually notice (SL2, p. 7).

In fact, this participant does not think the managerial discourse reflects the output of rational processes in interplay with each other but sees them more as the product of an ideological framework:

I think my frustration with neoliberalism is probably similar to someone working for a bank; because I think what I am talking about is more about large neoliberal corporate culture rather than particular academic things. I'm not so stressed about the idea of freedom and stuff as I feel like there are ways of managing that stuff. It's more the obvious inefficiencies and ideological use of administration. And that's never justified (SL2, p. 7).

It would therefore seem from this study that the technologies of management, in this particular neoliberal regime of truth, have taken on an ideological aspect. This is despite Foucault (1980, p. 102) claiming that discourses in liberal rationalities are not ideological constructs.

5.4.6 Online platforms serve the executive efficiency agenda

One participant thought the managerial obsession with the continuous improvement of online platforms and processes associated with the course delivery process is designed to minimize corporate labour costs by devolving administration to academics (SL1, p. 5). Another lecturer thought it was just a repackaging exercise:

It is just repackaging but the point is we have to do the repackaging. I don't have a person to fix the software the students use for their computers. I have to do these platforms. I have to create it (L2, p. 5).

Online technology is also seen as a way of reducing academic numbers while increasing the administrative workforce numbers:

> There's a whole industry of people supporting these systems and they appear to be the sort of people that are now consulted about investment decisions. It's pretty obvious that the more teaching moves online, the less you actually need full time academics (AP3, p. 7).

This observation is verified by a recent survey indicating non- academic staff comprise 55 % of university staff and that the administrative staff in the top ten research universities in Australia are growing by 5.9 % per annum (Graves, Barnett & Clarke 2013). In fact, participant AP3 proposes that the advent of massive online systems will result in universities paying to access lectures videotaped by the best lecturers in their field globally:

> It's fairly obvious that what it means for teaching staff is that there are a few people who are highly paid to give a course of lectures and there are a lot of casual academics or PhD students or people in call centres in India marking essays. I mean this is a pretty cynical take on it but that's where the logic leads so when it comes to videotaping a series of lectures to deliver to the students an online platform why not just pay the best American lecturer to deliver his or her lecture (AP3, p. 7).

5.4.7 The integrated management system is punitive

Total compliance is expected and demanded despite the type of breach. For example, a senior lecturer was subjected to a lengthy investigation following a student complaint concerning the interval left between the date for submitting the last essay and the exam date. As a result of breaching this Course Unit Guide requirement, this participant was the subject of a time consuming faculty led compliance audit:

> The problem is that the university response is so overwrought, bureaucratic, so you can get one thing happen like that and the amount of time I spent on explanatory emails, phone conversations, then dealing with the audit, after the fact, went on for weeks to the extent that it feels punitive, it feels insane (SL1, p. 10).

This participant perceives the motivation behind this 'overwrought exercise' as related to the fear that the faculty has of being seen to adequately compensate the students who lodged their complaint with the student union (SL1, p. 9). Secondly, she perceives it as the product of a chain of specialist bureaucrats breathing down each other's necks:

> There is a person in the School whose job it is to deal with these things. She's got someone looking over her shoulder, who is the Faculty Associate Dean Education. It's her job, when it becomes a complaint to the faculty, so that person breathes down my colleague's neck and breathing down her neck is whoever she has to report to, probably the VC, the student union, all of those stakeholders. They have to report on all the stuff that happened this year and how they dealt with it (SL1, p. 10).

She also recognises that she also is a part of a chain of quality enforcers. This is because she is also expected to breathe down the necks of the sessional teachers she coordinates to ensure they answer emails within the allocated time frame. However, she tries to protect the sessional teachers she coordinates from breaches of compliance by replying to students on their behalf, if they fail to do so in the allocated time. She adopts this strategy because she feels that sessional teachers are being exploited. For example, they are expected to be 'pretty much available electronically full time' even though they are paid part time (SL1, p. 12). However, she recognizes that her case is not unique as 'everybody' in this institution is subject to the 'insidious kind of measure discourse' (SL1, p. 10).

The integrated management system and its associated processes are all invasive. Nobody is exempt from its reaches:

> You can't entirely block it out because everybody is subject to workload requirements, each person has to get a certain number of points to make up their workload and that kind of stuff, so nobody's immune from that level of management (AP4, p. 3).

Therefore, everybody is subjected to having to demonstrate full compliance with every requirement:

> How am I going to translate something bad into something that I responded to, so that I can talk about how I am learning on the job, making changes so that I can then get promoted in a couple of years' time (SL1, p. 11).

Many of the participants interviewed feel they are constantly being monitored in a type of compliance regime. One senior lecturer thought that 'all these levels of administration round things like billing and stuff do create the sense that we are being watched and you're being surveyed' (SL2, p. 6). Another senior lecturer perceived the never ending micro-management requirements of the compliance system amounting to a type of permanent improvement revolution:

It's all these sensitive matters having to be managed to meet the university's requirements. Complete this form, have you done that and complied with this? And that's because up the chain they have accountability KPIs, standardizing discourse and then coming down from the university, well we could be doing this better so that what we are doing is implementing a change…we're going to revise this online thing we do, so it's a permanent revolution (SL1, p. 13).

However, it is not a revolution initiated by the users. In contrast, it is one imposed on them without consultation by the executive. In contrast, a senior lecturer who had worked in an American university, explained that their teachers are not subjected to any type of centralized compliance process in teaching a course:

You know when we want to teach a unit here, we have to put it up to the faculty for approval. At John Hopkins, you just say I'm going to teach a course on Confucius. Your handbook doesn't have to be vetted and if you have only three students that's fine. It's an entirely different model (SL2, p. 6).

The difference in management approach is attributed to the fact that the courses at John Hopkins are not dependent on student income as 'the university survives on the basis of endowments, they're not reliant on student income like we are where courses have to pay for themselves' (SL2, p. 6).

Although all participants interviewed are critical of the integrated management system, the participants engaged full time in the teaching and learning process were the most critical. This is because they feel the teaching and learning process has been designed to satisfy external standardization requirements and student preferences for online access rather than pedagogical issues.

5.5 Quality is the new meta-narrative

5.5.1   Quality does not promote engagement

The participants in this study perceive that quality is disempowering as it is imposed on them without any attempt to engage the users. One participant reflects that although the corporate discourse is all about quality, it does not seek to engage academics in the improvement process:

I went into the job thinking this is a wonderful opportunity to make a difference. I was a bit starry eyed about what I could've done about teaching quality. I think the standard is pretty high, but I think there's always room for improvement. But I quickly realized that really wasn't going to happen at all, largely because it's

such a big faculty and such a big institution that making any change is very difficult and very slow. But I also quickly realized that the kind of top down stuff that was being imposed on us which was all about 'quality'; the discourse was all about quality (P1, p. 6).

In fact, participant P1 had recognized that the quality discourse had become a meta-narrative for marketing productivity. This was because recommendations for improvement by those at the coal face, even at the professorial and academic management level, are generally over ridden on the big issues (P1, p. 8). Another professorial level participant explains that this is because quality was never supposed to be mutual; historically, 'it has always been a tool, promoted by management, for improving productivity' (P3, p. 4). In fact, this participant perceives it as a management technique for getting employees to put more pressure on themselves:

> I think Quality was always used as a means for putting more pressure on the group and that there was a quite deliberate policy again in the mid-eighties. There was an article describing the Japanese method of speeding up work and the Japanese method was you got the group responsible for each other and you put pressure on them which meant the group had to help along the least capable in their midst and then you put a bit more pressure on the group and then it became obvious that those people had to go. And so the group unwillingly and unhappily accepted that those people had to go and the group did more work and that is what happened. It's called Efficiency rather than Quality… Quality seemed to carry that Efficiency thing (P3, p. 4).

This participant, has astutely identified that efficiency based concepts of quality, like the one deployed in this institution, embody a management technique for making employees accomplices in governmentality. Furthermore, 'there are people at middling levels who have reinforced this system partly because some people think that this is the way universities work' (L1, p. 2). Therefore, the data analysed in this study confirms the notion that management techniques, which are presented as self-empowering techniques, actually represent mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the governing culture (Burchell 1996 & Gillies 2011).

5.5.2 Quality standardization erodes traditional scholarly concepts

The standardized approach to teaching and learning is perceived as stifling academic autonomy. This is because the attempt to standardize everything possible is 'killing the fact that there are individual differences between us in the way we do research and

teaching' (SL1, p. 7). Standardization is perceived as an attempt to reduce the autonomy of teachers:

> Standardization doesn't make much sense and it doesn't help education in the end. It's a way to take away our autonomy, as after all, we are human beings and although we might evaluate our students differently, I think everyone of us can distinguish a very good student from a good student from an average student from a not so good student (L1, p. 6).

This lecturer also queries 'why the university thinks that the student wants a standard experience when they move from unit to unit' (SL1, p. 7). Even the professorial participant, who had introduced the concept of a unit guide, thought in hindsight that it had stifled creativity as well as restricted academic autonomy:

> It was a curse because you were actually stuck with it what you were going to teach. You couldn't have a brilliant brainwave and take them off in a different direction. There were going to be losses and I didn't realize that at the time (P3, p. 5).

Participants also feel that the increasing distance between academics and their students makes it much harder for them to retain a vision of what a university education should involve. Although one participant thought this could be related to the size of the university. For example, she had not felt so distanced from the students at the smaller universities where she had worked which had smaller classes (SL1, p. 11). Another lecturer thought it was necessary to remember that technology is only a tool. Therefore, 'it won't make you a better teacher', in fact, 'if you are a good teacher, chalk and a blackboard is enough (L2, p. 4).

The literature reviewed also indicates that the knowledge economy concept of higher education with its associated market terminology causes tension for those academics still prioritizing the values associated with a social liberal university. For example, research by Winter & Donahue (2012) indicates that academics still preference values associated with a traditional liberal education like discipline led enquiry and intellectual truth. In contrast, the type of metric based evaluation of higher education confirms the notion that 'It is not good enough, now, to be good' as 'everything needs to be justified, which is to say measured' (Beilharz 2014, p. 47). In addition, the concern that standardization is restricting the right of academics to determine standards is supported by other research. For example, Sadler (2011) argues that there is a clash between

academic rights to determine academic standards and institutional rights to define acceptable standards.

5.5.3 Quality has a very narrow definition

The perception by these participants that quality is performative, time consuming, lacks meaning and is not mutual is also confirmed by recent research on quality in higher education in Australia. For example, research by Rowlands (2012) and Parker (2013) indicates that the productivity based quality assurance program implemented in higher education in Australia since 1988, represents a very narrow definition of quality. This is because it fails to access academic concepts of quality or feedback on operational effectiveness (Craig et al 2014). In addition, Craig et al (2014) argue that an audit culture results in a lack of convergence between academics and managers regarding trust and the very idea of a university as well as legitimizing the values of the organizational power elites. Consequently, the use of quantitative quality indicators to measure compliance can also lead to the practice of 'creating perverse incentives' without any 'demonstrable improvement' (Palmer 2014, p. 137). As a consequence, the perceptions of these participants indicates that the quality discourse in this institution is not a product of localized power relations but, instead it represents a technology of management, implemented in higher education in Australia, to enable process standardization and benchmarking across the sector.

The participants' perceptions of the quality discourse implemented in this institution, also confirms other recent research that quality limits academic autonomy. For example, Cooper and Poletti (2011) found that a compliance culture impacts on academic autonomy as academics adapt to accommodate audit requirements and compete with each other for publications and status in their discipline. In addition, Giroux (2006) claims a compliance culture impedes academic freedom as academic staff are more interested in complying with rules in order to survive in the workplace. Consequently, the degree of focus required to comply with the diverse requirements associated with quality assurance processes could lead to a shift in academics' understanding of what quality means (Cooper & Poletti 2011). Moreover, Harland (2009) claims a compliance culture distracts academics from their primary roles as researchers and teachers and subtly shifts power from academics and their disciplines to other parties. In addition, the perceptions of these participants that quality

assurance processes mean much more administrative work for them is also consistent with findings by Bauer & Henkel (1997, p. 221) who report that academics report that quality reforms result in 'a growing administrative burden within the primary tasks of teaching and research'.

Furthermore, this study confirms research that quality has become the new meta-narrative in lieu of more traditional narratives as it pervades every step taken by both researchers and teachers in their daily research and teaching practice.

> If the meta-narrative which links universities to a search for the truth and which places academics/intellectuals as the ėlite guardians of that narrative has broken down, then quality- defining it and establishing it is a matter for managerial expertise (Cowen 2010, p. 256).

However, as these participants have also observed, an audit culture clouds the very idea of a university:

> The audit culture may only be redeemable where we are able to see that all of the strategies brought to bear in the university environment are instrumental in supporting a defensible idea of the university – both in terms of what it is and what it does (Palmer 2014, p. 138).

Therefore, the participants' concept of a more enhanced notion of quality is explored in both the next chapter of this thesis and in Chapter 7.

5.6 Conclusion

5.6.1   The institution is part of a wider web of governmentality

The data analysed in this study reveals that the quality of research and teaching is now driven by a plethora of market forces, external funding and regulatory requirements which work together to shape and monitor the processes in which academics conduct research and practise teaching:

> Higher education is now closely tied to the national economy through priority setting by government research funders - the ARC and the National Health Medical Research Council …Quality in teaching and learning is being driven through a standards- based agenda of the newly established Tertiary Education Quality and Accountability Agency (TEQSA) (Blackmore 2014, p. 180).

The findings in this study support research by Rivzi and Lingard (2009& 2011) that a neoliberal social imaginary has driven the restructuring of higher education in Australia.

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In this institution, new public management techniques consistent with this imaginary include a market focused strategic planning system, hierarchical principal/agency relationships and an integrated quality management system. These management technologies are all driven by the core neoliberal principles of market efficiency, public choice and customer satisfaction. For example, the participants who are lecturers in this study report they are participants in a service delivery process which is dominated by the requirements of external regulatory requirements, quality standardization requirements and customer satisfaction ratings. Therefore, they do not perceive pedagogical requirements as being prioritized in the managerial discourse.

Overall, the web of governmentality in which the institution is located has led to an increased level of reflexivity in the institution. For example, the executive is under continuing pressure to respond to the changing policy requirements of external stakeholders like the Australian Government. This means instead of being able to plan long term, they are continuously switching their focus from research to teaching and back again in order to compensate for downturns in the economy. However, radical shifts in direction by the executive also impact on faculty academic managers. Therefore, as we shall see in Chapter 6 of this thesis, these managers have also had to become reflexive in order to quickly respond to the latest corporate edict.

5.6.2 Relationship with Foucault's concept of liberal governmentality

Foucault's notion that 'The state is superstructural in relationship to a whole series of power networks' (Foucault 1980, p. 122) is validated by this study. However, the claim that 'these networks stand in a conditioning- conditioned, relationship to a kind of meta-power' (Foucault 1980, p. 122), is somewhat contested due to the data analysed indicating the nature of the 'conditioning-conditioned relationship' is increasingly perceived as being driven by the requirements of external governmentality. Therefore, Foucault's (1991, p. 102) notion that normalized discourses are the output of the ensemble of 'institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics' which interact with each other, needs to be possibly reassessed. This is because nation states like Australia, which have been aligning national policy with a neoliberal social imaginary since 1983, perceive higher education as performing a key role in the

national and global knowledge economy (Olssen 2002, Olssen & Peters 2005 & Rivzi & Lingard 2011). For this reason, they reserve the right to steer strategy and practice from a distance.

This study also confirms that individuals become accomplices in upholding forms of liberal governance with its technologies of management designed to integrate their behaviour back into the dominant discourse (Burchell 1996 & Gillies 2011). Therefore, Foucault's notion that 'this meta power with its prohibitions can only take hold and secure its footing where it is rooted in a whole series of multiple and indefinite power relations that supply the necessary basis for the great negative forms of power' (Foucault 1980, p. 122) is validated. However, the notion by Foucault (1980, p. 98) that modern power cannot 'be taken to be a phenomenon of one individual over others, or of one class over others' is somewhat contested by the emergence of 'an official management class' (AP1) which now controls how the managerial discourse is implemented in the faculty. For example, even professorial level participants in this study who occupy academic management roles, claim limited capacity to affect the direction of the corporate management discourse. In fact, they report finding themselves increasingly reporting to executive delegations on progress against corporate objectives for which they have not been consulted.

5.7 Purpose of the next chapter

Chapter 6 is the first of the two following chapters which explore a range of strategies the participants in this study adopt in responding to the managerial discourse in their daily management, research and teaching practice. Many of these strategies are reflexive in nature.

Chapter 6: Strategies for minimizing the impact of the invasive managerial discourse

6.1 Introduction and purpose of this chapter

Chapter 5 of this thesis documented how the participants perceive the impact of the neoliberal technologies of management on their research and teaching practice. Principal/agency hierarchical relationships and the appointment of specialists to coordinate strategic objectives in the faculty were perceived as resulting in the consolidation of power in the executive. Secondly, executive strategies which prioritized research were perceived as being conducted at the expense of other stakeholders. For example, the elevation of the 'genius researcher' has resulted in some academics staying in the research pipeline for years at a time while other academics carry heavy teaching loads for years at a time. Finally, the integration of quality and online platforms was perceived as having resulted in a performative audit culture which is unanimously regarded as lacking in engagement, burdensome and anxiety producing. Therefore, the data analysed in this study, confirms that quality has been conflated with productivity (Rowlands 2012) as well as providing a meta-narrative which links the institution with the wider web of governmentality (Cowen 2010). Finally, the analysis of this data, confirmed research by both McInnes (2009) and Baird (2014) that the intrusion of the executive into the faculties, through the appointment of replicate corporate positions, has not resulted in faculty academic managers being nearer to the seat of power.

Overall, the institution was perceived as becoming more reflexive due to having to adapt to both changing policy directions and market forces. Therefore the institution is caught up in a web of external governmentality, from which there is no escape, due to higher education being seen as a primary economic lever in the neoliberal competition state. However, according to Foucault (1991), governmentality involves ongoing interaction between the technologies of power and knowledge and the technologies of the self. Therefore, this chapter explores how the participants respond to the managerial discourse including finding leeway for resistance.

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6.2 Institutional and faculty reflexivity

6.2.1 Multiple agents acting in tandem

From 2000 onwards, faculty academic managers had to adopt strategies for maximizing faculty interests or have their interests determined by the executive (P3 & AP2). As a consequence, the ability to interpret external conditions and adapt accordingly has become a management technique in the faculty in which these participants are located. In fact, the dean of their faculty led the way in the late 1990s, when she managed the transition of the faculty from a traditional form of collegiality to the present form of governance. She did this by pre-empting what was coming down the line and taking preventative action (P3 & AP2). This approach involved initiating a parallel reform program which involved placing a premium on good research and teaching. For example, she introduced the notion of course handbooks in order to standardize the quality of course delivery (P3 & AP2). However, hard decisions had to be made in order to position her faculty ahead of the corporate restructuring program. For example, she decided that the research base needed to be broadened in scope as there were still many people whose publishing history was confined to the subject of their PhD (P3). Consequently, the departments deemed to be 'full of dinosaurs, who were not really doing very much teaching and not very much research, were closed down and their staff encouraged to take redundancies' (P3, p. 10).

The faculty restructuring program conducted by this particular dean was based on her interpretation of both the external and internal context in relationship to the perceived interests of the faculty. This response represents an example of system level reflexivity (Beinhocker 2013). In reflexive systems, there can be 'multiple agents, interacting with each other' in pursuing their goals (Beinhocker 2013, p. 331). In the case of the dean, she was not acting as an isolated agent in the institution. In contrast, she was acting in tandem with the other agents of the system responsible for aligning the institution with the 1988 Dawkins Reforms. In addition, in her position as dean of the faculty, she had access to the expert systems being implemented in the institution following the 1988 Dawkins reforms. Like the other change agents in the institution, she was able to interpret the impact of the external neoliberal 'regime of truth', being mediated through

the institutional restructuring program in relationship to maximizing the interests of her faculty. Therefore, the then dean was able to operate in tandem with other agents in the institution to bridge a gap analysed in a system, which according to Beinhocker (2013), is a characteristic of agents operating in reflexive systems. This response is an example of the concept of institutional reflexivity described by Giddens (1991) and Pick (2004).

As an agent of the system, the dean recognized that decisions had to be made which aligned with the new performative direction. For example, as the output of the 'dinosaurs' did not align with the evolving performative regime of truth, they had to be dispensed with. In fact, according to her, if she hadn't made these hard decisions, the executive would have come in and made them for her (P3, p. 6). Due to the communicative form of reflexivity, the dean practised, she was able to predict 'what was coming' and therefore 'deal with the world realistically' (AP2, p. 3). However according to Beinhocker (2013, p. 331), agents need access to expert knowledge to be able to identify 'gaps between the perceived state and the goal state'. In this case the system was the knowledge economy and the dean had access to the expert systems replacing the old public/collegial form of governance. Therefore, systems have become reflexive as agents act in tandem across the institution to adapt to external conditions. Individuals like the dean are now embedded in reflexive systems (Beinhocker 2013). In this case, the dean was an accomplice in the transition to the new form of governmentality as Burchell (1996) claims all subjects in liberal governmentality are.

6.2.2 Calling on the subjectivity of equity

A consultative process for discussing the scope and purpose of the reform agenda was established during the restructuring of the faculty. However, despite the existence of this process, a number of ructions occurred which were partly aggravated by the merger with 'lesser' institutions', which both academics and students perceived as leading to the loss of departments, the loss of autonomy and reduced status (P 3, p. 4). However, some protests were dismissed by the dean on the basis that the protesters were using the 'autonomy' argument to protect their own interests which she regarded as 'intellectual snobbery'. As a result, her 'democratic instincts revolted against that, so I wasn't on the side of people who wanted autonomy at all' (P3, p. 10). Ironically, the dean chose to

adopt the subjectivity of 'equity' and 'autonomy', which are normally associated with empowerment, to give credence to her arguments for disempowering both staff and student resistance. Therefore, her approach to management, confirms research by Gillies (2011) that empowerment strategies are often used as a technique for integrating self–conduct into the dominant discourse.

6.2.3 Communicative reflexivity is required to react realistically

Many of the participants in this study demonstrate an aptitude for responding to the world 'realistically' in today's changing environment:

> They say this is coming through, here's our strategy. It's a very good department in terms of whether this is something we need to respond to or something we can see coming down the line so let's get organized and have a united front and respond this way. They're also being pragmatic in that they realize in that you can't just sort of protest against everything, you have to engage (SL1, p. 13).

As a consequence, most participants accept that due to decreased federal government funding, the possibility of full deregulation and changes to the way in which fees are paid (AP2, p. 9), management at every level in the institution have to do what they have to do to remain financially viable. However, 'thought and talk' with others (Archer 2012) is undertaken by faculty academic managers prior to action.

It is now assumed that faculty academic managers need to be fully engaged in the managerial discourse in order to best protect their departments. Therefore 'communicative reflexivity' (Archer 2012, p. 13), in which 'internal conversations need to be confirmed and completed by others before they lead to action' through a process of 'thought and talk', is now practised by faculty academic managers. In addition, Archer (2012, p. 33) explains that 'communicative reflexivity' serves the purpose of protection as it 'protects and protracts the micro-life world of, at most a small community, and increasingly today, a handful of significant others'. For example, the communicative reflexive process of 'thought and talk' undertaken by some academic participants when planning courses is referred to:

> Within our school, we're thinking which courses are viable and which aren't, which skills do we teach; how do we cooperate as staff. For instance, given there is only a limited number of students. It is not value having maximum choice and

students don't want maximum choice, they want more limited choice but good choices, they want predictability (AP2, p. 9).

The decision making process described above does not represent an individualized response to external conditions. In contrast, it demonstrates a very keen interpretation by faculty academic managers of the limitations of the policy and performative environment in which they operate. Therefore, there is a need to be realistic. For example, the neoliberal notion of 'public choice', the 'efficiency principle' and the concept of 'value' guide the range of courses provided. In fact, skills provided and the cooperation of staff are both secondary priorities. Therefore, a complex process of 'thought and talk'.is required in order to process these competing variables and ensure that corporate requirements, staff and students are all satisfied.

However, although the decision to provide 'limited choice' is inconsistent with the core neoliberal principle of 'public choice', this approach is consistent with research by Cahill (2010) and Theodore & Peck (2012) which indicates neoliberalism varies in local practice. It also confirms Foucault's (1980) advice that power relations need to be explored at their extremities as they evolve in practice. In liberal governmentality, there is likely to be a gap between what is intended and what actually occurs (Lemke 2010).

The present approach to faculty management is recognized as being different to the experiences of participants prior to the restructuring of the faculty. For example, when participant AP2 joined the university in the seventies, it was a different environment because 'every academic had the right to have their own units, teaching their speciality, so you could teach 5 or 50 students; it didn't matter' (AP2, p. 9). In contrast to the not so distant past, academic managers now have to creatively and reflexively make decisions consistent with market and performative efficiency. For example in 2006, when many teaching academics in their school, who had all taught 'popular subjects', obtained ARC grants for research projects, a 'blockbuster solution' was devised by participant AP2. This course, which was 'named after a popular novel of the time which had just come out', was so popular it 'filled up classrooms on two campuses for a couple of years and that got us through' (AP2, p. 4). This approach to curriculum design was justified on the basis that 'if you don't have flow through, you'll be struggling' (AP2, p. 4).

This reflexive approach to management is explained even more clearly by participant AP3. For example, his department 'which you'd think would sink in the current environment' hasn't because the academics in this department are excellent at 'analysing the institutional imperatives and just adapting to them' (AP3, p. 9). For example:

> They quickly realize that it's all about undergraduate students, so we do all we can to run popular courses and successful grant applications and the moment it becomes successful, we quickly scurry off and learn how to do that (AP3, p. 9).

A reflexive approach to curriculum design was regarded by the two academic managers, who were recently promoted, as a reality in the new business framework. One of these participants noted that to attract and retain students you need to give them 'a whizz bang first year experience' by designing 'crowd pleaser type courses which will appeal to their romantic nature' (AP4, p. 4). However, it is necessary to place students with first rate coordinators and teachers who can 'fire them up' and 'help them along the way with some good skills and take them to the world as a good citizen' (AP4, p. 5). These participants thought it is absolutely necessary to keep ahead of the corporate 'game' through a process of continuous analysis and adaptation. As a result, their approach to responding to the managerial discourse is consistent with the notion that when institutions become reflexive, the individuals embedded in them also become reflexive (Beinhocker 2013). However, there are disciplinary consequences involved in this approach to management.

6.2.4   Disciplinary consequences of cutting your sails accordingly

The reflexive approach of being prepared to do what it takes to stay in the black results in a constant pressure on lecturers to design courses which attract students:

> Our units are supposed to be the pin up girls. That's why you have these very bombastic and pompous sounding names for units which are supposed to attract the students. The pressure is on to attract them (L2, p. 6).

Therefore, once the students are recruited into these courses, it is necessary to think about 'the types of skills we teach and how useful they are outside the academy' (AP2, p. 4). Consequently, skills being taught in first year 'crowd pleaser' type courses designed to increase the revenue base, are considered a secondary objective. However,

as students are attracted to these type of courses because of the 'excitement factor', 'it has become very difficult to strike a balance at undergraduate level' (L2, p. 6). This is because 'we are afraid they will find it boring and the students will vote with their feet' (L2, p. 6). Therefore, the pressure to entertain is maintained at the expense of theory and methods which students find uninteresting:

> When you get the evaluation at the end of the semester and they say it was boring, your evaluation average goes down even though you may have taught them theory and methods and stuff, but unfortunately, it wasn't perceived as valuable but instead boring and lacking in fun (L2, p. 6).

However, this academic compensates by giving the undergraduate students 'a methodological framework through the back door' (L2, p. 7). Therefore, the approach of cutting your sails accordingly involves a 'balancing act between the content and the excitement' (AP4, p. 6).

Business-like solutions are perceived as necessary by some participants in a precarious environment. For example, one participant thought that when academics 'find out about how budgets work and how precarious our situation is' they will appreciate that quite often 'in the real world, we have to do what it takes' (SL2, p. 3). However, participant P2 thought that the student led curriculum resulted in the provision of courses, which do not call on the disciplinary focus and expertise residing in the department as well as being peripheral to the discipline. Although, he also notes that this approach to management 'keeps us all employed' (P2, p. 9). Another lecturer thinks courses with 'popular titles that are very catchy' are very general in nature, however, he also feels 'powerless to change this situation' due to lack of tenure (L1, p. 4).

Overall, although 'everyone is under pressure', some academics are more vulnerable than others in this precarious environment:

> I think the pressure is evenly distributed but it's probably the case that junior academics feel it more intensely because they are less secure. I think there is a lot of pressure on senior people to produce but junior people are more vulnerable (L1, p. 9).

In fact, at the junior lecturer level there are few reflexive options available other than to appease the managerial discourse. Therefore, the data in this study confirms that some

participants have more control over others due to their 'capacity to control the social settings which render such self-assertion feasible' (Bauman 2000, p. 38).

6.2.5 Contradictory discourses due to different objectives

The collegiate approach to management, in contrast, is perceived as being underpinned by long term objectives not short term objectives. There is 'a fundamental contradiction' in aims between 'executive managers who come in with their specific institutional KPIs to achieve and people at the coal face' who are 'communicating to an international audience' (P1, p. 8). However, 'managerial politics' intervenes due to executive managers not being very receptive to being told by someone in the faculty that their methods are inefficient and 'even worse' are not 'going to work' (P1, p. 8). For example, participant P1 had difficulty influencing the outcome for key issues when he occupied academic management roles:

> We would try and translate in both directions and there were some things that I think we did manage to communicate but on the key agendas they were just given to us and we were told this is what you must do in your faculty (P1, p. 8).

This outcome occurred despite participant P1 claiming he did his utmost to influence the direction of the corporate quality discourse. Participant P1 considers this outcome was due to 'the line management approach' essentially 'cutting across' collegiate style management in which:

> The professor was first among equals so somebody who had that rank had it because they were more senior, produced the work, were leading by example, …they, therefore, had a different relationship to their junior colleagues from a line management approach where you tell the person below you what to do (P1, p. 8).

For example, participant P1 considers that his collegial approach to human resource management is much more nuanced than the managerial approach:

> If you have a colleague who has been targeted for under performance and is therefore threatened with particular sanctions by the institution, that's not on the whole the way we would have gone about dealing with it in a more collegial framework. Sometimes it's what people need; they need a kick up the backside. That's the only thing that will help, but in other cases that stresses them out. It means they put all their energy into the wrong kind of things (P1, p. 9).

However, he also recognizes that because the managerial discourse is driven by entrepreneurial values, academics are caught in the middle of contradictory discourses:

> On the one hand we are being told we have to write reports on our colleagues which are passed up the chain and we have to evaluate their performance but on the other hand we have to be their peers intellectually from a disciplinary point of view. So, there's actually a contradiction between the two (P1, p. 9).

The conflict between the managerial and collegial cultures is deemed to have become stronger 'in the last three to four years as the university has become more managerial' (AP2, p. 4). In fact, one lecturer thought there were now two classes in the university 'one is the administration and the other one is the academic staff and we do not cooperate' (L2, p. 3). However, there was some acknowledgement that the faculty and corporate quality objectives were probably the same in the end as 'the agenda was not so different but the mechanisms by which they were seeking to achieve their objectives were not so effective' (P1, p. 6). As a result, academic managers think it is necessary to have 'one foot on the ground in the classroom and one foot in the managerial discourse' in order to engage effectively in it (P1, p. 6).

6.2.6 Contextual continuity

Although the data suggest that these participants are caught up in the reflexive process of tailoring their management and research practices to align with the requirements of governmentality, the data analysed also suggests that their examples of reflexivity are more consistent with Archer's (2012) notion of 'communicative reflexivity' than her definition of autonomous reflexivity. This distinction is due to their responses being filtered through some reference to their 'common experiential frame of reference' (Archer 2012, p. 21). For example, the dean set up a consultative process for determining the purpose and scope of the reform program in the faculty. Therefore, she was practising a form of 'communicative reflexivity' in which options are sounded out with others prior to individual responses (Archer 2012). Furthermore, the form of reflexivity exhibited by the participants acting as academic managers, in this study, represents more than individualized responses to a perpetually moving landscape (Bauman 2000). This is due to the degree of 'contextual continuity' they exhibit in exercising the reflexive thinking and decision making they engage in (Archer 2012, p.

26). However, the reflexive responses of the 'productive researchers analysed in Section 6.3 below, which are more individualized, more closely resemble 'autonomous reflexivity' which is associated with the behaviour of '*homo economicus'* in which reflexive responses are motivated by economic self-interest (Archer 2012, p. 26).

6.3 Individualized reflexive strategies

6.3.1 The strategy of playing the game

The 'productive researchers' in this study (AP3 & SL2) both recognize they need to 'play the game' in a market conscious institution in which the key imperative is to obtain research funding:

> I still make conscious choices to be involved in things, not because I think they're interesting, but because they provide enough money. So there's a trade-off here …I'm also conscious sometimes of saying I don't want to work on this even though there's lots of money as it's dull or reactionary (AP3, p. 14).

Despite this participant advising that he does not derive any personal satisfaction from making these types of choices, he is fully aware that in order to stay in the research pipeline, it is necessary to play the game. Therefore, he continues to pursue research that generates income.

Consultancies are another source of income requiring reflexive responses. For example, it is necessary at times to make recommendations that suit the client's preference for extreme positions. This strategy enables the client to say they have considered both sides of the argument because for clients 'it's not so much the content but the fact they've been through the process' (AP3, p. 14). However, although they 'want tame people, they also want good people' (AP3, p. 14). Participant AP3, therefore, thinks 'competing considerations' such as business, technological, managerial and disciplinary requirements shape the nature of research. However, he also considers he has been lucky due to his area of expertise aligning with market demand (AP3, p. 13).

There are also strategies used for getting cited in the literature and for getting published in the journals which are most highly regarded:

> If you want to be cited in the current literature say something stupid, say something is very exciting which is obviously wrong but be clever to justify it

and that's a clever publishing strategy. I suspect in a range of fields now you'll be cited because everybody will write back and say this is outrageous and try to prove you wrong (AP3, p. 15).

However, this participant prides himself on not resorting to 'clever arguments designed to attract attention', although he 'can point to various people around the world who do' (AP3, p. 15). He also advises that the strategy for tossing out an idea that will get attention is a strategy which is best left to senior professors:

> This works better if you're a senior professor. If you're a junior academic and you say something stupid people will dismiss you but if you're a senior academic at a reputable university…then that comes out to be a winner in the current environment (AP3, p. 16).

This participant's experience mirrors the tension other participants in this study experience in reconciling short term managerial requirements with long term disciplinary considerations. For example, participant AP3 (p. 15) is fully conscious that the attention seeking strategies he employs to satisfy performative criteria, on the basis that 'people outside the discipline can't distinguish', need to be offset by disciplinary considerations. Moreover, although he is also conscious of the need to get articles published in the 'list of journals' with the most impact, he is equally conscious of 'other competing considerations' (AP3, p. 13). However, there are limits:

> You have to make claims, but you can't fake it because your track record has to match it. You can't be totally ridiculous as the assessors will see a mismatch (SL2, p. 4).

Although, she justifies her marketing approach to writing research proposals as a trade-off required to buy her freedom in other domains, she also recognizes that some academics 'are a bit squeamish about doing things like that' (SL2, p. 4). Unlike other colleagues who consider she has sold out by cooperating with the managerial discourse, she perceives using techniques of this type 'as a necessary evil' (SL2, p. 2). However, she recognizes there 'are ethical lines that people have to draw up for themselves' (SL2, p. 2). In this respect, she demonstrates meta reflexivity because she is conscious that her approach to writing research proposals does involve pushing ethical boundaries and that other colleagues do have valid reasons for not wanting to engage in this form of behaviour.

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Participant SL2, like other participants cited in this chapter, practises the art of reacting to the world realistically. For this reason, she prefers to give her potential PhDs a realistic picture of academic life in order to prevent them having a distorted concept of reality about their employment opportunities:

> I explain to potential PhDs that they are unlikely to get a job. I think people resist facing reality, they go into it with their eyes open; part of it is about putting themselves into that position of being exploited…It's a false consciousness. In a way they're fixated on the idea of academia (SL2, p. 4).

However, it is ironical that the academic fixation that she herself shared as a PhD student is deemed as being no longer realistic for her students.

6.3.2 Autonomous reflexivity overlaid with meta reflexivity

Overall, the reflexive responses of participants AP3 and SL2, who are full time researchers, more closely resemble the mode of 'autonomous reflexivity' than the mode of 'communicative reflexivity'(Archer 2012) exhibited by the academic managers in this study. For example, they are very conscious that they need to tailor research proposals and conduct consultancy reports in a manner designed to attract funding in a highly competitive research environment characterized by diminishing funds. Therefore, their success as productive researchers depends on their capacity to break away from the conventions of the past unlike others who remain 'squeamish' about having to do so. In this respect, their mode of reflexivity is more synonymous with *homo economicus* in neoliberalism who exhibits autonomous reflexivity (Archer 2012).

Although the formula for reflexivity in general is 'contexts + concerns' (Archer 2015, p. 42), due to the impact of 'contextual discontinuity', reflexive deliberations in autonomous reflexivity are conducted more in relation to personal concerns. This mode contrasts with the thought and talk with others in similar positions prior to responding which is characteristic of communicative reflexivity (Archer 2012). In contrast, in autonomous reflexivity conventional responses are no longer relevant guides for success:

> Because of the intrinsically competitive nature of these situations, subjects must determine where their own best interests lie and deliberate about the best means to achieve these ends (Archer 2012, p. 34).

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The capacity for participants AP3 and SL2 to stay in the research pipeline year in and year out demonstrates their capacity as individuals to interpret exactly what is required and subsequently deliver the type of services required. Despite their own misgivings about the ethics of doing so, they also understand the need to play the game in the new competition state:

> Either you compete, in the hope of winning (something), or you certainly lose through non participation because this allows others to win more easily. In effect all subjects become part of these institutional "games", whether or not they chose to play the hands that they had been dealt without choice on their part (Archer 2012, p. 30).

However, they also exhibit 'meta-reflexivity' in that they are also able to be 'critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and to be critical about effective action in society' (Archer 2012, p. 43). For example:

> I feel the pull of an argument that says university research should be relevant but I also recognise that the pursuit of truth which is central to the project of the traditional university …those truths are not always directly relevant and accessible…like I support mathematics departments doing research in pure mathematics which almost nobody outside the university sector can understand (AP3, p. 2).

Therefore, participant AP3 is 'conscious sometimes of saying I don't want to work on this even though there's lots of money as it is dull or reactionary' (AP3, p. 14). In addition, participant SL2 is also equally able to adopt a critical overview of the role she performs as a productive researcher:

> For me, it's always been a delicate balance between recognising that I need to do certain things to achieve influence and power in the institution but also recognising that to some degree I do need to play the game to achieve what I want to do in the curriculum, but also never compromising the independence or I guess the radicalism of what I try to do with my curriculum or my research (SL2, p. 2).

Furthermore, participants SL2 and AP3 both claim their primary identity is motivated by values of social justice. For example, they both claim their capacity to play the system enables them to do other things which align more with their values.

6.3.3   Less opportunities for junior academics to play the game

In contrast to the 'productive researchers' interviewed who reveal the range of technologies of the self they employ in playing the game, junior academic participants in this study have fewer options available to them. In fact, they think there are a lot of factors involved in 'playing the game', most of which they lack:

> It's not just about power. It's about who has the experience of dealing with the administration and who has the experience of how different colleagues react and how they will respond. It's the experience they have …because in order to become an associate professor, you have had to have had experience of acting as head of School or representing the department at faculty level meetings where you learn all about these power games (L2, p. 9).

In contrast, more junior academics consider they have next to no capacity to respond to the managerial system. The two participants interviewed at junior lecturer level indicate that they neither work the system nor engage with the system unnecessarily. This is because they feel they lack the security to do so. For example, one of these participants (L1), who has a short term contract, compares himself to the other people in society who also live precariously. In fact, he thinks that because nearly 60% of the academic workforce are non- tenured, 'academics may be worse off than other sectors with the exception of possibly retail' (L1, p. 3). Therefore, due to his precarious job situation, he finds himself in two minds about whether to 'play the game' or ignore the managerial discourse because he 'won't be here in the long run' (L1, p. 3). Although he would like to 'resist this system', he is also aware that he needs a salary:

> Sometimes I ignore it because I won't be here in the long run so why should I worry? But at the same time, I have to take them seriously because, who knows, maybe there is a chance that my position might be extended and so I do have to at least put up a façade that I am in effect playing that game (L1, p. 2).

Furthermore, he concludes that although autonomy is the 'basis of academic life', he has very little autonomy in a system where autonomy is related to position in the hierarchy:

> I think autonomy is the basis of real academic life but autonomy is what I think this system has destroyed but then again I think different people have different degrees of autonomy. Senior people or senior academics certainly have more autonomy than somebody like myself who joined the department less than two

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years ago and who is on a short term contract. I am completely at the mercy of the system (L1, p. 2).

Therefore, because of his precarious position, he is very careful about speaking up about any policies or practices as 'people who don't have permanent positions don't speak out' (L1, p. 7).

Although other colleagues advise him that he must play the game, especially 'for the last two years' of his contract, he also recognizes that people who get on in this institution are those 'who play the game very well' and 'are more strategic than me'. In addition, despite his precarious position, he finds playing the game very distasteful:

> I hate playing strategic games, all I want to do is to write interesting things and do good teaching and while I'm happy to help out with certain things, I'm less happy to help out with a lot of the crap that we've been asked to help out with. Some people are more willing to compromise with these sort of things and they do play politics, I mean everybody does, but I am personally disinclined to do it because I hate it (L1, p. 8).

In fact, he also believes that 'nobody is going to thank you for playing the game' (L1, p. 8).

Being a good researcher or teacher is not the basis of a career path anymore as junior academics are expected to become involved in administrative aspects of the managerial discourse, according to participant L2. Therefore, 'you have do all this managerial stuff and then pretend that you are doing something new and very interesting' (L2, p. 2). However, because she equally dislikes playing the game, she has accepted that unless the system radically changes and begins to promote academics on the basis of their research and teaching, she has a limited career path.

6.3.4   Self-actualization is related to access to expert systems

The technologies of the self, adopted by many of these participants, in particular, the two 'productive researchers', confirm, that in reflexive modernization, it is necessary that one engages in 'in day-to-day decisions on how to behave' (Giddens 1991, p. 14). In addition, this study also confirms that reflexive decisions are filtered through access to the expert knowledge embedded in systems:

> The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems…Reflexively organised life-planning, which normally presumes consideration of risks as filtered through contact with expert knowledge, becomes a central feature of the structuring of self-identity (Giddens 1991, p. 5).

Consequently, those participants who are academic managers and full time researchers are well placed to develop a reflexive project of the self. This is because they not only have ready access to the managerial discourse; they also understand how this system operates. However, there are fewer opportunities available to participants who are lecturers. This is because they are caught up in the process of complying with the standardized service delivery process. As a result, the research prospects of these particular participants are more constrained. Therefore, these participants have less capacity to enjoy the benefits of self-actualization described by Giddens (1991) and Beck (1994) available in reflexive modernization when expert systems can be accessed by lay members. Furthermore, they also express a personal distaste for becoming part of the system through playing the game. In this way their assessment of reflexivity is consistent with that of Zhao and Biesta (2011, p. 337) who allege Giddens' concept of self-actualization, which is 'self-referential' in scope, lacks a moral dimension.

6.3.5   The managerial discourse is resistant to internal reform

Archer (2012) also proposes that reflexivity guided by habitus impacts on the level of interplay between agency and structure and, therefore, results in the social order being reformed through a process of structuring and restructuring (Archer 2012). However, at the institutional level in this study, Archer's (2012) concept of reform has not been validated by the interaction of these participants with the managerial discourse. For example, although the data suggests the managerial discourse is in a state of evolution, the data analysed suggests that it is being restructured increasingly by the external agents of the neoliberal regime of truth and their aligned agents in the institution rather than academic managers. In fact, the managerial social order in the institution is becoming less inclusive not more inclusive.

6.4 Leadership is an essential management competency

6.4.1 Capacity for networking is important

In an environment which does not stand still (P2, AP2 & AP4), faculty academic managers need access to senior management in order to best serve faculty interests. Therefore, the disciplines and the faculty need people who can represent them well in senior management committees and talk back to management. In fact, those disciplines, which had well connected leaders, who were not afraid to represent their discipline and department in higher level forums, had continued to perform well following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms (AP2 & P2). For example, participant P2 thought his department had greatly benefited from his lengthy period of being an associate dean due to him getting to know the various Deputy Vice-Chancellors. This was because he was able to draw on these connections quite advantageously in representing his school and department. Although he got direction from the corporate level advisory research committee about 'things he should be doing', he was also able to influence decisions they made (P2, p. 5). Conversely disciplines which are not well represented at the corporate level do not flourish. Participant P2 had observed that although his discipline had continued to do well during the reform period, the same discipline in other universities had not done so well during this time. He thought this was due to the inability of their faculty leadership to influence the corporate agenda. For example, a particular a university 'under a certain dean' had got into serious trouble although 'they seem to have stabilized and started growing again' (P2, p. 2). Therefore, in his view 'you need people who can talk to senior management' (P2, p. 3).

Faculties need academic managers who can negotiate with senior management on behalf of the faculty and diplomatically talk back which means:

> The Dean has to spend his time talking back to the university and to us and the Associate Deans who have to talk up and try to implement policies here. So that the processes are becoming quite complex and the amount of energy and time taken to keep a sort of harmonious work environment is quite difficult (AP2, p. 5).

For this reason, the question of who 'is leading at any particular moment' is extremely important (AP2, p. 5). In particular, he feels the head of the school is very important.

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However, he also attaches specific importance to the faculty coordinators because these people 'negotiate with the faculty and, therefore, the university (AP2, p. 5). The experience of these academic managers confirms Bauman's (2007) notion that in late modernity networks are the new modus operandi. For example, these academic managers understand the need to network in order to position their faculty and departments advantageously. They also understand the need to engage actively in the managerial discourse through a process of representation and diplomatic negotiation. However, these particular academic managers also possess the positional and professorial status and history of engagement with the managerial discourse over a lengthy period which their non- professorial colleagues and more junior academics lack.

6.4.2 Ability to perform a number of roles is useful

The ability to perform a range of management roles at various levels, both inside and outside the university, is helpful to the faculty. Although participant P2 had to 'kind of learnt to play various roles' as management did not come naturally to him, he was eventually performing so many management roles simultaneously that the then Dean became concerned about a possible 'conflict of interest' (P2, p. 3). This was because he could have decided to give more money to his school when he was both the Head of School and the Associate Dean of Research (P2, p. 4). However, because the management system has tightened up considerably since he began his career in management, there is no longer the leeway in the budget negotiation process that previously existed:

> The way the budget is done has changed over the last fifteen years. Indeed there was a lot more arbitrariness than when I started out in my role as Associate Dean of Research (P2, p. 5).

The autonomy of the past has been replaced by the market forces driving institutional reflexivity.

The ability for faculty managers to be diplomatic and speak from a moral position is still considered important. For example, participant L2 thought that academic managers in her school were successful in influencing executive management as their moral position gave them added authority:

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It influences not only the way they interact with each other but the way they react, let's say, to these pushes from management. They are more diplomatic, let's say in rejecting certain initiatives than I would be, but their authority certainly comes from their moral position (L2, p. 8).

Leadership is therefore an increasingly complex process in the contemporary university.

6.4.3   Academic managers protect colleagues

According to Archer (2012, p. 26), those individuals who are 'disrupted and disembedded' from the prior order but remain 'primary agents' are 'responsible for recreating a new and relatively durable form of contextual continuity'. In this study, there is a shared consciousness among the participants that senior academics have the power to protect their junior colleagues where they can and if they feel so inclined. For example, although participant P1 was unable to reconfigure the corporate quality agenda, he used his managerial position to prevent his colleagues from engaging in meaningless compliance exercises which added no value to the process:

> I came to see the role largely to protect colleagues from a lot of impositions from the top because I was in a position to say what the faculty thinks and I would fill in the forms and 100 people didn't have to fill in the forms (P1, p. 6).

Therefore, these academic managers are prepared to act collegially on behalf of their colleagues as well as access a range of internal networks to protect their disciplines. Although, these academic managers may have less access to power as a result of the consolidation of managerial power in the executive, they still retain some leeway in the system due to their hierarchical position and status and access to internal networks. As a result, they are more able to maintain a degree of contextual continuity.

The willingness of academic managers to adopt strategies to limit the excesses of the managerial discourse was appreciated by the more junior academics in this study. Although these participants realized they had fewer options in how they responded to the quality discourse, they were mindful that senior academics could take measures to protect them if these managers chose to (L1, p. 7). However, the culture of protection has 'more to do with the benevolence of the people who are in power' as even this culture is hierarchical 'as some have a lot more than others' (L1, p. 7).

6.4.4   The role of status in leadership including its limitations

Positional status in the hierarchy and international reputation both contribute to the degree of influence of academics in the institution. However, internal hierarchical status and internal networks are the key factor, according to two professorial level participants cited below, even though international reputation gets one noticed. For example, participant P2, who is a CEO of a disciplinary related organization in the Asia/Pacific region, does not think this role carries significant influence in the institution. However at the faculty level, participant P2 is aware that his international role in his discipline attracts the 'the blessing of the dean', whom he keeps well informed about what he is doing offshore' (P2, p. 4). In contrast, in his role as Head of School and the Associate Dean of Research, he was able to get things done due to being able to influence the direction of the University Research Committee (P2, p. 5).

Another professor interviewed, who has a fellowship at a highly ranked European university, also confirms that professorial rank and internal contacts, result in more access to senior management than an international reputation. Although this participant considers that international status as a scholar provides some leeway 'if one is also a good networker', it is 'formal rank in the institution which provides you with more influence because of your access to key committees' (P1, p. 5). Therefore, hierarchical position in the institution outweighs international disciplinary status in the managerial discourse. However, institutional rank has its limitations in influencing the key performance indicators of the managerial discourse.

There are limitations in using rank to influence the managerial discourse. For example, when a professorial level participant was serving as 'an Associate Dean with responsibility for the Education Programs' for the faculty for over three years, he thought it offered an opportunity to make a difference to teaching quality in the faculty. Although, this participant was not successful at reconfiguring the corporate quality agenda to reflect his notion of 'real quality' in this position, he did acknowledge that his position as a full professor allowed him 'to do a few things' (P1, p. 7). Although this participant also thinks personal politics influences outcomes on the big issues in addition to the clash in values between the discourses.

6.4.5 Some have less leadership opportunity

Professorial level academics are generally better equipped to participate in managerial politics. This is because they are able to decide how they react to 'pushes from management' and 'the way they interact with each other' due to their higher management and scholarly status:

> I think at the professorial level, because they have the publishing and teaching record and they also have the seniority and the experience, they can't be kicked out. They have the security of being high up the pecking order. It makes a huge difference. I can't wait until I'm a professor. I'll tell them everything (L2, p. 8).

In contrast, non-professorial academics perceive they lack the necessary status to speak out:

> I don't think non professorial levels would have the courage to openly question something. You might be a senior lecturer but you're not a well- known academic. You don't have the status. If they kick you out, nobody's going to make a big issue of it or question it too much. So, I think it's a huge aspect of how this organisation functions (L2, p. 9).

She concludes that being a member of the professorial class provides you with 'the confidence to speak out more openly' (L2, p. 9). In fact, a senior lecturer who fits the profile of a 'productive researcher' claims 'it would be 'career suicide for non-tenured staff to complain to career academics' (SL2, p. 4).

6.5 Resistance strategies
6.5.1 Collegiate approach to human resource management

One department, which most participants in this study belong to, has its own performance management system. This is because it is necessary to provide younger colleagues with alternative career advice to that provided by the managerial discourse:

> We do have a performance management system in my department, we call it a mentoring system, and when I'm talking to more junior colleagues, I recognise that their careers lie largely outside the institution (P1, p. 5).

This professorial participant considers that he would be doing his junior colleagues a great dis-service if he advised them otherwise. This is because they have two career trajectories and only one of these is related to the institution:

One is about their status in the institution; lecturer, senior lecturer Associate professor and so on and that determines their salary scale but, on the other hand, they are writing for an audience outside the university that is at the very least national, in most cases international, and their reputation is dependent on getting into the key journals, the best publishers (P1, p. 5).

Therefore, he prefers to give them advice which assists their academic careers when and if they leave this university. Another professorial level participant, with a highly respected career as an academic manager in the faculty, also advises younger colleagues 'to get their thesis out as a book' on the basis that this is the key to future career opportunities (P3, p. 17). However, both these professorial participants are equally conscious that junior academics, with heavy teaching loads, experience more difficulty in finding the time necessary to do the research to publish the books required to advance their careers. Consequently, they understand why some of the junior colleagues, they mentor, are inclined to forsake their better long term disciplinary interests by publishing articles in journals in order to satisfy corporate performance indicators as opposed to writing books (P1 & P3).

6.5.2 Human resource techniques for maintaining integrity

Many of these participants considered that the only way of preventing academic managers from becoming misanthropic is to move them in and out of management positions:

You need to train generations of senior scholars for these roles and move them into these roles and out again and that's what we've tried to do round here (AP1, p. 9).

In fact, participant AP1 reports that one of the senior people who had mentored him thought managers 'should only do these jobs for about 3-4 years', however, the management response to this approach is that 'amateurs, will end up 'running the show' (AP1, p. 9). As the policy of moving people in and out of academic management roles has been a policy in these departments for a long time, human resource management 'on the whole, hasn't been an issue in this department' (P1, p. 9). In addition, the strategy of recruiting people who 'are very good at what they do' also assists (P1, p. 9).

6.5.3   Micro resistance strategies

The strategy of insisting on compliance and calling on the interests of the students are strategies employed in managerial meetings. For example, two associate professors interviewed, regularly insist on procedural compliance in order to resist being pressured prematurely into agreeing to a corporate policy:

> Recently when somebody tried to use superior authority to push a policy, somebody else responded with 'No it hasn't been through the committees where we participate' and so this person who tried to do it, the Associate Dean, had to wear it and said OK it's got to go to the relevant committee (AP2, p. 12).

Although, participant AP2 thinks this type of resistance strategy 'disappeared for a couple of years between 2005 and 2007', the strategy of insisting on due process being applied in decision making is now strong. This is due to having 'good leadership in the faculty; you know people who are good at working with people, good values' (AP2, p. 12). In addition, another academic manager reports they 'consciously' put up their hands in meetings and ask 'Where do the students fit into this?' as well as consciously stating 'I have to go now because I am teaching' (AP1, p. 8). These strategies represent their way of reminding the executive level that when it comes to the classroom, it is they who are the experts. This is a necessary reminder as 'A lot of these people in charge haven't been in classrooms for years. That is why they've got no idea' (AP1, p. 8). These examples of micro resistance strategies are consistent with research by Thomas and Davies (2005) and Anderson (2008) on micro resistance.

6.5.4   Resistance is a state of mind

Participant AP3 claims that personal attitudes towards promotion also shape the way people chose to respond. For example, some people choose to ignore the managerial discourse:

> I think the discipline sort of splits between some people who just ignore this stuff and do what they want and fail by the institutional metrics. That's a possible way to go, especially if once you don't care about promotion because it's quite hard to chuck you out of the university. There's a fair amount of leeway to refuse to do all the bullshit we're required to do (AP3, p. 9).

The more cavalier approach adopted by this particular academic is consistent with the behaviour of academics in more unbounded type projects and joint ventures. For example, these academics display 'a more freewheeling approach than that of bounded staff who 'are strongly influenced by the rules, opportunities and recognition criteria of the institution in which they work' (Whitchurch and Gordon 2010, p. 134). In contrast, lecturers who lack the status and access to networks associated with global elites described by Bauman (2009) also experience the type of anxiety experienced by those fully individualized in late modernity (Elliot 2009).

6.5.5   Appeasement strategies

The more junior academic participants in this study adopt an appeasement approach to satisfying managerial edicts in lieu of anything more strategic available to them. For example, the participants involved in coordinating and teaching courses, who feel they are under constant surveillance, just try to 'appease' everybody. In fact, surviving the semester becomes the priority:

> Sometimes, it can be fraught. I've been in meetings where we just try to get through the teaching semester, forget about research, without some sort of becoming really stressed and overworked (SL1, p. 11).

Occasionally, therefore, when she is completely over stretched, she takes the risk of not answering the student emails on the basis the students 'can find the answer somewhere else and I've got so many of these I just can't do it' (SL1, p. 9).

Furthermore, the most vulnerable participant interviewed feels that he is 'completely at the mercy of the system' (L1, p. 8). Therefore, he considers 'the most important thing to do is to survive in this Darwinian world' so therefore there is no room for strategizing:

> I don't think there is much strategizing…the solution is quite simple …you have to do everything; you have to write, and you have to teach, you have to comply, sometimes you compromise on one of these things and I don't think I have a strategy for that (L1, p. 8).

Moreover, he considers that fighting to have an idea regarding teaching or research, for someone in a short term contract position like him, is an exercise which is not worth pursuing. Although his focus is purely on survival, he does wonder about 'what kind of

government that takes education seriously, would want to educate its population this way' (L1, p. 3).

6.5.6 Junior academics are grateful for small mercies

Despite the lecturers interviewed claiming they have no ability to affect the managerial discourse, they are both 'grateful' for some autonomy in relationship to the curriculum. Participant L1 thinks 'there is some autonomy within a very restricted framework' as he has some say in choosing curriculum content (L1, p. 5). For example, although the themes taught are specified, a lecturer can choose the content used to teach the themes (L1, p. 5). The other junior lecturer interviewed is similarly grateful:

> When it comes to curriculum design, at least in my department, I was given complete freedom which is good because I'm not sure how I would deal with other people's units. So, I was very grateful that I was given complete freedom to design my units the way I wanted to teach. Otherwise I wouldn't have been a successful teacher (L2, p. 9).

Participants are also thankful for permission to laugh out loud. For example, the senior lecturer, who was the subject of an investigation into a minor compliance breach, finds solace in the fact that there is still an option to laugh out loud at the absurdity of some situations. She explains how the Head of School had given them permission to laugh out loud at the latest proposal from central administration which involves converting research data into output points titled 'business information about research'. In contrast, she considers people in the private sector 'would not be able to sit around and have a laugh':

> You know I've worked in private sector jobs and I've talked to people in the private sector world and they're not allowed to dissent….Whereas we're allowed to actually openly scoff at those sort of things and do things like have a meeting in an office with the door closed even though I'm not a senior person (SL1, p. 14).

Therefore, she considers that academics are 'very lucky that we're not under that level of surveillance' (SL1, p. 14).

In an environment in which these lecturers feel they have no options to influence the managerial discourse, there is obviously some sort of comfort to be taken in feeling they can share their feelings about the 'insane' compliance culture. However, despite the

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option of being able to laugh about their situation, everyday life is an anxiety ridden experience for the participants in this study who are full time lecturers who are at the mercy of the service delivery process.

6.5.7 Some participants accept the nature of the system

The lecturers interviewed also expressed the view that the managerial discourse is a given reality for younger academics like them. This is because this system is the only one they have known since they were students. Unlike their older colleagues, they do not have a point of comparison. For example, one participant explained that she had only known a system where there were 'rankings and targets and money and treating the university as a business' from the time she was a student (SL1, p. 1). As a result, she's 'pragmatic about accepting in full what it is' on the basis that it is the only 'professional world' she has experienced.

In contrast, participant SL1 considers older academics have to expend more 'psychological and emotional energy' in readjusting to the existing managerial discourse (SL1, p. 1). However, her reluctance to consciously expend the energy, which she feels older academics devote to engaging with the managerial discourse, is also related to her lack of seniority:

> I think I'm more accepting of it, but I don't think that in terms of getting ahead in my career that it gives me an edge except in that I don't spend a great deal of emotional energy fighting against it, because the people who are older than me are further ahead in their careers. They have more institutional knowledge (SL1, p. 2).

Although one participant thought the 'the autonomy issue' is 'a bit of a false distinction for me', because she is paid by taxpayers to do a job (SL2, p. 6). As a consequence, she feels comfortable being an 'employee of the institution with all the things that means' (SL2, p. 6).

6.5.8 Responses are related to rank, experience and status

Responses towards managerial edicts by participants who are academic managers reflect calculated responses to directives from the central administration of the university. Therefore, their responses to executive edicts are based on knowledge of external

governmentality requirements, their experience in management, their position in the hierarchy and, indirectly, their international status:

> Sometimes there are things that coincide with what we want to be doing, in which case we go along with them, sometimes they cut across then we ignore them as best we can, sometimes you have to compromise (P1, p. 5).

This participant also advises that he can adopt this type of calculated response to management as:

> I am senior enough to largely ignore them…there's no further promotion for me to apply for. My objectives in terms of reputation lie primarily outside the university; they lie in my discipline world-wide. That's what's important for me…I have a three year fellowship at [name of European university], I'll be there again in January talking to the best people in my field. That to me is the sort of recognition I want and that's the kind of audience (P1, p. 4).

For example, this participant recognizes that his fellowship with a very prestigious European university brings his university the sort of internationalisation and international networks they crave. Therefore, it offers him the leeway to decide what he takes notice of and what he does not.

Overall, the data suggests that those participants who perform roles as academic managers enjoy the positional status required to perform leadership roles. In addition, their international reputation in their respective disciplines provides them with a degree of confidence, authority and protection not available to more junior colleagues. However, they also exhibit a form of collegial, disciplinary and moral leadership which means they have a personal commitment to protecting their faculty, departments and colleagues if and where they are able to. They haven't crossed to the other side.

6.6 Impact of the managerial discourse on academic identity

6.6.1 The syndrome of crossing to the other side syndrome

People can be transformed when they become academic managers. They can take on a new identity to the extent they no longer either speak or act like an academic:

> I think that sometimes we look at them and think what happened? You know, you were a professor five years ago and at the top of your field as an academic and possibly as a teacher and then something happens when you step into an executive role; you start using management speak, you forget about what we do

and start talking to us as though what we've got to do is comply with all of this stuff and run a business (SL1, p. 15).

Although this participant considers that not all academic managers 'cross over to another side', some have and, unfortunately, they 'are the ones who are prepared to believe their own bullshit' (SL1, p. 15). However, a managerial role can transform even good people:

> What is difficult is that people who are at the faculty level and the executive level, sometimes they are very good people who still have a sense of themselves as academics, but increasingly when they go into that role, they just transform into the role of managers (SL1, p. 15).

Another participant, who describes herself as 'on the fence about power', thinks that academics can be transformed when they become academic managers for two reasons. One reason is that they are overwhelmed by the precarious nature of the university:

> I think sometimes really good people are suddenly aware of a whole world of exigencies and contingencies that we academics are protected from and when they find out about how budgets work and how precarious our situation is, often they find out that in the real world, we have to do what it takes (SL2, p. 2).

And the other reason is academics 'sometimes get dazzled' by the power and glamour associated with their new position as:

> Academics don't have much authority in certain ways in our jobs we are pretty stumpy and daggy and when they get into positions of authority and they get to strut their stuff around a bit more and some of them get dazzled by the glamour (SL2, p. 2).

Like participant SL1, she also thinks that academic managers who cross over to career administration, can start to behave contemptuously towards their academic colleagues 'when they've been there a while' (SL2, p. 3).

6.6.2 Difference between role and identity

The capacity for academics to easily switch between roles is consistent with the reality that academics now have to 'perform many roles ranging from teaching to research to administrative roles and entrepreneurialism' (Delanty 2008, p. 129). Like Castells (2010) who argues there is a difference between an identity and a role, Delanty (2008) also argues that being able to perform various roles does not necessarily result in the formation of multiple identities. In addition, the capacity for academics to consciously

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adapt their identity to perform separate roles, as they move between roles is consistent with findings by Henkel (2009). For example, individuals may find that in different contexts with different groups, they foreground different values, aspirations, strengths, and sources of self- esteem. However, as we have seen in the case of participant AP3 above, multiple identities may not be easily reconcilable as Henkel (2009, p. 10) indicates.

Whitchurch & Gordon (2010) perceive academic identity as a cumulative project, involving the interplay of the agency of the individual with the structures and boundaries that they encounter both internally and externally. Due to new challenges provided by the diversity of roles academics now perform, identity is provisional and overlapping. In fact, Trowler (2012) suggests that external forces have more influence on identity now than internal forces and, as a result, individual academics have become decentred due to belonging to multiple networks. This means that academics are now under even more pressure due to 'being pulled in different directions' (2008, p. 129).

However, some participants in this study regard themselves as being able to switch between roles without taking on the values associated with these roles. For example, participants AP3 and SL2 consider they have mastered the art of switching between roles in the managerial discourse without losing sight of the fact that their primary identity remains that of a researcher and teacher. In fact, participant SL2 claims she has not succumbed to the powerful managerial discourse, like others have, despite her success in playing the game:

> It's really powerful and I also know some excellent people who have gone into it hook, line and sinker and, sometimes, I can't believe the things that come out of their mouths…so it really sort of overtakes people and I've tried really hard to resist that (SL2, p. 2).

Overall, although many participants in this study undertake a variety of roles, the data analysed to date suggests that their primary identity is founded on enduring academic and personal values. For this reason, the full range of values, which underpin their primary academic identity, will be explored in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

6.6.3 Anxiety due to satisfying contradictions in the discourse

Junior academics are aware that there is a difference between the rhetoric embedded in corporate mission statements and corporate promotional practices. For example, one junior academic with a heavy teaching load is constantly anxious about how to prioritize his time. This is because he knows, that despite what the university says about the importance of providing high quality teaching, future career prospects of academics are based on their research output and not on their teaching record:

> What guarantees an academic future these days is not teaching because although many institutions have this rhetoric about excellence which is often referring to the kind of teaching a university is able to provide. So the idea is that we provide high quality products and services to our customers and students is the kind of framework of course but this lip service to teaching is not taken very seriously when it comes to career advancement (L1, p. 3).

However, although he recognises the corporate focus on quality teaching is no more than 'lip service', he never the less feels a moral obligation to put his resources into teaching. Therefore, his efforts to continuously appease the contradictory management rhetoric of the institution are made at the cost of his personal equilibrium:

> So the emphasis is on my main research but at the same time I take teaching very seriously as it's just so important. So to me the research suffers as I put a lot of time and energy into the teaching and I know that it is probably a mistake from the long term perspective of what I'm doing but at the same time it's not something that I would feel comfortable with; getting up in the morning and standing in front of the class knowing that I'm only half prepared (L1, p. 3).

This participant also thinks the emphasis in Australia is more on the quantity of publications as opposed to the quality of publications:

> In the U.S what gets you a job is a good book, there's more emphasis on the quality of the book but in Australia the quantity equation is mind boggling as everything boils down to how many publications you produce. If you win an award that's all the better but the emphasis is on producing more (L1, p. 9).

Aware of the anxiety suffered by his more junior colleagues in trying to satisfy contradictory requirements, participant P1 advises that 'even within the university there are discrepancies between the management rhetoric and the actual promotional criteria' (P1, p. 10).

6.7 Conclusion

6.7.1 The professorial participants exhibit leadership skills

The data analysed from the lived experiences of these participants, indicates that the responses to the managerial discourse vary according to organizational position, professorial status, access to internal networks and ability to raise revenue. In addition, their responses are also influenced by their international reputation as scholars and access to disciplinary networks. Generally, the professoriate interviewed who have either served as academic managers at various times or are currently serving as academic managers, have the experience and skills necessary to recognize where and when they can challenge the discourse. However, they also equally recognize when and where they need to compromise. As a result of their leadership skills, they are able to optimize benefits for their faculty as well as provide protection for their colleagues.

6.7.2 Limited leeway in the managerial discourse

There are contradictions both within and between the managerial and disciplinary discourses as well as a range of reflexive options available. Therefore there is interplay between the technologies of domination and the practices of the self (Foucault 1982). Although Foucault (1980) proposes that that there is always a degree of leeway available between the governing and the governed, the data in this study suggests the leeway to contest the managerial discourse has declined in recent years. For example, even the professorial academic managers, who are in a position to influence the corporate managerial discourse, are mostly engaged in the process of devising harm minimization strategies to best protect the faculty and its members from the managerial discourse.

Moreover, only one of the four non-professorial participants demonstrates confidence in engaging with the managerial discourse. In contrast, the other three participants at lecturer level, reluctantly engage with it due to feeling they have little control over it. For example, a senior lecturer (SL2) explained that if a junior non tenured academic or sessional worker complained to an academic manager, it would amount to career suicide. This is because there is an expectation that an academic, without the protection of tenure, is expected to perform the duties agreed to in their short term contract.

Moreover, as approximately 60% of academics today are non–tenured (NTEU 2012, p. 14), it would indeed be career suicide to complain about working conditions. Furthermore, junior participants are persuaded to make decisions not in their best long term career interests as they lack the status and power to do otherwise (P1 & P3). Therefore, these participants feel additional pressure to comply with the normalized managerial discourse or face the threat of being further marginalized by the discourse (Elliot 2011). Therefore, this study confirms research by Thornton (2007) that the non-permanent academic workforce imposes self-discipline on itself. As a consequence of lacking the necessary access to internal networks due to their lack of sufficient institutional and scholarly status, they experience the type of anxiety associated with the precarious class described by Standing (2011) and Bauman (2000).

The data analysed in this study also suggests that the professorial level participants and the 'productive researchers', do not represent the fully atomized objects of the dominant forms of subjugation associated with simple modernity:

> If simple modernization gives us Foucault's scenario of atomization, normalization and individuation, then the reflexive counterpart opens up genuine individualization, opens up positive possibilities of autonomous subjectivity in regard to the natural, social and psychic environments possible (Lash 1994, p. 118).

However, institutional reflexivity filtered through expert systems has not opened up the range of possibilities associated with reflexive modernization referred to by Giddens (1994) and Beck (1994) due to some people having more access to these systems than others as we have seen in this study to date.

6.7.3 The institution is reflexive

The data suggests the institution is reflexive and that the participants are embedded in it as research by Pick (2004) indicates. However there are types of reflexivity. For example, the mode of reflexivity the professoriate exhibit more closely resembles communicative reflexivity described by Archer (2012). This is because their deliberative responses result from thought and talk with others as to what options best

benefit their faculty prior to choosing a course of action. Whereas, in contrast, the type of reflexivity exhibited by the productive researchers more closely resembles autonomous reflexivity which is a product of the neoliberal political rationality in which individuals are viewed as *homo economicus* (Archer 2012). In contrast, the non-professorial level participants interviewed, who are full time lecturers, appear very much at the mercy of the managerial system. In fact, these participants prefer not to willingly engage in the managerial discourse due to recognising their lack of capacity to have any influence over it. In contrast, they are in survival mode.

6.7.4 Freedom of control prevails

In general, the experiences of these participants confirm the findings by Marginson (2009) that modern universities embody the Hayekian order of neoliberalism as freedom as control rather than freedom as power and freedom for the radical-critical break, which is necessary for academic self-determination. As explained in more detail, in Chapter 1 of this thesis, freedom as control is a circumscribed form of freedom. It means freedom to perform the responsibilities assigned by a principal to an agent without interference (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Marginson 2009). This concept of freedom is an externally framed concept of freedom:

> Amid the incessant transformations, academic subjects bear the brunt of their own continuous adjustment, the goals for which they strive are defined by someone else, and social control is rendered stronger than before (Marginson 2009, p. 99).

The experience of the participants also confirms that the ethics of the self, advocated by Foucault to resist the forces of individualization, represents an atomized practice which is not likely to 'pose a serious challenge to neoliberal social control' (McNay 2009, p. 570). For example, Foucault (1982) indicates that subjects have the agency to choose from a number of subject positions available to them in resisting the technologies of power. However, the data analysed in this study, confirms the proposition by Caldwell (2007, p. 776) that Foucault's views are problematic, as resistance 'is situated within power'. For example, the option to either be reflexive, or adopt different subject positions, appears related to positional, professorial and managerial status in the institution in this study. Furthermore, this study confirms the notion that agency needs

to involve more than the capacity to resist; it should include the capacity to make a difference (Caldwell 2007, p. 771).

Overall, because the professoriate have more options in responding to the managerial discourse than the non- professorial participants, the study confirms that it is the elite who have the capacity to undertake reflexively organized life planning due to their inhabiting 'the timeless space of flows of global networks and their ancillary locales' (Castells 2010, p. 11). In contrast, those who are not elites are more reliant on others to protect them, as participant L1 correctly observes; a practice which he finds benevolent in nature. Therefore, this study confirms research by Zhao and Biesta (2011) that some people have more options than others in choosing how they respond to novel circumstances. However, having access to more options in the managerial discourse does not does not mean that the values of the academic managers are more congruent with managerial values, as research by Winter (2009) suggests.

6.8 Purpose of the next chapter

The next chapter will explore the impact of the post 1988 institutional restructuring program on the values of these participants. In particular, it will explore the concept of intellectual collegiality which is, traditionally, a feature of the type of federal style governance associated with the Oxbridge tradition. For example, it will explore how this aspect of academic life provides the participants with a strong sense that they still belong to a scholarly community in late modernity. It will also explore the values which enable these participants to retain their primary identity as a researcher or teacher.

Chapter 7: The participants' alternative scholarly community

7.1 Introduction and purpose of this chapter

7.1.1   Perceptions of the managerial discourse revisited

In Chapter 5 of this thesis, the experiences of the participants indicate that there are two technologies of management which impact significantly on their academic practice. Firstly, the institution's strategic planning system is perceived as focussing on research and international rankings at the expense of other stakeholders. This was despite the fact that teaching academics generate most of the revenue funding research. In addition, the integration of quality with online systems was perceived as increasing the work load, wasting limited resources and causing stress for researchers and teachers. Furthermore, the teaching and learning process was perceived as prioritizing superficial customer service satisfaction techniques over more meaningful pedagogical assessment techniques.

Chapter 6 of this thesis explored the strategies adopted by the participants in responding to the managerial discourse. The responses analysed indicate that there is a long tradition of faculty academic managers using their hierarchical position, disciplinary reputation and acquired leadership skills to protect the interests of the faculty and their colleagues. However, those participants performing roles as academic managers advise that their capacity to influence the big decisions has declined radically in recent years. This is despite their proven expertise in leadership. In addition, due to increasing institutional reflexivity, academic managers are also involved in reflexive decision making. For example, when the institution radically changes its direction as a response to a decline in the international overseas student market, faculty academic managers are pressured to quickly devise strategies to attract more local students to cover the shortfall in funds. The data analysed also suggests that there is a shared understanding that the capacity to cut their sails accordingly keeps everyone in a job. For example, those researchers known as 'productive researchers' have earnt their reputation on the basis that they demonstrate a capacity for adapting their research proposals and research focus to align with market forces. However, the data also indicates that the lecturers

interviewed have few options available to them in the reflexive university other than to 'appease' the all invasive 'measure discourse'.

Although the management approach of faculty academic managers is reflexive in nature, it is also guided by contextual continuity. Therefore, it is mostly a form of communicative reflexivity as faculty responses are generally guided by consultation and interaction with their colleagues. Therefore, the departments in which these participants reside represent more than the sum of individualized responses to novel external conditions (Bauman 2000). The data collected in this study suggests that the incidence of communicative reflexivity and meta-reflexivity, as opposed to autonomous reflexivity, is the outcome of a culture of a scholarly culture characterized by intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality embedded in their respective departments.

7.1.2 Purpose of this chapter

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, I stated that collegiality in its ideal Oxbridge tradition involves a self-governing college of senior academics as well as intellectual collegiality and a shared college based culture (Tapper and Palfreyman 2010 & 2013). Although Tapper and Palfreyman (2013, p. 25) concede that this traditional form of collegial governance has been eroded by a corporate approach to higher education, 'intellectual collegiality' is still considered an everyday feature of 'day to day working relationships'. This is because 'professionals interact with colleagues to fulfil the purposes of teaching and research' (Tapper and Palfreyman 2013, p. 25). This chapter, therefore, explores the phenomenon of 'intellectual collegiality' and intellectual leadership in the two departments these participants belong to. It also explores the role intellectual collegiality and leadership play in promoting the participants' concept of excellence in research and teaching as well as how these factors provide them with the sense of meaning they perceive as lacking in the managerial discourse.

7.2 A tradition of collegial governance

The humanities faculty, in which these participants are located, was considered very collegial prior to the restructuring of the faculties. Participant (P3, p. 7) notes that while

'some departments and faculties were very hierarchical', the 'humanities had always been more collegiate'. This tradition of intellectual collegiality was well in place in the seventies, when participant P3 joined the faculty:

> They were always prepared to talk about their teaching. They were very aware of the need to teach well and there were very good teachers and people would always be prepared to listen to them (P3, p. 4).

Participant P2 also remembers that when he joined the faculty in 1992, it was still running in the typical traditional manner:

> Collegiality, the role of professor, the dean, the role of the faculty was all quite flexible and academically based, I think, and everybody that was in administration tended to have come out of the academic side of the university so it was all very much academically driven (AP2, p. 1).

In fact, this culture of collegiality was appealed to successfully by the then dean of the humanities faculty and the dean's colleagues during the faculty restructuring program.

A collegial approach to management influenced the manner in which the faculty was restructured. By 1998, when it was no longer possible to delay faculty restructuring, the faculty was restructured in the same consultative manner in which the then dean had undertaken previous teaching related reforms. For example, open discussions were held about what had to be done and the options available. This was despite ructions and protests from staff and students (AP2). Although participant AP2 remembers the faculty did have to shed staff, it was neither achieved through forced redundancies nor at the expense of the less established younger academics. In fact, the consultative processes undertaken throughout the reform era emphasised the need for better research and teaching while also emphasising equity:

> Right through this period to the mid-2000s, generally speaking, we created our own internal policies in terms of doing better teaching, managing our research better, and managing our staff better so that we had sort of equitable workloads (AP2, p. 1).

In fact, the collegial values which existed prior to the restructuring have survived in the sub-cultures of the two departments in which these participants are located:

> I think by and large in the humanities framework values of collegiality, cooperation, putting students first were really important in the process and really that sort of collegiality persisted into the 2000s here (AP2, p. 2).

However, the collegial approach adopted by academic managers in the faculty is also perceived as being an outcome of their discipline as it makes them 'good at thinking about change and pressures' (AP2, p. 2). It is also a more 'nuanced' form of collegiality now.

7.3 Challenges to traditional collegiality

7.3.1   A different and more nuanced form of collegiality now exists

Collegiality still exists in a more 'nuanced' form in the more complex contemporary environment:

> I don't know about the rest of the university but when I became Deputy Dean last year, I went to my first faculty retreat at the start of this year. Again it was participatory because the Heads of Schools, plus Associate Deans, plus key administrators all talked together about our staff, the values we bring to what we're trying to do together. So it's very collegial, but in a much more complex way and much more nuanced and a lot more talking is done and everybody's thinking about how are we going to do the best thing and not everyone's going to agree (AP2, p. 12).

Despite the creation of 'an official management class' responsible for enforcing executive policy, collegiality still exists but in a more modified form:

> There's a long tradition of people and, to a certain extent it still exists, of people who are good academics putting up their hands for doing some management tasks, but seeing themselves fundamentally as scholars (AP1, p. 14).

However, a number of participants think collegiality is dependent on how much time you spend with your colleagues. One participant thinks that time and place are important elements in collegiality flourishing. For example, the tradition of the tea room as a place which facilitated an exchange of ideas still existed when participant P2 joined this institution in 1996:

> We had a tea room and people used to sit around and talk during the day so at almost any time of the day you'd go up there and there was someone in the tea room (P2, p. 10).

In fact, his experience of the tea room as a place for intellectual sharing goes back to his post-doctoral days:

> When I was in my post doc, we had morning tea and afternoon tea. Everybody attended for three quarters of an hour and half an hour in the afternoon. People would sit down and talk about everything. Sometimes, we wrote papers. We'd

spend a couple of hours each day with our colleagues talking about things to one another. That was a kind of benchmark for collegiality (P2, p. 10).

However, the tradition of people sitting around in a tea room today discussing things 'like the various plans we had for improving our research income', is less feasible now:

> There's so much stuff that fills up the day that they don't have the time to do that, so there's still a sense of collegiality but people drop in and talk to each other one to one but that old sense of social environment has completely disappeared (P2, p. 10).

Instead of sitting around discussing research plans, as they used to, they are all busy doing 'the sort of administrative stuff' that now 'fills their day'(P2, p. 10). In addition, casual collegiality has been undermined by the centralised room allocation. This system means 'there's no dedicated space where staff can interact naturally' (AP3, p. 6). As a result, the opportunity for casual collegiality to take place has been reduced.

Management related issues now dominate casual academic interaction in the faculty. For example, one participant explains that when he does get a chance to talk to his colleagues, it is mostly to complain about the latest administrative outrage:

> I struggle to talk to my colleagues and when I do talk to them it's almost always about administration, so the standard university conversation between colleagues is essentially whinging about the administration and whatever the latest outrage is, or to try and work out how you should respond to it; that becomes the focal point (AP3, p. 11).

The observations of these participants concur with findings by Rivzi & Lingard (2009) that the focus of educational governance has shifted from discussions about purpose to discussions about management and funding related issues. In fact, participant L1 wonders if it is possible to have authentic collegiality in the competitive neoliberal university. However, other participants indicate that the previous form of collegiality had many limitations due its exclusive nature. As a result, some of these participants are actively engaged in ensuring that a more inclusive form of collegiality exists in their departments. In fact, participant SL2 is creating a women's collegial network to offset past entrenched practices which, as we shall see, favoured some over others.

7.3.2 Limitations of college style collegial governance

The department, most of these participants come from, was run like a closed shop prior to the reforms. For example, in their bid to ensure everybody had the same employment conditions they were actually exclusive in their approach to others:

> About 1985, we actually passed a motion at a meeting to say that our employment policy in the department should be guided by the principle which was we weren't going to appoint anyone that wasn't permanent that we'd hold off and make all the appointments permanent appointments which would mean that we were equal in the department (P3, p. 4).

Not only were they totally ignorant of the supply/demand nature of the evolving economy, which participant P3 regards 'as completely unimaginable now', they acted to optimize their own self- interests:

> We weren't allowing any sort of channel for people to make their way in but we didn't think about that. We just thought about ourselves as a collegiate group that wanted to have equality within us …but we were actually blind to the reality of the job market and, we were also blind to what was going to happen when we got the money in little dobs, and we'd only be able to employ people for a certain amount of time so (P3, p. 4).

In hindsight, participant P3 can now see how they used the notion of collegiality to preserve positional advantage and to exclude others from entering their community. In contrast today, academics are part of an external web of governmentality and global disciplinary networks:

> In reality, higher education, universities and individual departments are open, natural systems, not the ivory towers of legend. They are touched by outside forces and are conditioned in what they do, and how, by far more than the internal processes (Trowler 2012, p. 29).

Overall, women, people from ethnic minorities and men from different, and lower socio-economic backgrounds, all felt excluded from the clubby traditional form of collegiality. For example, a participant from both a migrant and working class background has an outsider perception of the dominant culture, prior to the 1988 Dawkins reforms:

> Being an outsider, I've come into this from a different perspective. Collegiality often seemed to be smiling while you were shoving a knife into someone's back (AP1, p. 10).

Therefore, the changed 'ideological framework' which expects universities to contribute to the national good and requires academics to function outside their previous 'bounded space', necessitates the rethinking of autonomy (Henkel 2007, pp. 93-94).

7.3.3 Changing expectations forge a new concept of collegiality

There are now networks in place for women to address past imbalances. When participant P3 joined the faculty, there were very few women in the faculty so little opportunity for collegiality:

> When I started out there weren't many women doing PhDs but when you look at the women that came through just after me, they tended to be a lot more collegiate in doing things together (P3, p. 13).

Things have slowly changed. A senior lecturer advised that she became the first woman in her department to take maternity leave just over a decade ago. When asked to explain why this rather extraordinary situation was the case, she replied:

> Well, there weren't many women or they were employed after they had had children or they'd had them while they were doing their PhD or alternatively didn't have any. The cultural expectations were that women had their kids earlier. Like I got my first job at 34, then I had my first baby some years later. So, it's still staggering to think I was the first, so it shows definite cultural change. Eight others have since done so. That was a real game changer (SL2, p. 5).

This participant confirms the notion proposed by participant P3 that the presence of more women in the faculty has created a different form of collegiality:

> It's not clubby anymore. It's not men sitting round drinking and having long lunches, for example, I've developed really close relationships with other female colleagues who all have young kids. We went out together last night. At this stage of life it's either children or work, so I think it's been wonderful to develop collegiality with these people (SL2, p. 4).

She is also proud of the fact that there is a women's network in place to redress past imbalances:

> I've had two female academic mentor me, very thoroughly, explicitly on the basis of my gender and they both care about me and want me to succeed. They're really saying they want women to succeed…It's really great and when they describe to me what it was like for them I think 'Thank God I am here now' (SL2, p. 5).

Furthermore, she is determined to ensure things are done differently:

> I think we're another generation. We talk about being a woman in the workplace, so it is a different form of collegiality. So, just as those old boys' networks were about helping boys, I think I'm trying to build networks for helping girls (SL2, p. 4).

She is also determined to broaden the concept of collegiality to include the recognition that women experience other issues in advancing in academia. For this reason, she has organized a women's research group outside the university:

> I've organized a women's research group for Level B and C academics and every month we meet in a pub and we read each other's work. I gave them an article I'd written and 5 people sat around telling me how I could improve it and we read each other's work. It has been great (SL2, p. 5).

Overall, despite collegial style governance having been transformed by the consolidation of power in the executive, some participants feel the less inclusive aspects of traditional collegiality have been transformed for the better.

7.3.4   The emergence of a precarious class undermines collegiality

The precarious nature of employment is also perceived as undermining genuine collegiality. For example, a participant who is on a short term contract believes that the lack of shared permanency means it is not possible for collegiality to work in an unequal environment:

> Collegiality can only work where there are people in a fundamentally equal situation in their jobs or where everybody has the same conditions, fundamentally permanent jobs, but where you have a department where some have ongoing positions, some are on three years, some are on twelve months and some on 6 months, I don't think collegiality makes much sense in a social environment that is deeply unequal (L1, p. 7).

In addition, the competitive nature of the system has also introduced another impediment for achieving authentic collegiality:

> It doesn't mean that we are at each other's throats but certainly competition between people has increased…there's still a part of collegiality in that we are all academics and in the same jobs and, we should help each other out, but I don't think the circumstances are such that it's possible to speak of collegiality with a capital C (L1, p. 7).

In fact, in the present competitive environment, in which some people share more power than others, collegiality is more a function of benevolence:

> When, you have these huge disparities in jobs and positions, some have a lot more power, a lot more security. So what does collegiality mean to someone on a 6 month contract? So people have different interests (L1, p. 7).

Participant L1 identifies as being a member of the precarious class and regards himself as no better off than people in other sectors of the economy who are on short term contracts:

> I think our situation has conditioned us as academics, especially junior academics who don't have a permanent position. It mirrors the situation of people in the wider society who have precarious job situations. On the one hand, you want to resist this system but at the same time you have realistic material positions in wanting to have an ongoing salary. So in that sense, although we are academics, we are no different to a lot of other people in many other sectors (L1, p. 3).

The options for academics like participant L1 are similar to the 'docile workers on the assembly line expected to serve the corporate mission without question if they want to keep their jobs' (Thornton 2007, p. 23). Furthermore, Standing (2011) and Bauman (2009) indicate that the individualized members of the precariat class experience anxiety due to having limited options. In fact, junior academics such as L1 are particularly vulnerable in higher education where approximately 60% of academic staff is non-tenured (NTEU 2012, p. 34). As a consequence, employees in this type of precarious situation who have a more limited range of rights experience 'Anger, Anomie, Anxiety and Alienation' (Standing 2011, p. 12). In addition, the precarious class lack the access to politics and networks required to change their situation:

> There can be no rational response to the rising précarité of human conditions so long as such a response is to be confined to the individual's action; the irrationality of possible responses is inescapable, given that the scope of life politics and of the network of forces which determine its conditions are, purely and simply, incomparable and widely disproportionate (Bauman 2009, p. 9).

Participant L1, who identifies with other members of the precarious class like retail staff, is therefore realistic in claiming that academics in his position are dependent on the benevolence of their colleagues.

Overall, the findings concerning the exclusive nature of traditional collegial style governance in this study align with findings from other research. Tight (2014) argues that although a form of college based collegiality is sometimes represented as the golden age of collegiality, this ideal type of collegiality was only ever experienced by a small minority. Furthermore, Marginson and Considine (2000, p. 235) advise that 'the old pre-modern Oxbridge pantomime long playing in Australia' is 'eternal no longer'. Moreover, Kligyte& Barrie (2014) report that this culture served the interests of an entrenched class and was not inclusive of women, people from diverse backgrounds or students. As a consequence, the traditional form of collegiality embedded in the Oxbridge model of collegial governance is not only challenged by the managerial discourse, it is also challenged by changing expectations of younger members of the academy who have different lifestyle requirements (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010). In addition, it is being challenged by 'modernist discourses' like 'diversity and inclusiveness' (Blackmore 2003, p. 6). However, the precarious nature of the academic workforce means collegiality is less meaningful to those who need to focus on survival.

However, in the same way that traditional collegiality has been transformed, the disciplinary discourse is also no longer regarded as the only source of values for academics, as we shall see in section 7.4 below.

7.4 Academic identity is shaped by local practice

7.4.1   Local conditions impact on the disciplinary discourse

As we saw in Chapter 3 of this thesis, academics belong to established disciplines with their own 'reservoirs of knowledge resources shaping regularised behavioural practices, sets of discourses, ways of thinking, procedures, emotional responses and motivations' (Trowler 2012, p. 9). However, although disciplines 'provide structured dispositions for disciplinary practitioners', they are also reshaped by practitioners 'in different practice clusters' due to the presence of 'common background knowledge about key figures, conflicts and achievements' (Trowler 2012, p. 9). Consequently, 'structured dispositions' are offset by localized social practices:

> Knowing, or knowledgeability, is situated in practices so that knowledgeability - and emotionality –is a constituent of practice. Intentionality, knowing, desiring

and behaving are all tied into social practices. They are situationally contingent, therefore, and are distributed among the people and things which make up the practice (Trowler, p. 31).

Therefore, academic identity is shaped by the manner in which people interact with each other to fulfil their intellectual and social purpose in their local context:

People in universities, departments and work groups engage in clusters of practices in different locales, and in so doing develop partly unique sets of recurrent behaviours and meanings about the world they are dealing with, ones that are particular to their location(Trowler 2012, p. 32).

Trowler (2014) describes the range of local factors which can influence disciplines in practice at the local level:

Disciplines enacted as social practices are performed and as micropolitics are played out; teaching; research; conference attendance; departmental meetings; collaborative writing; mixed –disciplinary meetings of a political nature – for example, where resource allocation is at stake; funding applications, etc (Trowler 2014, p. 34).

Therefore, due to the way people engage with each other to achieve a common purpose at the local level, 'universities end up with a multiple cultural configuration, with different clusters of social practices in different locales within them–usually departments –as well as many commonalities' (Trowler 2012, p. 32).

In addition, academics are active participants in a wider world. This means:

They are knowledgeable about the world and about themselves precisely because they carry, and carry out a multitude of routines, practices – even though some are derived from social structures and are simply enacted – and so can gain a perspective upon them (Trowler 2014, p. 35).

For example, as we have seen from this study, these participants are actively engaged in the global world through their participation in the managerial discourse and their involvement with international and national collegial disciplinary projects and organizations, off-shore ventures and alliances and external consultancies. Therefore, as academics bring their own sets of understandings to their academic practice, their relationship with the disciplinary discourse mirrors the conditioning and conditioned relationship underpinning liberal governmentality (Foucault 1980).

Although all universities operating in the global and national knowledge economy will end up with 'clusters of social practices', those factors which differentiate one organizational sub culture from another in the same university or in another university which are explored in section 7.5 below.

7.5 Disciplinary values are only a starting point

7.5.1 Disciplinary values are assumed

It is taken for granted, by the participants in this study, that a common set of disciplinary skills and associated values guide academic practice:

> You have to use your sources accurately, you don't make stuff up. You don't deliberately misinterpret things; you don't ignore evidence to the contrary. We teach our students about academic integrity …so those are core disciplinary values that are really important (P1, p. 1).

However, this core set of values is assumed and not perceived as exceptional:

> All of us are committed to a basic set of values which have to do with teaching and related to research because we believe the best teaching is research led as otherwise we wouldn't be a university (AP2, p. 10).

In contrast, it is the ethos of the practitioners and the institution which makes a difference and differentiates one organizational culture from another; even those sharing the same managerial discourse. Part of that ethos, according to participant AP4, involves a common understanding of purpose, a certain type of person and leadership style. The data analysed in this study indicates that the disciplinary discourse is significantly influenced by the complex sets of theoretical understandings and values, the participants bring to their discipline.

7.5.2 Complex sets of understandings drive academic practice

Multiple frameworks drive academic practice, in this study, not just disciplinary related skills and values. Professorial participant P1 considers that the traditional quest for truth has been superseded by more complex understandings of research:

> The old notion that academic research was about the quest for truth, is something that very few people would defend today. It's a much more relative kind of approach to the world which doesn't mean that there aren't values which structure our academic integrity (P1, p. 1).

Research today is about 'sets of understandings, about cultural differences and human possibilities' and bringing new sets of understandings to existing knowledge (P1, p. 2). In fact, P1 thinks that all research in the humanities is about understanding people whether it is people now or in the past:

> It seems to me whether you're studying sociology, anthropology or international politics, you're really interested in some sense in trying to understand our society, and in contradistinction to other societies ....so it's all about people (P1, p. 2).

Although participant P1 thinks that most humanities departments share similar disciplinary values, he considers research at his institution involves 'a strong critical element' (P1, p. 2). However, the data analysed below also indicates that the strong critical element participant P1 refers to, is also a function of personal values bordering on an evangelical desire to make a difference in students' lives.

7.5.3 A commitment to making sense of the world

The participants in this study profess a duty to equip their students in the best manner possible to enter a complex world. In fact, many share a zealous desire to provide their students with a critical framework for seeing and making sense of the world. For example, one participant professes she has 'a crusading approach' for enabling her students to recognise their views were socially constructed and separate to themselves (P3, p. 2). Another participant, who because of her cross-disciplinary background can teach across disciplines, considers it is her mission to impart some of the breadth of her own background to the students:

> I think academic values or scholarly values for me, is that knowledge is power. I have a lot of knowledge, but if that knowledge is not passed on to the new generation, it is nothing (L2, p. 1).

She also admits that she has the type of crusading zeal identified by participant P3 above. In fact, she is highly motivated by what she believes is the uncritical perspective lacking in the world today. Therefore, she wants to equip the students to be able to see 'that there are always many different perspectives to every story' (L2, p. 2) as she believes they have been conditioned by a dominant ideology. She wants them:

Not to accept just anything is given especially in today's world where so much is controlled by these big corporations and you can't get another opinion out there, for example, when someone said the Chinese state controls TV, but Excuse Me, who do you think controls CNN? These corporates control TV so that TV won't give you objective information, it will only give you information that's in line with the interests of its owner so that is the corporate philosophy of the corporate world so why is one objective and the other is not (L2, p. 7).

Although she admits that she suffers 'from that academic syndrome that I am moulding the minds of the next generation', she is equally adamant that she is 'not trying to mould them to fix my expectations or to fit my ideas' (L2, p. 1). In contrast, she considers that she is doing exactly what she thinks academic work is all about and that is actually developing critical thinking:

So, my view on academic values is that we teachers are here to develop in students the ability to think critically about things around them and don't take anything uncritically (L2, p. 1).

Furthermore, one participant describes how this approach to teaching made a transformative difference in her own education:

My own undergraduate education and my training taught me how to think in ways that felt really radical and strange and alternative to me and through that process it just transformed my view of the world so entirely…I found out that the ideas I had taken for granted were just invented and just a construct and I thought, if that's the case, it means we don't know anything that we think we know and I thought that's the most empowering thing you can know (SL2, p. 1).

Overall, the type of passion which these participants bring to their teaching practice indicates that they are motivated by broader vision of the world than that embedded in the managerial or the core values in the disciplinary discourses. In contrast, the data analysed to date in this thesis confirms that 'academics are not passive victims of a tribal hierarchy' (Trowler 2014, p. 164). Furthermore, rather than being 'cultural dopes who simply enact social roles'; they are 'educators who are motivated to do well by their students in an increasingly demanding HE sector' (Trowler 2014, p. 164). These participants also have a complex concept of the role of higher education in society.

7.5.4   A broader interpretation of the role of higher education

The participants interviewed in this study all express a commitment to social justice. Some of the participants were openly committed to their students having more control over their lives. In fact, one participant was forthright about her political objectives:

> I have a political commitment to education as a mode for social mobility and equity in society as well so that's the other reason I wanted to be an academic. I wanted to be an agent in people's capacity to improve their mobility (SL2, p. 1).

Other participants, who are also committed to social justice, are also aware of the demands of the complex world which their students are entering. Therefore, reconciling competing interests causes some participants internal conflict. For example, participant AP2 (p. 5) acknowledges that while the faculty wants to create 'the best possible learning context for our students at undergraduate level', it is also necessary 'to think about whether what we're doing helps them or not'. In fact, ensuring that the students have the type of employment skills required is even more important for those participants from either a migrant or lower socio-economic background:

> My view is that people like me who come from working class or immigrant backgrounds that we do them no favours to make them unemployable. One of our tasks is to give them the intellectual ability but we also have to strongly say these are transferable skills; they're employment skills (AP1, p. 4).

Participant SL1 who also has an immigrant background is equally concerned about her students graduating and finding a job. Therefore, the competing roles of a university cause some of these participants to reflect on the purpose of a university.

7.5.5   Reflections on the role of a university

The process of trying to resolve how to prepare students adequately for a changing environment in which there is an increasing focus on graduate skills, leads to personal reflection on this issue by some of these participants:

> My view of a university is still something more idealistic …that is you should be pursuing knowledge for its own sake, that it should not always be subject to something that has to generate income so what we're doing is pushing the frontiers of our discipline, and I guess, you know, knowledge with a capital K...that it has a role not just in preparing people for vocations but a role in producing good members of the community (SL1, p. 1).

Although this participant is committed to pursuing knowledge for its own sake, she is equally committed to the university having an equity related role as well as an intellectual role:

> I believe we should be making university a viable alternative to regional people and for a lower socio-economic background where there is disadvantage. I'm a very strong believer in getting people who are first generation in their family, so it's not just privileged people from families where there is a long tradition (SL1, p. 1).

However, she is equally aware that because disadvantage is entrenched from early childhood, it is a very complex issue: because it 'has to start from early childhood and from whole communities to make that happen and to get people to a position where they can have a red hot go' (SL1, p. 1). Therefore, she realizes that reconciling the intellectual mission of a university with social inclusiveness is problematic. This is because on the one hand the university is 'an elite institution where what you're trying to do is foster a sense of intellectual elitism' but on the other hand 'it should be open to people from a variety of backgrounds' (SL1, p. 1). Never the less, she feels 'the university has to do its job to make that possible' (SL1, p. 1).

7.6 The sub-culture underpinning the counter quality discourse
7.6.1 Point of differentiation

While Trowler (2014, p. 33) recognizes that 'discursive practices and the social construction of reality work together', he also acknowledges that 'deeper historical, social forces and social structures - express social reality and also operate to constrain and delimit it'. Therefore, according to Trowler (2014, p. 33), the managerial discourse, which has its own concept of the role of a university, 'works to bracket out other views and other discourses'. For example, the data in this study demonstrates that the managerial discourse has successfully bracketed out alternative concepts of quality, as the quality discourse is controlled by the executive. Therefore, the powerful historical and social forces, which drive the managerial discourse and give it the power to bracket out other discourses (Trowler 2014), mirror the Foucauldian notion of the 'regime of truth'. For example, Foucault (1980) argues that some discourses are more acceptable to the contemporary 'regime of truth' prevailing in a society at any one time. In the case of

this institution, the more acceptable 'regime of truth' is 'the neoliberal competition state' described by Rivzi and Lingard (2009 & 2011).

However, although the managerial discourse is the dominant discourse in this institution, these participants have not forsaken the collegial practices which they consider produce excellence in research and teaching. In fact, the data analysed in this study indicates these participants belong to a sub culture in which intellectual collegiality is the unifying principle and the element which sets them apart from others. In fact, Henkel (2002, p. 141) argues that the sharpness of the contrast between the managerial discourse and the disciplinary discourse, results in academics consolidating 'their sense of identity through differentiation from the management of the institution'.

This study indicates that these participants differentiate themselves from the managerial culture of the institution by implementing their own concept of quality in their respective departments. They do this through a process of firstly, understanding what it is to be an intellectual and secondly, bringing multiple frameworks and complex sets of understanding to their academic practice. Finally, they differentiate themselves by establishing the processes required to facilitate their concept of what it means to be an intellectual.

7.6.2   Processes in place to produce quality outcomes

Formal processes for nurturing a scholarly sub-culture and community have been established to ensure that staff all mingle and get to know what other people are working on:

> In this department, all the staff are divided up into research groups, and all mixed up of course, not just related to one area, and we meet every month and we read each other's work and we you know have a meeting for a couple of hours on a Friday arvo and we read an article that someone's wanting to submit for publication or read a book proposal or read something so that we all know what each other's doing, we all talk about ideas in that situation, we have a system on Friday, where we have a staff seminar. Someone gives a paper (AP4, p. 3).

Despite the loss of the tea room tradition, time is still allocated for discussion with colleagues:

We're still a fairly collegiate group as every Friday afternoon we set aside and most people will participate in that, but it's very different to having a discussion with your colleagues in the tea room' (P2, p. 11).

There are also social practices in place, like a lunch provided, which foster a feeling of group solidarity as it brings people together. But the importance of the processes created to bring people together is that they 'create a feeling that the important work that we do, the intellectual work that we do, is supported by all of our colleagues' (AP4, p. 3).

According to one participant, the culture of intellectual sharing and the focus on quality research and teaching has made his department one of the most successful both in the faculty and university:

One of the key things that have made my department one of the most successful in this faculty and in this university is that we have a very collegial atmosphere. We have a great deal of intellectual sharing which is absolutely crucial to all of us because we all learn from each other, we read each other's work, we read each other's applications for things, which helps us get funding for the research that we want to do, probably a little less in recent years but we continue to talk about the teaching and to share things about teaching (P1, p. 9).

This concept of a 'real research culture' has resulted in a scholarly community which is not purely numerically based:

I've noticed in this particular department and the school generally and in the Arts Faculty more widely, there is a real research culture which is not just based on metrics and about quantity and which is seen as a kind of collaborative enterprise and at a very grass roots level (AP4, p. 3).

The processes put in place, to promote quality research and teaching, remind these participants that they are scholars:

They're very good at it in my department and in the school at making sure we are doing things which regularly remind us that we are teachers and researchers, so we have research seminars, we have research working groups, and seminars, sometimes teaching seminars which are about teaching matters so that we are talking about the things we are doing at the coal face and I think that's a function of this department and school being a very functionally and socially and professionally cohesive kind (SL1, p. 14).

7.6.3 Local processes in place create genuine collegiality

Another lecturer, interviewed, thinks their department is unique in the respect of genuine collegiality:

> I'd have to say that in our department, we are very lucky. I think we are one of the few departments in the university in which collegiality really exists, in certain areas; not in all... I've always found the relationships between the people here in this department to be very good. But I'm told by people in other departments that this is not so; it's a completely different story (L2, p. 8).

Despite being individuals, there is a sense of solidarity among these participants:

> There is a strong sense of collegiality. We've all had a strong sense here that we are a group and we work together, though everyone's an individual (AP1, p. 10).

For the reasons cited above, the data analysed in this study indicates that there is evidence of a communal identity existing in these two departments in which these participants are located. For example, 'we are very lucky that we still have a sense of solidarity and a sense of community identity as academics' (SL1, p. 15). However, 'you can only have that kind of sharing if you have a sense of yourself as an intellectual and to some degree a social community within the university' (P1, p. 9).

Overall, the data analysed in this chapter, confirms the fact that these participants have a fierce commitment to their institution, their discipline, their colleagues and their students. Furthermore, they do something about addressing these concerns through the localized sub culture they have created and the processes they have established. Therefore, although they are all individuals, they also share a communal identity. Although more than half of these participants are academic managers or have been academic managers, these participants all refer to the privilege of being part of a 'social community within the university' (P1, p. 9). Moreover, those who have not served as academic managers talk about the sense of solidarity they feel from belonging to an academic community which has its own ethos.

7.6.4 Academics are more than individualized subjects

The strong concept of intellectual collegiality in place in the departments in which these participants are located, confirms Tapper & Palfreyman's (2002) findings that intellectual collegiality is the surviving element of traditional college based collegiality in the new era of corporate governance. The data analysed in this study also confirms the 'powerful belief that the university cannot fulfil its central functions of teaching and research unless academics act collegially' (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010, p. 3). In

addition, these participants have consolidated 'their sense of identity through differentiation from the management of the institution' (Henkel 2002, p. 141). The data also confirms the significant role communal factors now perform in identity construction (Castells 2010).

Although, the reflexive modernists,(Beck 1994, Giddens 1994 & Lash 1994), predicted that processes associated with habitus are bypassed, disembedded and overtaken by processes associated with reflexive modernization, like the sub-politics associated with 'expert systems' (Beck-Gernsheim 2009, p. 28), this phenomena has not occurred. In contrast, this study suggests that 'structured groupings have neither been dissolved nor faded into zombie status' (Archer 2012, p. 3). In contrast, the concept of traditional collegiality has transformed into a culture of intellectual sharing as a result of intellectual leadership, historical tradition and contemporary social practices put in place by academic managers in these departments. Consequently, the level of interplay between agency and structure has resulted in the social order being structured and restructured (Archer 2012) at the localized level.

Furthermore, participant AP4 concludes that although the four higher education managerial systems she has worked in are all essentially the same, it is the ethos which makes them different. In fact, a traumatic experience, at her previous university, validates the notion by Foucault (1988) that research should be directed towards the analysis of local practices in order for the actual rationality and techniques of management to be revealed (Foucault 1988). Participant AP4's contrasting experiences in two institutions which share the same neoliberal form of governance, illustrate how the neoliberal managerial discourse varies in local practice.

7.7 It is the ethos of universities which sets them apart
7.7.1   All universities have similar management systems

The form of collegiality existing in these departments has a particular appeal to one of the participants interviewed. This participant was made redundant during the restructuring of the humanities faculty at her previous university. Although she considers that administrative systems of both institutions are similar, it is the ethos of

the institution which differentiates them in terms of the impact on the academics who work there (AP4, p. 2). Coincidently, it was the near annihilation of the philosophy department at AP4's previous university, which had produced world class philosophers, which first drew me to the collateral damage caused by neoliberal management in higher education.

Despite participant AP4 having studied and worked in four different universities, it is her view that her alma mater university sets the standard in inequitable work practices as well as how not to behave as an academic manager. For example, she was one year into a tenured position at her alma mater university when a massive university wide restructuring program was undertaken. As a result, she was made redundant in a very humiliating manner 'I was actually called into the Dean's office who said we're trying to get rid of people and we're trying to get rid of you and, basically, I just sat there (AP4, p. 7). However, because she was 'an undergraduate, a PhD student, a post-doctoral and held a tenured position' there, this institution provides her with a comparative baseline (AP4, p. 2). Her experience of working in a faculty, in which she can pinpoint the day collegiality died, is recounted below.

7.7.2   The rights based discourse is empowering

Due to participant AP4 having noticed her name on a redundancy list, she had sought out advice from a range of professionals involved in the rights based discourse who all advised her not to say anything as she could incriminate herself:

> I empowered myself by seeking advice from industrial lawyers, availing myself of support from the union of which I am a member and getting support from the Equal Opportunity and Equity group on campus, so actually, I established three really great sets of relationships out of what was a pretty terrible situation and wasn't made redundant (AP4, p. 7).

Due to this participant knowing how to access the power invested in the rights based discourse, she was not made redundant. Moreover, after having successfully campaigned to have her own redundancy overturned, she had learnt not only how to stand up for herself but for others as well. For example, after the faculty abandoned its campaign to force redundancies in an inequitable manner, she requested the Dean of the Arts Faculty 'to apologise to all those colleagues who had also been listed for

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redundancy who had been caused unnecessary stress' (AP4, p. 7). Although she never received an apology from the then Dean of the Arts Faculty where she was then employed, she 'was empowered by her determination to resist inequitable situations at whatever the personal costs to herself' (AP4, p. 7). In fact, as a result of her new found empowerment, she resigned her tenured position on the basis that she no longer wanted to work in an environment in which collegiality no longer existed:

> I can very precisely pinpoint the demise of the collegial culture that had been at work in the Arts Faculty at [her previous university] for so many years. It really tore the place apart, so it was a profoundly unhappy time in my academic life so coming here, I mean I resigned my tenured position (AP4, p. 2).

Furthermore, she no longer feels overwhelmed by the managerial discourse:

> On the macro level of course, you know, with the corporatisation of the university comes the management and administrative apparatus and all the irritating forms you have to fill out, the devolution of some of these things to academics, but that hasn't overwhelmed me (AP4, p. 3).

The readiness of AP4 to access the discourses of equity affirms Henkel's (2009) notion that academics may have increased capacity for self–determination in the university characterized by mobile boundaries. In addition, her experience also suggests that the modernist discourses such as the rights based discourse now compete with the managerial discourse:

> Modernist discourses based on notions of academic freedom, professional training, the power of science and the generalizability of liberal education that gained legitimacy during the twentieth century are circulating together with post-modern discourses of connectivity, diversity and inclusiveness as well as those of instrumentalism, relevance, aptitudes, problem solving and entrepreneurialism (Blackmore 2003, p. 6).

Furthermore, the experience of participant SL2, who was the first woman in her department to claim maternity leave, also confirms that the managerial discourse is now subject to equity based legislation initiated by the rights based discourse. These participants have proven that some individuals are able to access concepts embedded in other discourses to negotiate spaces in the managerial discourse.

7.7.3 Lessons learned as a result of poor management practice

Poor management practices can teach what not to do. Although, participant AP4 regards her experience, at her previous university as traumatic and to be avoided at all costs, she also feels that it has also been beneficial. In fact, she thinks this negative experience has been instrumental in shaping her awareness of the consequences of poor managerial practices. She explains why below. Firstly, she considers that when people are disempowered there is a psychological fall-out:

> When all the academics at the coal face, who saw their subjects being taken away from them and having to teach subjects that were so broad that they were almost meaningless and having no kind of empowerment about how anything was going to be organised from that point on. I have to say that a lot of people in that institution just went to pieces at that time and were lining up for counselling. I think when people don't feel empowered, wherever it is, it can be very damaging (AP4, p. 12).

Therefore, because she witnessed the disintegration of her colleagues' academic identity, when they were transformed into generalist scholars in generalist departments, she has a strong personal commitment to never behave towards her colleagues in this manner. She has 'a very strong sense of what I don't want to do' (AP4, p. 6).

Secondly, she has no intention of changing her identity to accommodate forms of reflexive institutional behaviour, imposed by higher levels of management, which undermine traditional values like collegiality:

> I don't mind administration, obviously to be part of making decisions and leading people along and all of that but you don't have to buy into the kind of nastiness that goes along with being a decision maker at certain levels…I'm not going to be that kind of person, but that's a personal decision (AP4, p. 6).

Finally, she has become more conscious of the need to protect the positive culture of collegiality in her present institution:

> I'm somebody who just loves the collegiality of this place and I would do a lot to protect that because I think that's really the thing that makes it a happy environment, that if people feel supported as part of a community, they're happy to come in and walk down the corridor and that's very precious and very easily torn apart so that's my mission. I want to preserve that and I expect that's a fairly old fashioned element of university and academic life that I see as extremely valuable (AP4, p. 6).

Overall, she feels not only empowered by her past experience but mindful of 'what makes a good workplace' and how it can be made even better (AP4, p. 7). In addition, she is conscious of modelling herself on the leadership style and values of academic managers in her present school and faculty whom she perceives as representing a different ethos. The ethos she admires is based on values.

7.7.4 Leadership, based on values, creates the desired ethos

Participant AP4 considers there are a number of issues which cloud managerial practice and cause stressful and inequitable consequences. These issues are related to ethos. Firstly, she considers institutions require clarity of purpose and alignment of values:

> I think where values are not aligned I think there can be problems and it's not necessarily a division between management and academics, it is actually about the values and what you see as your common task and common endeavour (AP4, p. 8).

She also considers poor managerial practice is related to personal values as well as leadership style:

> I have to say that when I look at all the previous people here like the previous Head of School here… sometimes I think it'd be a bit to do with personality as well as to do with leadership style (AP4, p. 6).

Furthermore, she considers it is deans who make or break faculties. Therefore, deans and associate deans need to be academics themselves. In fact, 'the kiss of death would be if managers in the faculty didn't know what it was like to be an academic' (AP4, p. 12). Therefore, she considers that her department is lucky in that the Dean of the Faculty comes from her department. This means 'We can talk to somebody who understands where we're coming from in an academic way and not just in a running things kind of way (AP4, p. 8). Finally, she considers:

> It's very important to have a very supportive environment one level up from you and another level after that and then you feel safe with getting along with doing your job. A common understanding of values…an alignment of values (AP4, p. 4).

Overall, this participant considers that leadership style and personal attributes create a distinctive ethos and therefore, distinguish her department and faculty from that of her previous institution.

7.7.5 Values don't come out of a mission statement

The values appearing in the corporate documents of this institution are perceived as representing management speak by a number of participants:

> We don't need to be told by someone on a million dollars you need to think about this stuff and for those who it doesn't, those who don't care, they're not going to care because some mission statement is telling them to care (AP1, p. 16).

In fact, another participant regards the type of statements you see in mission statements as more related to the market idea of a university than traditional academic values:

> I don't think they are traditional values. I think those are precisely a kind of visionary statement in inverted commas that have been adopted by universities in the last 10-20 years as the kind of market idea of a university that has been put in place in the last one or two decades (L1, p. 1).

In fact, participant L1 thinks that corporate notions of excellence, of the type expressed in mission statements are just empty terms that nobody can identify with. In contrast, he is motivated by a different set of values:

> I want to be able to understand things and I want my students to understand things critically but I don't think that can be easily evaluated through a set of criteria that universities have put in place to assess so called excellence (L1, p. 2).

7.8 Challenges to academic identity

The case of AP3 below, who regularly provides external consultancies has been chosen to exemplify the full range of challenges for academics when switching between roles in the environment which never stands still.

7.8.1 Tensions involved in performing multiple roles

Participant AP3 shares the same commitment to the broad range of values described above which these participants bring to their academic practice. For example, he also has 'political commitments which are important to my research in terms of my trying to contribute to making the world a better place' (AP3, p. 2). Therefore, he sees himself as 'explicitly working in a sort of radical and democratic tradition' which involves

'ordinary people having control of their own lives '(AP3, p. 2). In addition, he considers that all the questions, he faces in life, are 'philosophical questions' within a philosophical framework. However, while he would like to think these values and frameworks play 'a role in shaping day to day research, institutional values also play a role' (AP3, p. 1). Consequently, he experiences tension between research being relevant and research being pursued for its own sake:

> I feel the pull of an argument that says university research should be relevant, but I also recognise that the pursuit of truth which is central to the project of the traditional university but which is not always directly relevant and accessible (AP3, p. 2).

Furthermore, he supports the type of research 'which may have almost no implications for the foreseeable future for the community' and therefore, no immediate direct benefit to anybody:

> So there is this tension between my sort of values around social justice and my commitment to a model of academic practices that privileges the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and the possibility that the research at the frontiers of knowledge doesn't produce immediate social benefits… it doesn't lower the price of bread or doesn't allow people to achieve more democracy in the workplace (AP3, p. 2).

However, he is also able to find arguments to justify seemingly opposite positions he adopts. For example, he can justify the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake on the basis that it is this very aspect of an intellectual commitment which separates humans out from animals as 'just understanding something is of benefit because actually human beings, you know, are more than just herd animals as it were' (AP3, p. 2). Therefore, the act of understanding in itself has a value for this participant. However, in his role as an external consultant, he manages by enacting different subjectivities.

7.8.2   Different values foreground different roles

This participant recognizes that a range of positions and values drive his work:

> I guess I have a sense of different parts of my research project will serve or be guided by different values. Sometimes I do work that is intended to contribute to current political debate and, in that context, I might emphasise clarity of exposition, political impact and sort of contribution to struggle for social justice but in other areas of my work, in other papers, for instance, I will be writing

more for myself to understand an issue or for other researchers in the field so I am not trying to do everything in every paper (AP3, p. 12).

However, in response to my query if he thought the choices he sometimes has to make in satisfying these different jobs has transformed him from being an idealist into a person who has come to accept what needs to be done and, as a result, just gets on with it, he replied ' Yes is the short answer' (AP3, p. 13). For example:

> If for instance you were thinking about publishing a paper but you had some reservations about the arguments or you know that it's not quite right; that there's something funny with the argument here, which is often the case. So you will be 80% confident you are right but 20% is maybe iffy, but if you're sensitive to the institutional imperative you'll publish it and in the best journal you can (AP3, p. 13).

Furthermore, AP3 considers that the set of disciplinary values, underpinning his field, are open to distortion in the current performative system. For example, the ideal that research should be 'wise and insightful' has been partly eroded by the emphasis on cleverness, instead of wisdom:

> Whether or not it is a wise thing to say or not is a secondary question even though the discipline itself places this idea that philosophy is about living, helping us to live what we call the good life which is the life of human flourishing even though that's sort of central to our teaching and our sort of self-conception as philosophers, I think most people's every day practice is more about is the argument novel, is it clever, can I prove myself to be smarter than the next person (AP3, p. 2).

This trend is something that he is consciously trying to resist 'even although I'm not always successful in that boat' (AP3, p. 2). He, therefore, considers that 'disciplinary ideals are actually quite hard to maintain in the current institutional environment which rewards, for instance, publishing a lot rather than publishing genuine contributions' (AP3, p. 2).

Overall, the data analysed in this study, confirms research by Whitchurch & Gordon (2010) that in the unbounded university, where academics now have to perform diverse roles and move between roles, identity is contingent and academic identities are 'multiple, overlapping and provisional'. In addition, it involves interpretation and negotiation on the part of an individual (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010, p. 129). Furthermore, as academics are increasingly required to call on different sets of values to service different roles, they may find that their multiple identities are in conflict with

each other (Marginson 2009). Moreover, when the goals of academics are defined by others, they are caught up in the process of adjusting their identity accordingly (Marginson 2009). For example, they may modify the direction of their research to meet external standards of excellence (Gendron 2008). Therefore, academics are now 'subject to new dynamics in the workplace' (McInnis 2009, p. 147).

7.8.3 Academic identity needs to be fought for

Academic identity, like other professional identities, needs to be maintained in the contemporary managerial context in public sector organisations. Participant SL1 thinks that academics today are no different to doctors and lots of other professional people in other public sectors that have been subjected to restructuring along business lines. Essentially, they are all equally engaged in the fight to preserve their professional identity:

> It's not just a vocation, it's a calling in which you invest your life in it and you take very deep satisfaction, actually lots of people who do this sort of stuff, and that's what's confronting about it, it's very much a part of our identity, who we are because it takes a great deal of training, many years, a great sacrifice of income and I think that's what these things have in common… the many years of training and the expertise you have, you do it for the love of it and for the sense of who you are and that you have sort of invested in it (SL1, p. 15).

It is necessary to fight back against managerialism to ensure that 'a business bottom line and turning a profit' does not become 'your essential purpose' (SL1, p. 15).

7.9 Conclusion
7.9.1 Academic identity construction has multiple sources

The data analysed in this study indicates that academic identity is not synonymous with a project identity described by the reflexive modernists (Giddens 1994, Beck 1994, Lash 1994 & Bauman 2000 & 2005). Although, the data analysed does suggest that the professorial level participants, full time researchers and those providing consultancies routinely engage in reflexive behaviour, their identity is not the sum total of their reflexive responses to the managerial discourse. In contrast, their identity is also the product of their personal values and those values embedded in the disciplinary, collegial and ethical and equity driven discourses. Therefore, the data, analysed, in this study,

suggests that academic identity is more like a cumulative project which results from the interplay of the agency of the individual with the structures and boundaries that they encounter both internally and externally (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010). However, the academic identity of these participants is also a product of their communal response to the managerial discourse.

7.9.2 Stable values underpin academic identity

Despite the transformation of the traditional form of collegiality by a neoliberal form of governance and the transfer of power from the faculty to the official managerial class, the academic values of the participants in this study remain intact. In fact, they remain consistent with the key characteristics shared with other professionals:

> Academic faculty share key characteristics of identity with other professionals; their moral and work values are closely tied, perhaps more intensely than most; their core values are exceptionally stable, sometimes to the point of intransigence and self-defeat in the face of new realities; and their commitment to an ideology of reform and the public good remains undiminished. Most striking is their continued preference for service over personal profit, with salary taking second place to the pursuit of knowledge. They hold collegiality high on their list of defining values (McInnis 2009, p. 150).

As we have seen from participant AP4, in this study, faculty and departmental cultures vary between institutions even though they share the same managerial system:

> The disciplinary cultures generate significantly different organizational cultures within institutions at the level of the school or department that sharpen differences in academic identities (McInnis 2009, p. 156).

7.9.3 The search for meaning is communal

The sense of reassurance AP4 and other participants in this study derive from being part of a scholarly sub-culture, supports the assertion by Castells (2010, p.11) that 'The search for meaning takes place then in the reconstruction of defensive identities around communal principles' (Castells 2010, p. 11). In contrast, to the impermanent world of late modernity, in which all structures are said to be impermanent and individuals are confronted with a moving landscape from which there is no escape (Bauman 2000), these participants experience the sense of solidarity provided by their localized scholarly sub-culture based on intellectual leadership and collegiality. As a result, their

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scholarly community provides them with an ongoing stability or contextual continuity (Archer 2012) which they find lacking in the managerial discourse. Therefore, the community of scholars these participants belong to represents more than the sum of individualized identity construction projects of the type described by Giddens (1994), Beck (1994) and Bauman (2000). This is despite many of these participants being caught up in reflexive decision making as they role play academic managers and 'genius researchers'. However, according to Castells (2010, p. 7), while roles are defined by external sources like normalized discourses, 'identities are stronger sources of meaning because they result from processes of self–construction'.

Although, the junior academics on short term contracts experience anxiety due to concentrating on securing a future income, most of these participants do not rely solely on learning how to leapfrog from one network to another in a type of individualized survival contest described by Bauman (2005). In contrast, their membership of stable and powerful disciplinary networks, combined with their international scholarly reputation, provides many of them with the confidence to make decisions in the long term interests of both their colleagues, their discipline and the institution. Although some participants have more 'capacity to control the social settings which render such self-assertion feasible' (Bauman 2000, p. 38), their progress as academics, is not confined entirely to using 'their own wits, resources and industry to lift themselves to a more satisfactory condition' (Bauman 2000, p. 135). In contrast, some of these participants find this type of behaviour so distasteful; they refrain from practising it despite them recognizing that it is probably limiting their career options. Others associate this type of behaviour with the type of behaviour exhibited by those who have 'crossed over to the other side'.

7.9.4 Institutional reflexivity is a major force in this institution

The data analysed does suggest that there is a culture of institutional reflexivity operating at every level in the institution. This culture has developed as a response to rapidly changing external and internal conditions. However, the culture in the departments, in which these participants reside, results more from a morphogenetic type relationship involving culture, structure and agency, habitus and reflexivity

(Archer 2012). Although, these participants have to engage in decisions which are reflexive in nature, the fact that they are conscious of doing so as 'you can't be completely pure' (SL2) in 'an environment which never stands still' (AP2), indicates that they demonstrate a capacity for meta-reflexivity as well as autonomous reflexivity. Therefore, this study confirms the proposition by Archer (2012) that, although intensified reflexivity in late modernity, impacts on the rate of interplay between agency and structure, the social order represents more than the product of institutionalized individualism. Although collegiality, according to these participants, has been transformed and is much more 'nuanced', it still exists in the form of intellectual collegiality in the two departments which these participants belong to.

7.10   The purpose of the next chapter

The next chapter presents the significant findings for this thesis and discusses the evidence underpinning these findings. It also includes an in depth exploration of the role of intellectual leadership in the academic practice of these participants.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Findings

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1   The research question

As a result of their institutional, scholarly status and capacity to generate revenue, academics are far from docile and inert subjects of the managerial discourse. Despite the imposition of a neoliberal form of governance over a collegial form of governance, following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, elements of the previous form of social-liberal governance have endured. Traditional concepts which have endured the transition to new public management include intellectual leadership consistent with the type described by Macfarlane (2007 & 2012) and intellectual collegiality of the type described by Tapper & Palfreyman (2002 & 2010). Moreover, although every society has its own 'regime of truth' which determines which discourse is more acceptable than the other at any one time, power also circulates in the extremities of networks (Foucault 1980). Researchers are, therefore, advised to explore the extremities of power relations in order to reveal the actual techniques of governmentality underpinning social practices at that level (Foucault 1980). However, the research question in this study involves more than exploring just how academics experience the managerial discourse; it also involves exploring the strategies they devise and employ to respond to it.

8.1.1 The significance of the research question and the study

This study makes a significant contribution to an understanding and appreciation of how academics experience the neoliberal university as well as respond to it. Firstly, it explored how eleven academic participants, in two separate departments in the same school in a humanities faculty, perceived the impact of the managerial discourse on their daily academic practice. Secondly, it explored their responses to the managerial discourse both on an individual and collective level. In particular, it explored two significant themes emerging from the literature review. These involve firstly, the conflation of quality with productivity (Rowlands 2012, Parker 2013 & Craig et al 2014) and the role of intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality as critical factors in maintaining an academic concept of quality research and teaching

(Macfarlane 2007 & 2012 & Tapper & Palfreyman 2002 & 2010). Therefore, this study has contributed to the developing body of research on the critical contribution made by intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality in maintaining academic standards in universities today. This is despite the centralized and expanding role of the managerial discourse.

8.1.2 The methodology

An integrated critical hermeneutical phenomenological methodology, which is fully described in Chapter 4 of this thesis, has been adopted for recording, analysing and interpreting the data collected in this study for two reasons. This methodological approach was supplemented by three analytical and interpretative frameworks which are also extensively discussed in chapter 2 and 4 of this thesis but are briefly summarised below.

A Foucauldian theoretical interpretative framework underpins the analysis and interpretation of the themes emerging in this research. This is due to the literature reviewed suggesting that the three elements comprising Foucault's analysis of power relations are readily observable in a university setting; these being the technologies of power/knowledge and the technologies of the self (Lemke 2012). Furthermore, the imposition of a corporate business model over the previous social-liberal form of governance, means academics can still access traditional academic values embedded in their disciplines and departments, such as collegiality (Marginson 2012 & Christopher & Leung 2015). Foucault's interpretative framework has been supplemented by comparative frameworks documenting the shift in policy (Olssen 2002) and governance (Rivzi & Lingard 2011) from social liberalism to neoliberalism in higher education over the last three decades or so. These frameworks were tabled in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

8.1.3 Purpose of this chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to hold a discussion of the significant issues emerging from this study which support the findings identified at the end of this chapter. Significant findings discussed include the shift to institutional reflexivity and the need

for management, at every level, to continuously have to respond to the demands of external governmentality. Findings, therefore, also include the declining influence of academic managers over the big issues as their role has become increasingly restricted to how to implement corporate directives as opposed to assisting to shape those directives. Secondly, findings on the nature of the alternative quality discourse created, based on intellectual leadership, intellectual collegiality and personal values in their respective departments, are presented.

8.2 The reflexive institution
8.2.1 The reflexive executive

The institution is part of the knowledge economy of a neoliberal state. Therefore, like other institutions of higher education, it is a sub-sector of a global and national market economy (Olssen & Peters 2005). As a result, it is situated in a web of external governmentality (Cowen 2010). Furthermore, just as the economy following the GFC, is increasingly perceived by economists as a reflexive system (Beinhocker 2013), the institution is embedded in a wider reflexive economy. Therefore, the participants in this study are embedded in a reflexive system. Executive managers continuously reverse policy decisions without notice and tinker with online platforms in order to satisfy new market efficiency requirements. In addition, there is 'a huge increase in micro management of universities by government' and ongoing 'pressure from the top' (P1, p. 6). This is because senior managers in the executive have 'to show they are meeting external targets' (P1, p. 6). Therefore these participants recognize that the institution has to continuously adapt to 'the demands of Canberra, what they'll pay for and what we have to do to comply' (AP2, p. 13).

The ever tightening web of external governmentality, in which the institution is enmeshed, occurs despite an increasing decline in federal funding (estimated by one participant AP2 as less than 30% of the institution's overall budget). Consequently, these participants reluctantly accept that, due to decreased federal government funding and the threat of deregulation, 'a wise university has to trim its sails accordingly' (AP2, p. 13). However, despite many participants in this study understanding the need for the institution to react reflexively to changing external contexts, some executive

managers are perceived as motivated by self-interest alone. Some executive managers are perceived as initiating improvements to processes an easy way of making their mark before they move on. For example, many of the improvements to online platforms are perceived as amounting to little more than the repackaging of existing systems for the sake of being seen to do something (AP1, AP3 & L1). These executive managers are therefore perceived as being resistant to hearing arguments by academic managers that these reforms neither work nor add value. In fact, they are perceived as ambitious people who 'come in with an agenda' and, therefore, 'don't take kindly to having their agenda intercepted by a faculty academic manager' (P1, p. 8).

Executive managers, who behave in a purely opportunistic manner, reflect the human condition described by Bauman (2000) in which people now exist in a state of perpetual motion from which there is no escape. Like Bauman's (2000) global elites, they are perceived as 'highly mobile' people who 'flit from university to university' armed 'with these big plans to shake up the world' but 'leave totally [f*#!ing] chaos everywhere' (AP1, p. 9). Like actors in an 'ongoing individuality play', these managers are also caught up in the perpetual state of change from which there are only 'motel beds' to temporarily occupy (Bauman 2000, p. 22). In this respect, these managers are practitioners of autonomous reflexivity. This mode of reflexivity is consistent with neoliberalism in which individuals are required to respond to external conditions in terms of their economic self-interest (Archer 2012).

8.2.2   The reflexive faculties

Due to the executive being under constant pressure from successive Australian Federal Governments to be more self-sufficient as well as meet new regulatory requirements, the faculties comprising the university are embedded in institutional reflexivity. As a consequence, many of these research participants recognize that faculty academic managers are now required to 'deal with the world realistically (P2, AP2, AP3 & AP4). For example, 'crowd pleaser' type courses are designed, which appeal to the romantic nature of undergraduate students, in order to bring in the revenue. In addition, research is organized in the faculty on the basis of what is more likely to attract the most revenue (AP2, AP3 & SL2). Furthermore, collaborative projects are now

considered more attractive than individual research projects as they are likely to attract higher levels of funding (P3). Although it is widely recognized that these kinds of reflexive responses to external conditions have adverse disciplinary impacts such as the conduct of generalist courses and the skewing of the discipline towards market opportunities (P2, AP3 & L1), the need to implement business-like solutions is prioritized. This is because solutions of this type are seen as having allowed the participants' respective departments to continue to flourish through difficult times (P2, AP2, AP3 & AP4).

These academic participants have learnt how to trim their sails accordingly (AP2). However, because there is evidence that consultation is undertaken by academic managers prior to market focused responses, their form of reflexivity more closely resembles the mode of reflexivity identified as communicative reflexivity (Archer 2012). This is because their responses are filtered through reference to their 'common experiential frame of reference' (Archer 2012, p. 21). In communicative reflexivity, options are sounded out with others prior to individual responses (Archer 2012). In contrast, the mode of reflexivity implemented by the participants who are productive researchers more closely aligns with the autonomous mode of reflexivity. This is because they are in fierce competition for a share of the national and global research funds available.

Participants who are researchers behave reflexively in order to optimize their personal position. If writing successful grant applications is perceived as being required, researchers 'quickly scurry off and learn how to do that (AP3, p. 9). This strategy is known as 'playing the game'. Therefore, collaborative projects which attract higher funding are pursued and costs are inflated to gain additional funding (P3 & AP3). Customer focussed techniques employed include writing recommendations which are more acceptable to the client when undertaking consultancies and marketing techniques are openly used to write successful research proposals. Like those participants who are faculty managers, these participants recognize and accept that they have to 'deal with the world realistically in a complex environment' (AP2, p. 3). However, although these researchers are mostly engaging in autonomous reflexivity (Archer 2012), they also have the capacity to engage in meta-reflexivity. This is

because they are able to be 'critically reflexive about their own internal conversations and to be critical about effective action in society' (Archer 2012, p. 43). For this reason, they also consciously engage in research activities which are not market oriented but interest them personally.

The capacity for academic managers in this faculty to adjust to changing external circumstances is attributed to their leadership skills. They creatively access these skills in order to protect their respective departments rather than have them 'sink in the current environment' (AP3, p. 9). In fact, the capacity for faculty academic managers to manage revenue shortfalls, where and when necessary, is lauded by many of these participants for assuring ongoing employment. For example, 'if you are going to be a good manager, you can't be pure' (SL2, p. 3). However, playing the game often involves compromises between the requirements of the market and disciplinary requirements. For example, the 'crowd pleaser' type courses designed to give students 'a whizz-bang first year experience' in first year often involve a 'balancing act between the content and the excitement' (AP4, p. 6). Furthermore, research and consultancies are often conducted in areas which are perceived as peripheral to their discipline as well as failing to access the specialist expertise residing in the department (P2 and AP3). Ironically, although the executive is criticized by many of these participants for adopting short term strategies to respond to changing external circumstances, their own reflexive responses also represent short term solutions.

8.2.3 Lecturers have less options to be reflexive

Lecturers at the coal face lack the necessary institutional credentials to contest the measure discourse (L1). In particular, those lecturers interviewed, who carry heavy teaching loads, feel completely at the mercy of the reflexive institutional corporate agenda. For example, one reported that while three years ago it was 'RESEARCH, RESEARCH, RESEARCH', it suddenly became 'TEACHING, TEACHING, TEACHING' following the decline in international student numbers after the GFC (L2, p. 3). Despite junior academics being constantly under pressure to make their courses more attractive to students, these academics lack the positional status required to speak out:

Non-professorial levels would not have the courage to speak out. You might be a senior lecturer but you're not a well-known academic. You don't have the status. If they kick you out, nobody's going to make a big issue of it or question it too much. So I think it's a huge aspect of how this organization functions (L2, p. 9).

Therefore, in a workforce where 'approximately 60%' of the academic work force is now classified as casuals (NTEU 2012, p. 34), the precarious nature of the academic workforce imposes self-discipline on itself (Thornton 2007). For example, participant SL1 who is on a short term contract is more interested in survival 'in this Darwinian world' than contesting the system. However, he does passively resist the managerial discourse by ignoring polices where he considers 'it's not necessarily going to be fatal for me for not going along with the system' (L1, p. 8).

In contrast to the more established participants, who have access to a range of technologies of the self in responding to the managerial discourse, the full time lecturers feel they also lack the personal attributes necessary to play the game:

It's not just about power. It's about who has the experience of dealing with the administration and who has the experience of how different colleagues react and how they will respond (L2, p. 9).

In addition, these participants feel they lack the security necessary to do so. For example, one participant who is on a short term contract feels, that because nearly 60% of the academic work-force lack tenure, he has become a member of a growing academic precarious class in society (L1, p. 3). Although he would like to be able to resist the system by speaking up, he feels it is not in his best interest long term (L1, p. 3). In fact, participant SL2 considers that it is probably career suicide for anyone below professorial level to speak up. As a result, the lecturers in this study on short term contracts have a valid reason to feel vulnerable. Unlike the participants who are academic managers and full time researchers in this study, there are few reflexive options available for them to access. In addition, some of these lecturers find the process of having to 'play the game' distasteful despite recognizing that their negative attitude towards having playing the game is limiting their career prospects (L1 & L2). For example, participant L2 realizes that because being a good researcher or good teacher is not enough anymore, she therefore has limited career options unless the system radically changes.

8.2.4   Type of reflexivity practised reflects positional status

The technologies of the self, adopted by many of these participants, confirm that in reflexive modernization, it is necessary that one engages in 'in day-to-day decisions on how to behave' (Giddens, 1991, p.14). In addition, the data suggests that reflexive decisions are filtered through access to the expert knowledge embedded in systems:

> Reflexively organised life-planning, which normally presumes consideration of risks as filtered through contact with expert knowledge, becomes a central feature of the structuring of self-identity (Giddens 1991, p. 5).

Therefore, those participants who are academic managers and full time researchers are better placed to develop a reflexive project of the self, considering their positional relationship to the managerial discourse. In contrast, the full time lecturers do not feel they have the same bargaining power as they are caught up in the process of complying with the standardized service delivery process. As a result, the research prospects of these particular participants are more constrained and therefore their promotional prospects. Therefore, they have less capacity to enjoy the benefits of self-actualization accompanying reflexive modernization due to lay members being able to access the emerging expert systems described by Giddens (1991) and Beck (1994).

The data also suggests there are various modes of reflexivity. For example, the reflexivity of the participants who are academic managers more closely resembles communicative reflexivity. This is because there is a need for these participants to maintain the contextual continuity of the faculty which communicative reflexivity facilitates. However, in the case of the productive researchers, the competitive nature of their position encourages a form of reflexivity identified by Archer (2012) as autonomous reflexivity. Overall, the data collected, in this study, on reflexivity confirms findings by Pick (2004) that since universities in Australia have been reengineered to focus on the market value of services provided following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, they have become reflexive.

8.3 The exploitative institution

8.3.1   A flawed business model

The business model implemented in this institution is perceived as lacking balance and unrealistic by some professorial participants. Firstly, the corporate objective of being the top ranked university in the region was considered completely fanciful. This was due to the wide difference in government support between this institution and the top universities in the region. For example, one professorial level participant wondered 'how anyone can say with a straight face' that the goal 'to become the top ranked university in the Asian Pacific region' was realistic considering that 'the University of Singapore and the University of Tokyo, are both funded in a way no university in Australia is funded' (AP3, p.12).

Furthermore, 'the practice of spending mega dollars chasing international linkages in the hope of finding a Nobel-Prize winner', was viewed as a waste of resources on the basis that 'it wastes everybody's time' as well as 'costs megabucks' (AP1, p. 4). Moreover participant AP1 thought the executive investment in securing international linkages was unnecessary because academics develop international linkages naturally in the course of their work. In fact, the web of local, national and international networks, in which these participants are enmeshed, validates that concept. For example, one professorial academic who is the CEO of a disciplinary related association in the Asia/Pacific Region has been able to forge ongoing linkages with other universities in this region.

Finally, the executive was perceived by some professorial level participants as following an outdated expansionist and flawed 'Think Big' type business model, which was popular in the 1980s. The lack of balance in the strategic plan is consistent with research by Sharrock (2012). In fact, the level of cynicism and open hostility demonstrated towards the executive, who are perceived by many as pursuing unrealistic objectives in an institution facing declining government funding, is worthy of further investigation.

8.3.2 The strategic plan exploits some stakeholders

The strategic plan is perceived as favouring some stakeholders over others. The objectives documented in the University Research Master Plan were considered to be carried out at the expense of the interests and welfare of 'the hard working academics bringing in the revenue base, the students and the tax payers of Australia' (AP1, p. 6). Firstly, STEM research was perceived as being prioritized over research in the humanities. Some participants related this objective to the pursuit of international status by members of the executive:

> If your goal as a senior executive in the Senior Management Group, as they call themselves, is to get a Nobel Prize, you don't invest in the Humanities; you must invest in Biomedicine as that's where they'll all come from (AP1, p. 17).

Secondly, the prioritization of research over teaching is perceived as leading to the separation between research and teaching. For example, as departments are rewarded handsomely for attracting highly cited researchers, the needs of the 'genius researcher' were prioritized over others (AP1 & AP3). In addition, the practice of keeping highly productive researchers in the research pipeline for years at a time, is perceived as separating research from teaching and, therefore, reducing research-led teaching (P1 & P2). Furthermore, this practice was also perceived as disadvantaging the long term interests of junior academics who carry heavy teaching loads. For example, junior academics and sessional teachers in this institution now perform most of the teaching of undergraduates, and consequently lack the time for their own research (SL1, L1 & L2). In contrast, most participants interviewed considered the critical ingredient for good research in the humanities was not funding but time, space and a sense of stability. In addition, the practice of developing research proposals on the basis of an increased likelihood to attract funding is perceived as neglecting some areas of the discipline (P3) as well as leading to the distortion of the discipline and the failure to fully utilize the existing expertise in the department (P2). Moreover, the practice of inflating research proposals for projects is perceived as wasting scarce resource funds (P3, AP3 & AP4).

Finally, researchers objected to the hypocrisy embedded in the practice of sending corporate emails advising academics to lead a balanced lifestyle when they all knew

what the real message was. For example, a Deputy Vice Chancellor Research recently made a remark that 'to be a good researcher you must work all the time; this in the context of getting emails about work/life balance' (AP3, p. 12).

This study confirms research by Parker (2013) that universities which have become research entrepreneurs, promote commercial relationships and, therefore, encourage their researchers to align their practices accordingly. Secondly, the participants' perceptions that research focussed universities promote practices which result in the separation of research from teaching is consistent with research by Krause (2009). For example, despite Australian universities claiming a link between research and teaching in public policy documents, these documents 'were typically aspirational, and notably lacking in operational objectives' as 'only one stated that teaching informed research in their university' (Krause 2009, p. 418). Finally, the focus on the role of the productive researcher in the highly competitive and performative culture is consistent with research by Gendron (2008) which indicates that management become obsessed with the performance of their academic unit in this environment. However, the skewing of the discipline and the failure to fully utilize existing disciplinary expertise as an outcome of focussing on research, which is more likely to obtain funds, is a significant issue worthy of further research.

8.4 Quality has become the corporate meta-narrative
8.4.1   Quality is conflated with productivity

In this institution, quality and online platforms have been integrated. This means that quality indicators are determined by the executive and deployed throughout the organization through online platforms and audited for compliance. This means there is a line of command put in place to assure quality compliance in the faculty which amounts to a series of people 'breathing down each other's necks' (SL1, p. 11). Consequently, all participants feel like they are subject to ongoing surveillance due to 'all these levels of administration round things like billing and stuff' which 'create the sense that we are being watched and you're being surveyed' (SL2, p. 6). Moreover, breaches of compliance in the 'measure discourse' are perceived as punitive in nature. In fact, one participant was subjected to such an 'officious' and 'overwrought'

investigation of a minor compliance breach that the whole episode felt 'insane' (SL1, p. 10). Consequently, quality is perceived as representing a corporate surveillance technique reinforced by all levels of management.

Corporate quality is not perceived as a system for involving employees in the improvement of processes (P1, P3 & AP4). In fact, they perceive they are excluded from the improvement process (P1, SL1, L1 & L2). For example, despite participant P3 having introduced the concept of a unit guide to the faculty in order to standardize course presentation, she was unable to modify it to overcome its tendency to stifle spontaneity. In contrast, quality is perceived as a way of getting employees to put pressure on other employees to perform better (P3). In addition, the audit culture associated with the integrated management system is perceived as being in conflict with the participants' own perception of quality as it fails to reflect the pedagogical values that are important to them. For example, 'the metric based evaluation of research and teaching performance, which I don't find particularly meaningful, doesn't tell me anything about the quality of things' (AP4, p. 11). Therefore, the audit culture in this institution confirms research by Rowlands (2012) that quality implemented in higher education in Australia, since the 1980s, conflates quality with productivity and therefore, has little meaning to academics.

The data analysed in this study is also consistent with research by Craig et al (2014, p. 7) who report corporate managers prefer audit-based performance management systems involving 'performance indicators, benchmarks, quality assurance protocols, research assessment exercises, teaching quality reviews, and league tables' as they are perceived as being more objective. For example, executive managers are not subject to persuasion by faculty academic managers (P1) as quality was never meant to be mutual (P3). Furthermore, the notion that a pervasive audit culture impacts academic autonomy as 'resistance may invite disapprobation, disciplinary action and even retrenchment' (Thornton 2009, p. 391) is confirmed by the humiliating investigative process participant SL1 was subject to following a minor breach of quality being identified. In addition, the anxiety experienced by these participants in complying with the measure discourse is consistent with research by Harland (2009) and Thornton (2009).

The data collected and analysed in this study also indicates that the systems and processes which drive this institution have enmeshed these participants in the wider web of neoliberal governmentality. This is because everything they do in the institution is subject to 'the insidious measure discourse' (AP4) designed to satisfy external competitive and performative requirements (P2 & AP2). Therefore, this study confirms the notion that:

> The experiences of these participants also align with research by Elliot (2009) and The web of governmentality in which academic subjects are now enmeshed ensures compliance for they inhabit an audit culture that requires constant demonstration of their productivity (Thornton 2009, p. 391).

Furthermore, Gillies (2011) suggests that neoliberal empowerment techniques like 'agility' represent management mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the dominant managerial discourse. Moreover, Elliot (2012) argues that the technologies of the self, promoted in neoliberal governmentality, have resulted in identity construction being the result of a political process as well as failing to offer the benefits of self–actualization described by Beck (1994) and Giddens (1994) in reflexive modernization.

8.4.2 Quality and online platforms waste resources

Online platforms are perceived as wasting the limited resources of both lecturers and full time researchers. Firstly, lecturers responsible for the end-to-end service delivery process and its associated administrative tasks perceive most of these tasks are not related to quality teaching. Therefore, they resent having to waste their time learning how to access new platforms and locating the latest version of corporate policy documents for inclusion in the course unit guide. In fact, participant SL1 reported feeling completely worn out by the time the course commenced due to the amount of energy required to manage the set-up stage. Furthermore, students still send emails to teaching staff rather than access online information, despite the time lecturers waste preparing online packages. As a result, lecturers report living in fear of not having responded to student emails within the time allocated. In addition, online platforms are perceived as creating an artificial barrier between teachers and their students as approximately only half the students attend lectures. Teachers report feeling

dehumanized due to their feeling they have lost their traditional sense of authority and respect.

A similar level of frustration and anxiety with online platforms is experienced in relationship to the administrative demands of the research process. The resources involved in administering the research process are perceived as equally wasteful. Accounting for petty expenses wastes valuable resources. For example, a claim for the use of a cab involves 'taking a photo of a cab receipt and uploading it, allocating it to a research fund' and then 'getting it onto some wretched online system' (AP3, p. 10). Therefore, some participants conclude that the high overheads associated with online platforms which fail to progress any research, result in 'a significant cost in just spending the money' (AP3, p. 10). Furthermore, due to the enormous amount of time spent writing research proposals and administering research, participant AP3 (p. 10) thinks it would be more effective 'if they just took the entire ARC budget and divided it up equally among the academics and gave you a bit more time to do the research'. While another researcher objects to 'the proliferation of administration' being used 'to justify the cutting of things because the administrative costs are too high'. In fact, she regards this practice as 'actual insanity' and 'playing us for fools' (SL2, p. 7).

Overall, the level of micro-management devolved to academics is generally perceived as wasting limited academic resources as well as 'designed to give you shoulder problems and RSI' due to it being computer based (AP2, p. 10). The findings in this study are, therefore, consistent with the study by Anderson (2007) which found that 'quality assurance mechanisms impose an additional workload burden but actually failed to assure quality in any meaningful way' (2007, p. 171). The punitive and surveillance aspect of these systems also mirrors recent research concerning the control aspect of computerized management systems. Guzmán-Valenzuela and Di Napoli (2015, p. 155) argue that computerized management systems are used to regulate and audit the employment of time and resources and, as a result, have 'become tools of power and control in academic life'. Moreover, the findings in this study are also consistent with research by Guzmán-Valenzuela and Di Napoli (2015) which indicates the contradictory nature of these systems. For example, although the market forces of the neoliberal competition state demand a pace in which speed is paramount, online

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systems slow things down due to the objective of increasing the micro control of system processes (Guzmán-Valenzuela and Di Napoli 2015). These findings suggest further research is required on firstly, the negative impact of online systems on academic identity and academic practice and secondly, their actual cost effectiveness.

Overall, the data analysed in this study confirms that the emphasis of successive Australian Governments on market efficiency and performativity, since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, has resulted in quality now serving as a meta-narrative in marketing neoliberal governance. The quality discourse, therefore, provides a meta-narrative which 'links external governmentality and internal institutional governance' and in so doing, has replaced the traditional 'truth' narrative of a university (Cowen 2010, p. 256).

8.4.3   Room to engage in the battle for 'truth'

Foucault (1980, p. 131) advises that each society has its own 'regime of truth' which determines what is sanctioned and what is not. However, Foucault (1980, p. 131) also advises that academics can engage with the battle for 'truth' represented by the normalized discourses because 'truth' it not an 'outside power'. In contrast, truth is a 'thing of the world' as 'it is produced only by virtue and multiple forms of constraint' even though 'it induces regular effects of power' (Foucault 1980, p. 131). Because 'truth' is also 'the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation' (Foucault 1980, p. 132), the remaining elements of the preceding social-liberal form of governance provide the source of confrontation between the managerial and disciplinary discourses. Foucault (1982, p. 220) also claims that although power 'constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of acting'. This seemingly contradictory element of Foucault's analysis of power is discussed in terms of leeway available for these participants to resist the managerial discourse. Although one participant notes that because it is 'quite hard to chuck you out of the university, there's a fair amount of leeway to refuse to do all the bullshit we're required to do' (AP3, p. 9).

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The data analysed in this study concerning the scope and intent of the managerial discourse suggests that, while 'truth' in liberal governmentality may be contested, some agents have more power than others to affect the nature of 'truth'. For example, non-professorial academic participants have fewer options than those academic managers who participated in this study. However, despite power being related to both role and position in the managerial discourse in this institution, the notion of a scholarly community has endured in the respective departments in which these participants are located. Therefore, the type of resistance these participants engage in as well as the range of factors contributing to this form of resistance, are discussed in section 8.5 below.

8.5 The localized scholarly sub-culture
8.5.1 Factors shaping the scholarly sub culture

This study suggests that a scholarly culture, including a counter quality discourse, based on intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality exists in the participants' respective departments. In fact, this sub-culture and alternative discourse are widely perceived by the participants as having enabled their departments to flourish in difficult times. Local factors contributing to this sub-culture include:

- a tradition of intellectual leadership and collegiality in the faculty

- a shared concept of what it means to be an intellectual

- the leadership skills of local academic managers

- the level of authority provided by scholarly reputation

- a competing set of frameworks which fuel a discourse of justice, service and scholarship

- processes in place locally for promoting an alternative concept of quality

But first, it is necessary to briefly revisit the traditional notions of academic leadership and intellectual collegiality as these concepts underpin the study's findings.

8.5.2 A wider definition of academic leadership

Academic leadership is not confined to academics performing a management role. For example, Macfarlane (2011) in the table presented below lists the qualities of a professor as a leader. Furthermore, Macfarlane (2011) also argues that these qualities overlap with the roles performed by academic managers.

Table 8: The qualities of the professor as a leader
(Macfarlane 2011, p. 70)

Role model	through personal scholarship, teaching, leadership and management, influence within the discipline or profession, publication, grants, awards and other research achievements
Mentor	to less experienced colleagues within and without the institution
Advocate	for the discipline or profession; explaining, arguing, promoting, debating, lobbying, campaigning
Guardian	of standards of scholarship and academic values within the discipline or profession
Acquisitor	of grants, resources, research students, contracts and other commercial opportunities
Ambassador	on behalf of the university in external relations both nationally and internationally

The data analysed in this study confirms that the professorial participants interviewed, regardless of whether they are currently performing roles as academic managers or not, demonstrate all of these qualities. In addition, all participants interviewed demonstrate a commitment to the layers of service identified in the service pyramid below:

Figure 3: The service pyramid
(Macfarlane 2007, p. 265).
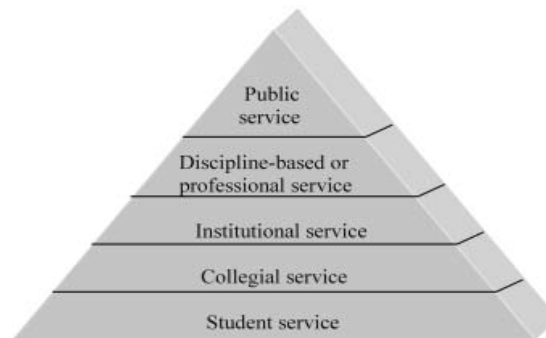
In fact, Macfarlane (2005, p. 309) claims that there is a lengthy tradition of all academics 'embracing their citizenship responsibilities as an integral part of their academic identity' by serving many communities, although the definitions of service vary according to context and time and status. For example, Vice-Chancellors have the power to affect the relationship between the managerial and collegial discourses (Christopher & Leung 2015). While collegial service is considered second from the bottom in MacFarlane's (2007) service pyramid, intellectual collegiality has emerged as one of the significant themes of this research. This is because it is perceived as underpinning the counter quality discourse the research participants have created. For this reason, service to collegiality will be referenced first.

8.5.3   The notion of intellectual collegiality

Intellectual collegiality is not restricted to interaction among equals. This is because it references an educational ideal which embraces the broad social purpose of a liberal education as well as underpinning the purpose of a liberal university in terms of its contribution to teaching and research (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010). For teaching, this means providing a coherent intellectual framework for coordinating the input of the various actors involved in the teaching and learning process (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010). For research, 'intellectual collegiality' is an integral aspect of the manner in which academics approach their research in 'their laboratories and in departments' (Tapper & Palfreyman 2010, p. 26). Therefore, Tapper and Palfreyman (2013) argue that managerial values, like performativity, are a poor substitute for the intellectual

values underpinning quality research or teaching. Tapper and Palfreyman (2013) also advise that intellectual collegiality is increasingly under threat from the managerial discourse.

Although this study also confirms that intellectual collegiality is perceived by these participants as underpinning the quality of the research and teaching, it also shows that intellectual collegiality is the product of a localized culture and a way of thinking in the two departments, school and faculty in which these participants are located. The local factors which shape this discourse are described in the remaining sub-sections of Section 8.5 below.

8.5.4 A sense of being an intellectual is essential

Intellectual sharing is a core feature of the culture of these departments. However, this kind of sharing is only possible 'if you have a sense of yourself as an intellectual and to some degree a social community within the university' (P1, p. 9). Consequently, 'one of the key things that have made my department one of the most successful in this faculty and in this university' is the level of 'intellectual sharing which is absolutely crucial to all of us because we all learn from each other' (P1, p. 9). Moreover, participant (AP2, p. 10) considers a shared commitment 'to a basic set of values which have to do with teaching and related to research' is critical as 'the best teaching is research led as otherwise we wouldn't be a university'. In addition, this particular participant attributes the less divisive approach, adopted by academic managers in his faculty, as being a product of their discipline which makes them 'good at thinking about change and pressures' (AP2, p. 2). However, the culture of intellectual sharing and solidarity existing in these departments is also a result of a long tradition of intellectual leadership and collegiality in the faculty.

8.5.5 A tradition of intellectual leadership and collegiality

The faculty these academic participants belong to has always had academic managers who are admired for their intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality, both before and after the restructuring of their faculty in the late 1990s. Prior to restructuring, the faculty was less hierarchical than others and had a culture based on

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sharing and listening to each (P3 and AP2). Faculty members 'were very aware of the need to teach well and there were very good teachers and people would always be prepared to listen to them' (P3, p. 4). Furthermore, 'collegiality, cooperation, putting students first were highly visible values' in both the 1990s (P2) and survived 'into the 2000s here' (AP2, p. 2). Moreover, the leadership skills of their academic managers meant their faculty was able to pre-empt corporate changes through creating their own policies for achieving better teaching and research outcomes ahead of the corporate sector (P3 & AP2). In addition, this approach to leadership did not break down during the radical restructuring of the faculty and is still embedded in the respective departments these participants belong to. For example, the Deputy Dean of the Faculty, (AP2) reports that not only have a disproportionate number of faculty academic managers come from their respective departments, their values are still influential at the faculty level (AP2).

Although a few academic managers in the faculty are considered to have joined 'the official management class' and, therefore, 'forgotten they once were scholars', these academics are the exception (AP1). Despite the fact that collegiality is more 'nuanced' now according to participant AP2, there is still a tradition of people volunteering to perform administrative tasks (AP1). Therefore, a culture of intellectual leadership and collegiality remains embedded in the scholarly sub-culture in these two departments. This sub-culture is consistent with the definitions of academic leadership and citizenship provided by Macfarlane (2007 & 2011) and referred to in Table 8 and Figure 3 above.

8.5.6 Guardians of academic standards

Participants in this study utilize their academic management positions to try to influence the managerial discourse or add value to it. For example, participant P2 claims his membership of key institutional research advisory committees resulted in his department managing to maintain research funding for their preferred projects throughout difficult times. Participant P1 also used his faculty level positions at various times in his career to attempt to influence the direction of the corporate quality discourse. Although participant P1 (p. 7) was unsuccessful in changing the quantitative

focus of the corporate quality discourse, he succeeded in arranging local teaching awards in his school and department which were not based on 'filling in forms' but 'reflected best practice in the classroom'. Furthermore, the prioritization of high quality research and teaching is perceived by these participants as having enabled their respective departments to flourish in difficult times despite the same departments in other universities having experienced some very tough times since 1988 (P1, AP2 & AP3).

8.5.7 Sets of understandings motivate academic practice

Multiple frameworks drive academic practice, not just disciplinary related skills and values. One participant thought 'It's a much more relative kind of approach to the world which doesn't mean that there aren't values which structure our academic integrity (P1, p. 1). This participant perceives academic practice as representing 'sets of understandings, about cultural differences and human possibilities' (P1, p. 2). In fact, he thinks that all research in the humanities is about 'trying to understand our society, and in contradistinction to other societies' (P1, p. 2). The commitment to people in diverse communities, which is a constant theme among these participants, however, is not perceived as emanating from a corporate mission statement.

In contrast, the type of values expressed in the institution's corporate management documents, are perceived as conflicting with their idea of a university. Corporate values of the type that appear in mission statements, are perceived by participant L1 as a product of the more recent market idea of a university than traditional academic values. In fact, this participant advised that notions of excellence which routinely appear in mission statements have no relationship to the sets of understandings which motivate him. Furthermore, 'those who don't care' are not 'going to care because some mission statement is telling them to care' (AP1, p. 16). In fact, nobody interviewed linked their commitment to the students, their fellow colleagues, their disciplines or wider communities, to the market values embedded in the managerial discourse.

8.5.8　Disciplinary values are taken for granted

Disciplinary values are taken for granted by these participants but they are not regarded as the only set of values guiding behaviour. Although most of the participants referenced disciplinary values, these values were perceived as providing a set of guiding principles only. For example, 'you have to use your sources accurately, you don't make stuff up. You don't deliberately misinterpret things; you don't ignore evidence to the contrary (P1, p. 1). However, participant AP2 claims that although everyone is committed to a basic set of disciplinary values, these values only represent a starting framework. In fact, this study indicates that it is the collegial and personal values of the practitioners, embedded in the culture of their departments and faculty, which provide them with a sense that they are primarily scholars.

Trowler (2012) argues, in a Foucauldian manner, that the power relations operating between the discipline and localized practices are fluid. Although academics belong to established disciplines with their own sets of knowledge, sets of understandings and systems of thinking, in fact, disciplines are dynamic. This is because disciplines not only 'equip their practitioners with 'sets of discourses, ways of thinking, procedures, emotional responses and motivations' but they are also reshaped into 'localised repertoires' which, in turn, reshape the discipline (Trowler 2012, p. 9). According to Trowler (2012), the disciplinary discourse is not a privileged discourse as 'knowledge lies not in a single person's head' but is instead distributed among the people and things which make up the practice (Trowler 2012, p. 31). Therefore, the disciplinary discourse is only one of many factors now shaping identity.

Overall, the data analysed indicates that although disciplinary values are referenced, they are shaped by well-established localized traditions and practices. Therefore, a wider set of values guide the way these participants interact with their colleagues and view the world around them. These values include a commitment to intellectual collegiality, social justice and multiple frameworks for understanding society.

8.5.9   Natural sense of justice guides behaviour

Some participants thought that a natural sense of justice underpins the manner in which many people interact with each other in their department and school. For example, participant (L2, p. 8) thinks that many people in her department 'have a natural sense of justice' which 'influences the way they interact with each other' while participant AP3 (p. 2) believes personal values, like a 'commitment to social justice' guide the commitment to uphold 'disciplinary values in the current institutional environment'. Therefore, participant L2 (p. 8) also thinks that academic managers in her school are well equipped to deal with executive management as they spoke from 'a moral position' In fact, participant AP4 who envisages a career in academic management, wishes to model herself on the leadership style and values of academic managers in her present school and faculty. This is because she perceives them as representing a different ethos to the ethos she experienced in her previous university. She perceives the difference in ethos as a product of 'personality' and 'leadership style' (AP4, p. 6).

Overall, faculty traditions of leadership and collegiality, disciplinary values, sets of understandings and personal values drive both the services these participants provide to their different publics. Section 8.6 below identifies the range of services these participants are engaged in providing.

8.6   Services provided to different publics

8.6.1   Service to their discipline and their students

The participants demonstrate a disciplinary obligation to provide their students with the critical frameworks required for interpreting the world they will be entering. This means equipping their students both adequately and realistically for the complex global world they are entering (AP1 & AP2). Therefore, they see the need to provide their students with multiple frameworks for interpreting the world. Participant P1 (p. 2) wishes to not only equip his students with the knowledge and life skills required to equip them to 'make sense of the world', he also wishes 'to prepare them to be part of a critical community'. Another participant wants students to 'recognize there are always many different perspectives to every story' not just the prevailing ideology (L2,

p. 2). Other participants expressed a wish for their students to be able to recognize that their views were socially constructed and separate to themselves (P3, SL1, SL2 & L2). Therefore, these participants are both demonstrating a commitment to the future of their students and the future well-being of society. Disciplinary values and skills are consequently only one source of input in the university education these participants provide for their students.

These participants are also committed to ensuring people have more opportunities and more control over their lives and their world. Participants AP1, SL1 & SL2 perceive higher education as leading to greater equity and social mobility. For example SL2 (p. 1) 'wanted to be an agent in people's capacity to improve their mobility'. Another participant who comes from a working class and migrant background (AP1), firmly believes that people with backgrounds like his need to be employable. Therefore, it is necessary to equip students with employment skills as well as intellectual skills (AP1, p. 3). While participants are mindful of the need for universities to offer opportunities for people from less privileged backgrounds, however they are also morally conflicted by the reality that universities are elitist institutions:

> I'm a very strong believer in getting people who are first generation in their family so it's not just privileged um privileged people from families where there is a long tradition so I believe in, you know, I guess it' a complicated view. I think that the universities are an elite institution on the one level where what you're trying to do is foster a sense of intellectual elitism as well but also that it should be open to people from a variety of backgrounds and the university has to do its job to make that possible (SL1, p. 2).

As a result of this awareness, many of these participants are conscious of holding competing sets of objectives which are sometimes ethically hard to reconcile.

8.6.2 Service to colleagues

Participants also use their professorial status, expertise and position to protect their more junior colleagues. Some participants provide career advice to their junior colleagues, which they perceive as being more aligned with their long term career interests as opposed to short term institutional interests (P1, P2 & P3). Furthermore, there is a culture of everybody using their specialist skills to assist their colleagues. One participant feels her use of marketing techniques to obtain research funding

prevents other colleagues, who find this type of practice distasteful, from having to do so (SL2, p. 2). In addition, academic managers and lecturers regularly take preventive action to save their colleagues from wasting their resources and breaching compliance. Participant P1 used his academic managerial position to intervene, whenever he could, to prevent his colleagues wasting their scarce resources on repetitious compliance exercises by providing group responses. In addition, lecturers like SL1 intervene in the service delivery process, where necessary, to protect sessional teachers from committing breaches of compliance. However, a junior academic interviewed (L1) attributed the culture of protection in the faculty to the fact that some people in the faculty have more power than others.

8.6.3 Service to research

Participants find the form of intellectual leadership and collegiality demonstrated, both formally and informally in their respective departments and school towards research, very professional and reassuring. This is because it is not purely numerically based:

> I've noticed in this particular department and in the school generally and also in the Arts Faculty more widely, there is a real research culture which is not just based on metrics but is seen as a kind of collaborative enterprise at a very grass roots level (AP4, p. 3).

There is also a tradition of professorial level academics collaborating with their colleagues on research projects. Participant P3 has always participated in collaborative research projects with her post-doctoral students in order to promote their chances of getting published. This is despite collaborative research not being awarded the economic financial and networking status it now brings. Ironically participant P3, who has now spent her entire career working on collaborative projects, was regularly advised by management that publishing as an individual was a pre requisite for promotional purposes. In contrast, it is now more difficult to get funding as an individual (P3). Overall, the research culture embedded in their departments makes these participants feel that they 'are a group who can work together' (AP1, p. 10).

8.6.4 Service to the institution

The participants in this study all perceive themselves as serving multiple communities simultaneously. In fact, one participant AP2 (p. 3), claimed that if a Myers Briggs scale was administered in his discipline, the results would indicate that academics in his discipline are by temperament 'fairly service driven, often end up good managers and are often times in leadership'. This conclusion is based on the fact that academics from his discipline have historically been over represented in senior faculty management roles (P1, AP2, AP4, SL1 & L1). These leaders include those academic managers who campaigned to ensure that the faculty restructuring was undertaken in a manner which was consultative and driven by equitable processes (P3 & AP2). In fact, the current Deputy Dean of the Faculty is a member of one of these departments. In addition, three of the participants interviewed have been the head of their school while six of the seven professorial level participants interviewed have served or are currently serving, as the head of their respective departments. Furthermore, three of these participants have been very instrumental in establishing and managing large institutional campuses and international disciplinary organizations as well as establishing and maintaining linkages with local communities in those offshore localities.

8.6.5 Service beyond the institution

Professorial participants in this study provide service to communities beyond the institution. Participant P2 is the CEO of a disciplinary related association in the Asia/Pacific Region which serves the purpose of promoting his discipline in this region. Furthermore, participant AP3, who is regularly heard on a high profile disciplinary related radio program, perceives his role as contributing to the public debate on controversial issues. He purposefully ensures that his writing for the public domain emphasizes 'clarity of exposition, political impact and a contribution to the struggle for social justice' (AP3, p. 3). Another participant AP1, who is equally committed to the concept of giving back to the community, participates in community engagement roles as well as writing for community based journals. Generally, all the

professorial level participants interviewed in this study perceive their role as contributing to the public domain in those areas where they have expertise.

Overall, although the professorial participants have more managerial options available to them in the managerial discourse, there is no indication that the values between the professorial participants and the non-professorial participants in this study are vastly different. This is an interesting finding as recent research by Christopher and Leung (2015) indicates that long-term and tenured academics with more than twenty years' service have different values to less established values of colleagues with less than twenty years' service. For example, longer serving academics 'are very public-sector-oriented, very community-oriented' and perceive their role as 'giving something back to the community' (Christopher & Leung 2015, p. 179). In contrast, the data presented in this study shows that all participants are committed to serving multiple communities. For example, the two participants known as 'productive researchers' (AP3 & SL2) claim that their success in obtaining research funding actually buys them the space required to provide services to those communities which align more closely with their values. In addition, the more junior colleagues perceive their senior colleagues as role models who they wish to imitate when they move into managerial roles themselves as they exhibit strong moral values (AP4 & L1).

8.6.6 Institutional status is privileged

The international disciplinary roles performed by professors in this study are perceived as being less influential in the institution than their institutional status. This situation is perceived as occurring both when they are performing academic management roles as well as when they are not. Therefore, ironically, despite the preoccupation of the executive with international status and rankings, the data in this study suggests the institution is perceived as privileging institutional status over international status. For example, participant P1 assumes that due to the internationalization focus of the institution's strategic agenda, his status as an international scholar is 'kind of recognized' by his institution. However, he still considers his professorial status and institutional networking capacity provide him with more influence in the institution. Similarly, participant P2, who is actually the CEO of a disciplinary organization in the

Asia/Pacific Region, also considers his institutional status and organizational networking capacity probably have more influence in the institution than his institutional standing. In contrast, his international disciplinary related role is recognized at faculty level.

The data analysed, therefore suggests that the institution associates the role of establishing international linkages with those in the executive more than with those academics who are doing it naturally in the course of their work. In this aspect, this research is consistent with research by Macfarlane (2011) which suggests that the intellectual leadership displayed outside formal management roles is not fully accessed by the institution. This situation exists despite the non-professorial participants, in these particular departments, all reporting that they derive a sense of protection from the level of leadership provided by the professoriate in their faculty, whether it is formal or informal. However, these skills are not formally recognized within the managerial discourse.

8.7 Practices underpinning the counter quality discourse
8.7.1   Cultural and social structures still exist

Despite the prevalence today of autonomous reflexivity, Archer (2012) claims society cannot be reduced to institutionalized individualism. Although acknowledging that 'reflexive deliberation' is increasingly inescapable due to everyone having to be their own guide, this practice has not resulted in the diminishment of existing cultural and social structures (Archer 2010, p. 285). This is because institutions are cultural in nature and the arbiters of cultural values (Lash 1994, p. 207). Furthermore, Castells (2010, p. 11) argues that, due to the processes in civil society shrinking, 'The search for meaning will take place in the reconstruction of defensive identities around communal principles'.

Although disciplines are conditioned by and responsive to local practices, academics are still housed in organizational structural units such as faculties which are multi-disciplinary. As institutions are also cultural in nature, sub-cultures in institutions therefore, develop a particular ethos which distinguishes their particular sub-culture from another sub culture in a similar department in a similar institution according to

participant AP4. The presence of a sub-culture, existing in the departments and school in which these participants belong aligns with the proposition that institutions provide a repository of cultural values, which contribute to the search for meaning in a period in which reflexivity is increasingly inescapable (Archer 2012 & Castells 2010).

8.7.2   Processes for ensuring intellectual collegiality

A scholarly community is the product of processes put in place to promote it. Although there is a strong tradition of intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality in the departments of the participants in this study, formal processes have been established to ensure that 'intellectual sharing' is both developed and nurtured. These processes are designed to enable staff to get together with their colleagues, find out about their research and learn from each other (P1). Therefore, regular staff lunches are provided that are designed to bring people together. In addition, monthly and weekly Friday afternoon meetings are held where staff present a paper followed by discussion and an exchange of ideas (AP 4, p. 3). Due to the departmental commitment to teaching being research-led, time is allocated for 'having teaching forums, exchanging ideas about what works and what doesn't' (AP2, p. 10). These processes create the feeling 'that the important work that we do, the intellectual work that we do, is supported by all of our colleagues' (AP4, p. 3). As a result, these local processes put in place provide them with a sense of solidarity and communal identity as well as remind them 'they are first and foremost scholars' even though they are situated in a compliance culture (SL1, p. 15). Participant SL2 also noted that there is a women's network in place to redress past gender imbalances. In addition, she reported that she'd had 'two female academic mentor me' who 'both care about me and want me to succeed' (SL2, p. 5). There are also less formal approaches for promoting collegiality. For example, SL2 (p. 5) has 'organized a women's research group for Level B and C academics and every month we meet in a pub and we read each other's work'.

8.7.3   Collegial approach to human resource management

The participants in this study have a more collegial approach to human resource management than the disciplinary and punitive approach embedded in the managerial discourse. In contrast, trust is an important element of their sub-culture:

> My view on this and has always been that you trust your staff, and I did this with my staff, and if someone tries to rip you off, you go and get them but you don't treat everyone as if they're a potential thief and that's the way we are treated (AP1, p. 15).

However in contrast, the standard human resource management model in the institution is 'that you are guilty until proven innocent' but 'anybody who has had any success in any organization will tell you that's exactly the wrong way to operate (AP1, p. 15). As a consequence, a constructive rather than a punitive approach is adopted towards those staff needing to have their energy redirected. Therefore, staff who may have 'put all their energy into the wrong kind of things' are counselled rather than disciplined (P1, p. 9). Although participant P1 (p. 7) considers that the nature of their faculty lends itself to this approach as 'generally, an Arts Faculty attracts a lot of people who aren't in it for the money'. In contrast, 'they're in it because they have a commitment to the research and to the teaching and they want to do both well (P1, p. 7). However, in a managerial environment in which academics are repeatedly told by the institution to focus on research, participant P1 (p. 7) thinks it is 'sometimes necessary to widen the focus' of his colleagues. Preventive human resource management is the preferred practice in their school. Therefore, P1 (p. 9), claims that discipline hasn't been an issue in his department 'because people are very good at what they do and we make good appointments'. Their school also has a policy of moving academics in and out of academic management roles, despite this approach to management failing to align with the corporate approach to management:

> I think it's very important that you move up to management and back down to teaching but the management response to that is that you have amateurs running the show but my response is, therefore, you need to train generations of senior scholars for these roles and move them into these roles and out again and that's what we've tried to do round here (AP1, p. 9).

As a result of the range of factors referred to above, the participants in this study experience their 'department and school as being a very functionally and socially and professionally cohesive kind' (SL1, p. 14). There is also a perception that the collegial culture in their department is exceptional. Participant L2 (p. 8) thinks their department 'is unique in the respect of genuine collegiality' because she understands 'it's a completely different story' in other parts of the university. But participant P1 acknowledges that there has been less time for performing the sort of activities which

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promote intellectual sharing in recent years due to a lack of dedicated resources. Despite these restrictions, they still manage to discuss and share aspects of their teaching practice (P1).

8.7.4   It is the 'ethos' which makes the difference

The sub-culture created in these respective departments is even more respected by one participant who saw the collegial culture of her former university disintegrate completely at a huge social and personal cost. These costs included academics having 'their subjects taken away from them' and, as a result, having to 'teach subjects that were so broad that they were almost meaningless' (AP4, p. 12). Therefore, she is very mindful that massive restructuring programs, which are non-consultative in nature, have a huge psychological fall-out due to academics feeling disempowered. In contrast, participant AP4 has noticed that, when people feel supported as part of a community, they are happy to come to work. Her experience leads her to conclude that while the managerial systems of the four Australian universities, in which she has served, 'are all similar', the 'ethos is very different in all of them' (AP4, p. 2).

There is also a recognition that the maintenance of a culture of intellectual sharing and collegiality is something which requires maintenance. In the present managerial environment, professional people have a duty to fight to keep a professional culture alive. Participant AP4 does not see her colleagues as being any different to doctors in public hospitals who also need to fight to protect their disciplinary values. In contrast, another participant thinks that the best way of protecting your discipline is through working out how the university works as that way it is possible 'to protect the things you want to protect' (SL2, p. 2).

8.8 Academic resistance to the managerial discourse
8.8.1   The role of institutional and scholarly status

Institutional status, when combined with scholarly reputation and membership of wider disciplinary networks, provides the professorial participants in this study with the self-confidence necessary to be able to resist the managerial discourse, if they so determine:

> Sometimes they are things that coincide with what we want to be doing, in which case we go along with them, sometimes they cut across, then, we ignore them as best we can. Sometimes you have to compromise (P1, p. 5).

Another academic manager interviewed explained that they commonly go through the social ritual of politely listening to corporate managers without disagreeing with them but continue to 'go on doing what we are doing and what we do well' (AP1, p. 9). This form of passive resistance is widely acknowledged as a tradition in the faculty, although it was also widely agreed that anyone below the status of a professor would not be wise to engage in this type of behaviour.

8.8.2 Professorial status provides greater leeway

Being a professor provides a capacity to provide counter advice to the managerial discourse. All three full professors interviewed admit that they have no hesitation in providing their more junior colleagues with career advice which is inconsistent with the corporate career policy. One professorial participant, who spends part of the year working at a highly ranked European university, where he 'talks to the leading experts' in his field of research, explains that his 'objectives in terms of reputation lie outside the university; they lie in my discipline worldwide' (P1, p. 4). Moreover, participant P1 indicates that, if he had not had an ongoing contract with this particular European university, it is unlikely that anyone at that university would know anything about this university. Consequently, participant P1 feels no hesitation in providing his junior colleagues with career advice which he considers is in their long term interests. This is despite his advice conflicting with the corporate career advice offered. In fact, participant P1 claims that he is not particularly stressed by the managerial discourse. His approach to career planning was shared by the other professorial level participants. Despite the declining capacity of academic managers to influence the managerial discourse in recent years, these participants continue to demonstrate intellectual leadership with their colleagues at their local level in a range of ways.

8.8.3 Role playing multiple subjectivities

Some academic participants report that they role play multiple subjectivities in dealing with the managerial discourse. Academic participants at professorial level, and those

performing full time research roles, reported that they often have to switch between roles. Participant AP3 who performs external consultancies, reports accessing a range of subjectivities in switching between the various roles he performs. He justifies this technology of the self by explaining that he has different sets of values which he accesses to foreground the different roles he has to perform. Other participants are also equally conscious of the irreconcilable sets of values underpinning the various subjectivities they adopt in order to keep their departments flourishing. Researchers like P3, AP3 and SL2, openly discuss the reflexive techniques they adopt in playing the game even though they sometimes feel at times like they are selling out (P3). In this manner, these participants resemble the 'flexians', described in the study by Smith (2012), in which academics adopt flexible identities as a successful strategy for working the system. In the unbounded university, academics have to adopt multiple subjectivities and flexible identities in order to adapt to new circumstances (Henkel 2007).

The changed 'ideological framework', which expects universities to contribute to the national good and also requires academics to function outside their previous 'bounded space', necessitates the rethinking of autonomy (Henkel 2007, pp. 93-94). Trowler (2012, p. 29), argues academics are now conditioned more by external processes than internal processes. The capacity to 'play the game' is also related to institutional positional advantage. For example, the participants in this study who carry heavy teaching loads are more focused on the process of survival than playing the game. In this respect, these participants do not resemble the reflexive modernists who were supposed to be liberated by reflexivity in advanced modernity, according to Giddens (1991) and Beck (1994). In contrast, their situation more closely resembles that of the precarious class described by Standing (2011).

8.9 Meaning of findings in this thesis for academics

8.9.1 Academics are situated in a web of governmentality

This study finds that as a result of the institution being situated in a web of external governmentality, which includes the continuously changing policy requirements of the Australian Federal Government, a culture of institutional reflexivity has emerged. As a result, the executive are under ongoing pressure to micro manage the faculties to ensure

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that they are satisfying external targets. This means that corporate positions have been replicated in the faculties to coordinate the delivery of the specified targets. Consequently, power is experienced as having been consolidated in the executive (P1, P2, P3, AP1, AP2, AP3 & AP4). However, some members of the executive are perceived by some of the professorial level participants interviewed as making decisions based on personal self-interest rather than in the interests of the institution long term (AP1 & AP3).

8.9.2 Strategic planning is unbalanced and contradictory

The study finds that the governance of the institution is dominated by a strategic planning system which favours some stakeholders over others. This system has led to the prioritization of research over teaching and the separation of research from teaching as well as the cult of the productive researcher at the expense of those academics who carry heavy teaching loads. This research is consistent with research by Gendron (2008), Krause (2009) and Aspromourgas (2012). The distortion of the discipline in one department and the failure to fully utilize existing disciplinary expertise is an additional concern identified in this study. Therefore, this study confirms findings by Pick (2004) that universities in Australia, since the 1988 Dawkins' reforms, have been reengineered to focus on the market value of the services they provide at the expense of their broader cultural and social agenda (Pick 2004).

We saw how in Chapter 1 of this thesis, long term strategic planning in higher education has become more difficult for Australian Vice-Chancellors due to constant changes in policy direction and market forces (Davis 2012). In fact, this study confirms the opinion of those Vice-Chancellors, who described higher education in Australia as representing 'the love child of Milton Friedman and Vladimir Lenin' (Norton 2012), as having the insight to recognize the inherent contradictions in many neoliberal policies. For example, they recognized that the free market theories of Freidman have resulted in a university sector being compelled to implement the policy of 'student choice' despite fees being regulated (Norton 2012). Therefore, the highly regulated relationship universities, including this institution, now share with the Federal Government of Australia, contradicts one of the key principles of neoliberalism which is full market

freedom. This is because higher education is perceived everywhere as a quasi-market rather than a full market due to governments wishing to retain control of the knowledge economy (Marginson 2012). Due to this contradiction, planning will remain difficult in higher education, including this institution, as reflexivity is now associated with institutions due to changing external circumstances, whereas once reflexivity was associated with individuals responding to changing circumstances (Beck 1994, Giddens 1991 & 1994, Pick 2004, Soros 2013 & Beinhocker 2013).

As we saw in Chapter 5 of this thesis, the executive are continually shifting their focus from research to teaching and back again as they are similarly caught in the contradictions of the market. While teaching provides the revenue to fund research, they also recognize that it is research which leads to an increase in international rankings. They are, therefore, caught up in the dilemma of having to open up more and more student places, even though they realize this will impact on HDR completions (AP2, AP3 & L2). The gap between what is planned and what is implemented will remain constant in an institution which is subject to fluctuating market forces and the demands of external governmentality while remaining a quasi-business and not a full market model.

8.9.3 Declining influence of faculty academic managers

The study finds that faculty academic managers are now primarily accountable for delivering the goals defined by the principal contractor, in this case the executive, in order to satisfy external requirements. This means the faculty regularly reports to delegations from the executive in achieving their goals (AP1). As a consequence, negotiation with academic managers on key corporate performance indicators is extremely limited in nature. In fact, more recently, executive programs are just assigned to them with instructions on what they have to do to comply (P1). Although some professorial participants (P1, P2 & AP2) report that they still have some influence over executive level managerial decisions, they all concede that their capacity to influence the big issues has declined in recent years. Therefore, expert input from academic managers on operational feasibility has declined in recent years.

The decline in influence of academics over the managerial discourse is attributed as related to two main reasons. Firstly, there is an increasing trend for Australian Federal Governments to micro-manage institutions of higher education. For example, 'there's a big chunk of the Federal Government whose job is to prod and poke the university system and get it to jump through hoops and these people are not going to give up' (AP3, p. 10). The other reason attributed to their loss in influence is the creation of replicate executive positions in the faculty. For these specific reasons, unlike the global elite who have access to power through access to global networks (Bauman 2000), the participants in this study, who are faculty academic managers, are experiencing a decline in influence over the managerial discourse. This is despite their membership and involvement in global disciplinary networks.

Although Bauman (2005, p. 134) regards academia as being part of the emergent global elite, power is centralized and hierarchical in this institution. This means faculty academic managers have less power to influence the managerial discourse than those at the executive level. They report to the executive on the achievement of corporate goals deployed to them to implement; they do not determine them. This means that they are role playing project managers assigned accountability for implementing work packages to agreed external specifications. This role is consistent with the form of freedom associated with principal/agency relationships (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Marginson 2009). Academic managers are in the position of employees in liquid modernity described by Bauman (2005) who voluntarily discipline themselves on short term projects in order to stay afloat. Freedom as control is now embedded in the managerial system in this institution.

The data collected and analysed in this study indicates the institution is controlled from the centre by the Vice-Chancellor and the executive. They maintain control through the integrated quality and online platforms designed to monitor compliance with executive objectives. Furthermore, the executive has extended its reach into the faculty by creating a set of replicate corporate positions which coordinate the implementation of executive initiatives (AP1 & SL1). Associate Deans are involved in translating policies both between the corporate sector and the faculty supplemented by 'coordinators, who are also performing similar roles between the faculty and the schools' (AP2, p. 5). The

faculty is now in a hierarchical reporting relationship with the executive who 'literally come over here as a delegation' (AP1, p. 10). The intrusion of the executive into the faculties through the creation of specialist positions is consistent with findings by McInness (2009) and Baird (2014).

The governance system in the institution is based on the neoliberal concept of freedom as control. This means the freedom to perform the role agreed between the principal and an agent without interference (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Rivzi & Lingard 2011) and not the positive type of freedom associated with collegial governance (Marginson 2009). As a result, the relationship between the executive and the faculties resembles the relationship between a principal contractor and a sub-contractor, rather than a parent company and a franchisee as Marginson (2002) proposed. This is because the Australian Federal government is now the parent company and not the institution.

8.9.4   Reflexivity is practised at all levels of management

The study finds that a culture of reflexivity exists in the institution. This is perceived by the participants as a result of decreasing funding, increased micro-control and the threat to deregulate the sector. Therefore, 'the demands of Canberra, what they'll pay for, what we have to comply with' means 'a wise university has to trim its sails accordingly' (AP2, p. 13). As a result academic managers are embedded in a reflexive institution in which they have to continuously adopt responses to corporate edicts which enable them to keep their departments afloat and pay the wages (P2, AP3, AP4 & SL2). This often leads to the running of courses of a generalist nature for undergraduates which are light on methodology. Researchers are also involved in adopting reflexive approaches to maximize research funding. This study, consequently, confirms studies by Pick (2004) that 'not only are Australian universities one of the mediating agents of individualization and individualism, they themselves are undergoing a similar process at an institutional level' as they respond to changing market and governmental requirements (Pick 2004, p. 109). Secondly, these findings confirm research by Billot (2010) that institutional leaders and management processes reflect changing external conditions.

Consequently, the insights offered by these participants may provide some insight into the relationship between institutional reflexivity and personal reflexivity. For example, some of the participants, in this study, perceive managers at the executive level being solely motivated by their own self-interest, and therefore practising autonomous reflexivity which according to Archer (2012) is associated with neoliberalism. In contrast, academic managers are more likely to practise communicative reflexivity which, according to Archer (2012, p. 21), involves individual responses being filtered through a 'common experiential frame of reference'. Further research on modes of reflexivity practised when institutions become reflexive, could further clarify this issue.

8.9.5 Limited leeway in the discourse for some participants

The study also finds that while academic managers and 'productive researchers' still have some leeway in the managerial discourse, academic participants at lecturer level, who are full time teachers, are more preoccupied with appeasing the managerial discourse than resisting it. Therefore, the study finds that the non-professorial level participants who are lecturers are more caught up in the act of survival. Consequently, they spend their day constantly trying to 'appease' everybody. In this manner, the non-professorial level participants in this study are more like members of the precarious class which imposes self-discipline on itself (Thornton 2007 & Standing 2011). In fact, according to participant SL2, it would be regarded as 'career suicide' for the non-professorial participants in this study to query compliance mechanisms.

This finding contradicts the notion by Foucault (2004) that modern power cannot be reduced to those who have it and, those who are subjected to it. In fact, the data in this study, clearly suggests the executive enjoy more power in the institution than the professoriate performing roles as academic managers. It also suggests that the professoriate have more power than the non-professorial participants. In fact, the lecturers interviewed, felt they had no option other than to perpetually appease the 'insidious measure discourse' (SL1).

Overall, the reflexive strategies adopted by the participants in this study are not the sources of liberation symbolizing reflexive modernization argued by Giddens (1991 & 1994) and Beck (1994). This is because they have not been accompanied by the new

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democratic sub-politics filtered through expert systems which were meant to replace the old undemocratic structures. In contrast, the neoliberal expert systems implemented in this institution, like principal/agency relationships represent governmental mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the governing culture (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Gillies 2011). The level of reflexivity undertaken by these participants is motivated by the survival of their departments and their careers in difficult circumstances in lieu of no other option. These choices more closely reflect the neoliberal concept of freedom as control as opposed to positive freedom (Marginson 2009 & Sadler 2011). However, as 'intellectual freedom and autonomy are essential to a scholar's professional identity' (Sharrock 2010, p. 375), processes need to be put in place which encourage greater academic autonomy.

8.9.6   The corporate quality discourse is compliance based

This study finds the integration of online platforms into the quality discourse has resulted in quality being perceived as nothing more than a productivity and surveillance technique. It is perceived as a hierarchical line of command which amounts to a series of people 'breathing down each other's necks' in order to assure compliance (SL1, p. 11). Not only do the participants feel perpetually exhausted by appeasing its extensive requirements, the non-professorial participants live in fear of breaching specified quality requirements. The findings, in this study, are consistent with findings by Guzmán-Valenzuela and Di Napoli (2015, p. 155) who argue computerized management systems, which are used to regulate and audit the employment of time and resources, have 'become tools of power and control in academic life'. Both researchers and teachers, in this study, report feeling equally exhausted by the constant micro management of every step they take associated with both the research and teaching process. This includes having to spend large amounts of energy and time accounting for petty expenses like cab charges.

The findings, on quality, in this study, confirm findings by Anderson (2007) that, while academics are committed to quality research and teaching, their concept of quality does not align with the metric based discourse, in place, in their respective institutions. This is because academics in research by Anderson (2007) and in this study, find the metric

based concept of quality as time wasting and lacking in meaning. Academics in both studies passively resist the managerial discourse by 'playing games'. In this study participants report that they often nod politely and go on doing what they have always done. Findings in this study also verify findings by Craig et al (2014) that a quality system designed to satisfy external performance indicators, which fails to access academic concepts of quality, results in a lack of convergence between academics and managers on key concepts such as the very idea of a university (Craig et al 2014). The participants' lived experience of quality in this study also confirms research by Craig et al (2014) that when quality is neither mutual nor voluntary, it is not the product of deployed reason. In contrast, it represents a discourse designed to satisfy the quantitative data required by external governmental agencies. The data analysed in this study indicates that the institution mirrors the long established higher education practice in Australia of conflating quality with productivity (Rowlands 2012 & Parker 2013).

Overall, this study finds that the excesses of the corporate quality discourse are both insulting to the intellectual background, scholarly and disciplinary status and professional experience and expertise of the academic participants interviewed. This discourse is not based on best practice due to it failing to review those local practices developed to assure the academic quality of the teaching and research services provided. In addition, it wastes their limited resources and causes unnecessary anxiety. For these reasons, the quality discourse has failed to find traction with any of these participants to the extent that not one participant in this study perceived the corporate notion of quality as correlating with their own concept of quality. This is despite some participants concluding that at the end of the day both the institution and academics probably have the same quality objectives. However, despite the presence of a dominant managerial discourse, the data analysed in this study indicates there is evidence of a parallel quality discourse which far more resembles the preferred 'truth' for these participants as opposed to the normalized 'regime of truth' reflected in the managerial discourse. The factors underpinning the establishment and maintenance of a parallel quality discourse at the departmental and school level are summarised below.

8.9.7   Local factors underpinning the counter quality discourse

Despite these participants being subjects of the all invasive quality discourse, they have failed to be so individualized by it to the extent that they have lost sight of their own concept of excellence in research and teaching. Although the 'truth' according to Foucault (1980, p. 132) is also 'the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation', the scholarly culture and the counter quality discourse would appear to have survived in these two departments due to an unwritten policy by faculty academic managers to ignore the managerial discourse rather than confront it at the local level. The special 'ethos' characterizing these departments, which these participants all consider differentiates them from other departments in the institution is a result of a number of historical and contemporary factors. These factors are as follows:

- an enduring culture of intellectual leadership and collegiality in the faculty, school and respective departments of the participants in this study, which although it exists in a more nuanced form today, did not break down during the restructuring of the faculty
- a shared concept of what it means to be an intellectual
- an ongoing prioritization of what constitutes good research and teaching
- a level of self-confidence exhibited by the professorial participants in this study with an extensive international reputation in research as well as international disciplinary linkages
- a broader set of values and understandings than those represented in either the managerial or disciplinary discourses
- disciplinary skills and dispositions which are compatible with performing managerial roles
- a willingness to engage in the managerial discourse despite declining capacity to influence it
- a commitment to providing service to multiple communities including their students
- a set of processes put in place and maintained by local academic managers for the purpose of promoting an alternative concept of quality in both research and teaching

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- an approach to human resource management which is based on trust
- a culture of mutual respect for each other.

It is a combination of these factors which have worked together to enable these participants to create a sub-culture of solidarity which 'makes people happy to walk down the corridor' (AP4).

8.9.8 The participants are more than managed academics

Due to the existence of a local sub culture and an alternative quality discourse which provides these participants with a sense of solidarity and communal identity, these academic participants have emerged as far more than 'managed professionals'. Although research by Winter (2009) indicates that the values of academic managers are more consistent with the corporate managerial discourse than those of non-academic managers, the data analysed, in this study, suggests that the identity of these participants is far more complex. In fact, the data analysed in this study suggests academic identity is more than the result of their managerial position or their latest project. The data suggests their primary identity remains intact despite many of these participants having to adopt multiple subjectivities as they switch between roles. Although the values they have to sometimes adopt to perform different roles may not be easily reconcilable with the values in their primary identity, they are very conscious that they are role playing. Despite the high degree of reflexivity practiced by academic managers and researchers in the faculty, including these participants, the consensus is that most faculty academic managers had neither 'crossed to the other side' (SL1) nor joined 'the official management class' (AP1). This finding is consistent with research by both Delanty (2008) and Castells (2010) who claim there is a difference between role playing and primary identity.

8.9.9 The divided institution

Unfortunately, the alternative quality discourse, existing in the departments these participants belong, to remains a localized discourse only. Moreover, given the increasing domination of the managerial discourse over the faculties in this institution, it is unlikely that this situation is about to change. Therefore, the ethics of the self,

perceived by Foucault as enabling resisting remains an atomized practice which can hardly 'pose a serious challenge to neoliberal social control' (McNay 2009, p. 570). However, it is also partly because these participants prefer not to waste their time arguing about the metrics in the 'insidious measure discourse' which they consider is more suited to online customer service surveys. Therefore, parallel quality discourses exist in this institution. Figure 4 below demonstrates that there are two separate quality management discourses serving different objectives in the divided institution.

Figure 4: The divided institution
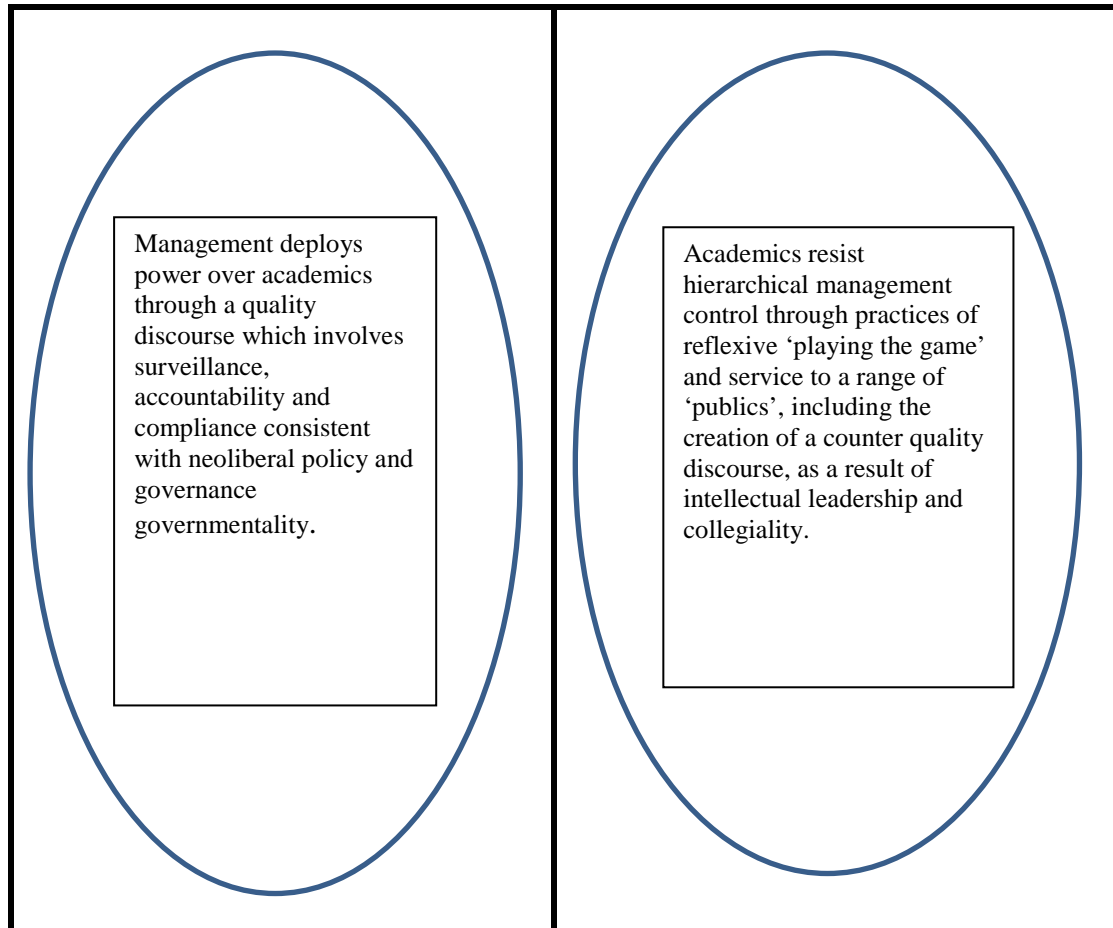
The managerial discourse on the left side of Figure 3, presented above, depicts the managerial discourse as a performative integrated quality and online system which involves ongoing surveillance against external and internal performance indicators built into both research and teaching processes. In contrast, the discourse on the right side of the diagram is motivated by a more complex set of scholarly and personal objectives identified in this thesis. Firstly, it refers to the reflexive practices these participants resort to in order to keep their departments afloat in a reflexive institution. Secondly, it also describes the scholarly sub-culture they have created, based on intellectual leadership, intellectual collegiality and personal values, which sustains a parallel quality discourse which provides them with the sense that they are primarily scholars. This discourse enables these participants to go on producing the type of quality teaching and

research which has resulted in their respective departments to continue to flourish in the period since the 1988 Dawkins reforms.

8.9.10 Conclusion and purpose of the next chapter

Overall, the data in this study indicates that the participants in this study are committed to traditional academic values and their personal vision of a just and equitable society despite the narrow quantitative limitations of the reflexive institutional managerial culture. Therefore, they are also motivated by moral values. The data also indicates that these participants not only have competing sets of values and understandings about the world, they have actually established processes for fostering them. Furthermore, they gain a sense of meaning from working together as an academic community to maintain the scholarly and personal values they believe in.

Chapter 9 of this thesis reflects on what these findings mean in terms of governance in higher education. It also proposes alternative management models for evaluation and poses a number of 'What if' scenarios involving the findings of this study.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and possible future directions

9.1 Research question

The research question for this thesis was: How do academics experience and respond to the neoliberal managerial discourse?

The picture emerging from this study is that of a localized quality focussed sub culture operating at the departmental level parallel to the corporate quality discourse. However, this alternative quality discourse, which is maintained by a group of highly committed academics, has failed to be formally recognized by either the executive or integrated into the corporate quality discourse. Therefore, it is timely that alternative management models were considered by the institution for achieving these objectives. As a result, in this chapter, proposals for accessing those leadership skills at the departmental level, which have produced research and teaching based on academic best practice, are identified and discussed as well as the theorised integration of the research findings.

9.2 Theorised integration of research findings
9.2.1   The prevailing regime of truth is neoliberalism

After nearly three decades of neoliberal governmentality and governance in higher education in Australia, following the election of the Hawke-Keating Federal Government (1983-1996), governance in this institution reflects the core neoliberal principles of market efficiency and performativity. As a result, the relationship between the executive and the faculties resembles the relationship between a principal contractor and a sub-contractor, rather than the relationship between a parent company and a franchisee described by Marginson (2002). This is because the Australian Federal government is now the parent company and not the institution. However, this form of governance also represents freedom as control (Marginson 2009) and not the positive type of freedom associated with the previous form of social liberal governance.

The data, collected and analyzed from the lived experience of the participants in this study, is consistent with the core features of neoliberal governance, identified in Table 2, 'Ideal-type model of internal governance of universities' (Olssen 2002, p. 45), in Chapter 2, of this thesis. Key features of neoliberal governance, identified by Olssen (2002, p. 45), include a series of 'principal-agent' autocratic relationships, cost centers, goals which maximize efficiency and outputs, audit of 'consumer-managerial' performance indicators, research separated from teaching and 'semesterization' of teaching. Overall, the governance system in the institution embodies the neoliberal concept of freedom as control which means the freedom to perform the role agreed between the principal and an agent without interference (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Rivzi & Lingard 2011).

Although Foucault (1980, p. 131) advises that each society has its own 'regime of truth' which determines what is sanctioned and what is not. This institution is part of the neoliberal 'regime of truth' promoted by every Australian Federal Government in higher education since the election of the 1983-1996 Hawke-Keating Labor Federal Government. As part of this particular neoliberal 'régime of truth', higher education has to align its objectives with national economic objectives and contribute directly to the national income and produce the type of professionals the economy requires (Bradley 2008). In accordance with this neoliberal social imaginary, core neoliberal policies like market prioritization, uncapped student demand and reduced levels of funding, referred to by Rizvi & Lingard (2011) have been implemented in this institution. This policy approach represents a social imaginary 'in which economic goals of education are given priority over its social and cultural purposes' (Rizvi & Lingard 2009, p. 446).

Moreover, the technologies of management associated with neoliberalism like principal/agency relationships, have become so embedded in the institution that they have become normalized and legitimized. There is even recognition by some participants that the corporate financial structures imposed on the faculty, including those dedicated faculty positions created to co-ordinate efficiency, keep the university and the faculties fully operational. In fact, there is evidence of a reluctant recognition that the dominant managerial discourse is synonymous with the way universities operate because it is now difficult to imagine an alternative managerial discourse achieving this

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objective in the under-funded environment. Moreover, the non-professorial level participants interviewed reported that this is the only system they have known.

Despite Foucault (1980, p. 131) advising that academics can engage with the battle for 'truth' represented by the normalized discourses because 'truth' is not an 'outside power' (Foucault 1982, p. 220), this study suggests the battle for truth is related to hierarchical status. Although 'truth' in liberal governmentality is contested, this study indicates that some agents have more power than others to affect the nature of 'truth'. For example, non-professorial academic participants have fewer options than those academic managers who participated in this study. These options also include less reflexive options.

9.2.2   The reflexive institution represents freedom as control

The study indicates that the institution has become more reflexive in nature due to a combination of decreasing funding, increased micro-control and the threat to deregulate the sector. In fact, there is a reluctant acceptance that the institution has no other option available to it than to cut its cloth accordingly. Academic managers are, therefore, embedded in a reflexive institution in which they also must devise reflexive responses in order to satisfy the latest corporate requirement. This means that researchers and teachers, in turn, are expected to adjust their research and teaching programs accordingly. As a result, this study confirms findings by Pick (2004, p. 109) that Australian universities are not only 'one of the mediating agents of individualization and individualism, they themselves are undergoing a similar process at an institutional level'. It also confirms the study by Billot (2010) that institutional leaders and management processes reflect changing external conditions. However, due to the scarcity of research on the phenomena of institutional reflexivity in higher education in Australia, this study provides a further insight into how institutional reflexivity is becoming more embedded in the managerial culture in higher education in Australia. In doing so, it provides a more recent analysis than that provided by Pick (2004).

9.2.3 Some participants identify with the precarious class

The study clearly indicates that the executive enjoy more power in the institution than the professoriate performing roles as academic managers. It also suggests that the professoriate has more power than the non-professorial participants. While academic managers and 'productive researchers' still have some leeway in the managerial discourse, academic participants at lecturer level are more preoccupied with appeasing the managerial discourse than resisting it. Although everybody in this study is caught up in the compliance regime, it is the lecturers who are in a perpetual state of anxiety trying to 'appease' everybody. Therefore, the degree of reflexivity available to these participants is associated with hierarchical status in the institution. As full time lecturers have next to no leeway in the managerial discourse, these participants resemble members of the precarious class which imposes self-discipline on itself (Thornton 2007 & Standing 2011).

Although Foucault (2004) advises that modern power cannot be reduced to those who have it and, those who are subjected to it, the reflexive strategies adopted by the participants in this study are not the sources of liberation symbolizing reflexive modernization argued by Giddens (1994) and Beck (1994). This is because they have not been accompanied by the new democratic sub-politics filtered through expert systems which were meant to replace the old undemocratic structures (Beck 1994). In contrast, the neoliberal expert systems implemented in this institution, like principal/agency relationships, represent governmental mechanisms for integrating self-conduct into the governing culture (Olssen & Peters 2005 & Gillies 2011). However, as 'intellectual freedom and autonomy are essential to a scholar's professional identity' (Sharrock 2010, p. 375), processes need to be put in place which encourage greater academic autonomy.

9.2.4 Quality has become a meta-narrative

This study identifies the integration of quality with online platforms as the feature which most significantly impacts on the quality of their research and teaching. Quality is used as the preferred meta-narrative for marketing excellence to academics as well as providing the link with external governmentality. In this institution, quality and online

platforms are integrated. Quality policy, programs, indicators and mechanisms are determined by the executive and deployed throughout the organization using online platforms. The external, impersonal and technological nature of the quality discourse means it is perceived by these participants as performative in nature, resource heavy, anxiety producing and devoid of meaning. As a result, quality is perceived as an all invasive panoptical discourse due to 'all these levels of administration round things like billing and stuff' which 'create the sense that we are being watched and that you're being surveyed' (SL2, p. 6). Furthermore, although the professorial level participants can choose to ignore the 'insidious measure discourse', where they discern they can do so without any great consequence, the non-professorial level participants are constantly stressed out trying to appease it.

In addition, the policy recommendation by Bradley (2008), which led to the establishment of the external quality accreditation agency TEQSA, has tightened its relationship with higher education. This approach has further reinforced the notion that quality in higher education is focussed on assurance rather than enhancement and therefore fails to align with the participant's concept of quality. Therefore, the findings in this study that quality is perceived as non-value adding and burdensome is consistent with other studies by Anderson (2007) and Rowlands (2012). Furthermore, this study finds that the quality discourse also fails to comply with the participants' approach to human resource management. As a consequence, a counter quality discourse has been established in the two respective departments, in which these participants are located, as a mechanism for bridging the deficiencies they have identified in the corporate quality discourse.

9.2.5   An alternative localized quality discourse has been created

Intellectual sharing is both developed and nurtured in these departments. A number of historical, disciplinary and value related factors have led to the establishment and maintenance of a counter quality discourse in their respective departments. These factors include a shared concept of being an intellectual, processes for nurturing intellectual sharing and a different approach to human resource management. Although the concept of what it means to be an intellectual is regarded as essential, the

development of localized processes for assuring excellence in both research and teaching is also regarded as critical to these participants. This is because these processes ensure time is allocated for staff to meet on a regular basis to discuss issues that are important to them in both their research and teaching. Therefore, these participants feel they are provided with the opportunity to learn from each other as well as work together to ensure quality research and teaching. The study also indicates the presence of a more collegial approach to human resource management in their respective departments than that of the disciplinary and punitive approach embedded in the managerial discourse. In fact, because a preventive approach to human resource management has been practised in these departments, discipline hasn't been an issue.

Although the dominant managerial discourse represents the prevailing neoliberal 'regime of truth' which determines what is sanctioned and what is not, these academic participants have engaged with the battle for 'truth' as academics need to (Foucault 1980, p. 131). The notion of a scholarly community has endured in the respective departments in which these participants are located due to a combination of intellectual leadership, intellectual collegiality and personal values emphasizing social justice. Therefore, the participants in this study are not completely 'docile bodies' in the managerial discourse at the local level. Overall, this study confirms that communal resistance at the local level is a more likely form of resistance in the age of individualization as Castells (2010) has advised.

9.2.6   Intellectual leadership remains localized in impact

Unfortunately, the enduring tradition of intellectual leadership and collegiality which underpins the alternative localized quality discourse has seemingly no bearing on the corporate quality discourse. Furthermore, their alternative discourse is vulnerable as it is dependent on the initiatives of those academic managers who chose to promote a collegial approach to being an academic. Although Macfarlane (2012, p. 36) advises that 'the leadership of the academe is still largely in its own hands' and that they have no one to blame but themselves if they object to the current 'set of values and objectives' by which they are led, this assertion is contested by this study. The data presented in this study confirms Marginson's (2009) claim that neoliberalism limits

academic freedom as agency freedom is a product of hierarchical relationships agreed between a principal and their agents to perform specified accountabilities. As we have seen from this study, the capacity of the academic managers to influence the corporate managerial discourse has declined considerably in recent years.

9.2.7   Limited space for doing things differently

Due to the emergence of institutional reflexivity and, in particular, a form of autonomous reflexivity at the executive level and at other levels, this thesis is unable to confidently present any radical proposals for change in university governance which are likely to be implemented in the current neoliberal environment. This is because, if the relationship between the executive and academics depicted in this institution is common to all universities in Australia, then there is little hope for a rapprochement whose outcome is cooperative change. However, given the fact that the academic participants in this study have demonstrated great intellectual leadership and collegiality in assuring their concept of quality research and teaching is maintained, this institution needs to extend its concept of leadership to accommodate localized intellectual leadership. Such a change in governance would involve the creation of a third space in the managerial discourse in which those academics who show leadership on quality, for example, can share best local practice with the appropriate representatives of the corporate managerial discourse.

9.3 No grand narrative solution

Although the academics in this study are committed to actively maintaining traditional academic, disciplinary and personal values through strategies designed to minimize the impact of the managerial discourse on the quality of their academic practice, the findings are never the less somewhat depressing in that they have little capacity to affect the managerial discourse in the present environment. This outcome notwithstanding, the personal stance of the researcher is one oriented to thinking through the governance and management contradictions in higher education with a hope of a resolution. For example, in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1 of this thesis, the source of the researcher's historical interest in quality assurance and improvement was discussed. The frustration she and her fellow teachers experienced in trying to satisfy changing external quality

requirements at their local level was also discussed. In addition, the researcher's experience was discussed in reference to her decision to employ Foucault's social theorising as the basis for examining the practices academics adopted in dealing with the university executive.

Attempting to craft action proposals from a Foucauldian standpoint might appear to be an unattainable bolting-onto an oppressive managerial regime of just another technical mechanism for academics to oppose. Therefore, the following discussion is presented not in any great hope that it might resolve the impasse between executive and academics in higher education at a systemic level, but as a 'what if' scenario. It should be read as a kind of counterfactual or 'what if' winding-back of the higher education governance clock to what might be termed the dawn of the quality management epoch. These final sections of the thesis, therefore, commence with some recent thinking about alternative approaches to university quality procedures and conclude with a conceptual 'what if' proposition.

9.4 Alternative models to consider

9.4.1 The emergence of a more enhanced interpretation of quality

In a hopeful development, more recent international research advocates that quality assurance be extended to incorporate quality enhancement. This is because while quality assurance 'is taken to be a deliberate process to check, evaluate, and make judgements about quality and standards', quality enhancement 'is viewed as a deliberate process of change that leads to improvement' (Newton 2012, p. 9). Furthermore, quality enhancement, which involves a process for 'creating conditions for change, implementing it, and then evaluating it', can apply to procedures or an aspect of either academic practice or the student experience (Newton 2012, p. 9). Filippakou and Tapper (2008, p. 91) argue that the notion of quality enhancement is 'less bounded', unlike quality assurance which 'means making judgements against defined criteria. Although quality enhancement has always been part of quality assurance methodology, the trend by external regulatory agencies to emphasise quality enhancement is new in higher education in the U.K. (Filippakou & Tapper 2008).

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The Quality Assurance (QA) approach to quality implemented in higher education in Australia, following the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, has not led to overall quality improvement. Research by Shah (2012, p. 767) found the QA approach to quality from 2000 to 2010, has not led to 'enhancement of student experience; community engagement; administrative areas; and research and research training'. In contrast, this approach emphasises fitness for purpose through assuring the 'effective use of resources' and providing 'value for money' for stakeholders as well as reinforcing hierarchical principal/agency relationships (Gallagher 2010). Therefore, a quality enhancement approach, which involves steps to improve the student experience, is required (Gallagher 2010, p. 130). Furthermore, the more recent approach to quality adopted by TEQSA aligns with a broader principal/agent approach to assuring accountability between the state and universities as opposed to a management approach based on mutual accountability. Consequently, quality in higher education is still focussed on satisfying external requirements and not on satisfying internal quality enhancement (Shah & Jarzabkowski 2013). Therefore, the TEQSA phase, to date, is also perceived as conflating quality with quality assurance rather than improvement based on involvement of the users. However, there is ongoing opposition to the hierarchical concept of accountability by the long established group of eight research led universities, known as the G8. In fact, objections by the G8 universities, which are documented in 'The accountability for quality agenda in higher education' (Gallagher 2010) have led to a review of the regulatory environment in higher education in Australia by Dow and Braithewaite (2013).

In the Australian higher education environment, Rowlands (2012, p. 106) argues that it is timely that universities determine whether to keep supporting a 'compliance and audit approach' or adopt a more enhanced approach to quality which involves 'developing ways for measuring academic standards with a view to enhancing learner outcomes'. Therefore, institutions, like this institution, need to 'implement a hybrid model of quality assurance that focuses on compliance and improvements with increased emphasis on internal enhancements and active engagement of all staff (Shah & Jarzabkowski 2013, p. 105). In addition, new approaches to managing quality are required by universities as new business models emerge in the modern economy

(Coates and Mahat 2014). Furthermore, a review by Dow & Braithwaite (2013, p. 2) of the regulatory environment in higher education in Australia found that the increasingly complex higher education environment 'demands more effective and efficient application of regulatory requirements'. As a response to this review, TEQSA (2015) has published 'A risk and standards based approach to quality assurance in Australia's diverse higher education sector' (TEQSA 2015). This approach provides a range of hypothetical case studies of universities in which TEQSA (2015) suggests proportionate responses be adopted by universities in negotiation with TEQSA. To assist this process TEQSA provides a number of profiles to guide the negotiation process.

As there is evidence of some appetite for change as well as leeway for negotiation emerging in the national quality discourse in Australia, the emerging gap in the quality discourse provides an opportunity to influence future outcomes. For example a recent provision by TEQSA (2015) that long established universities with a solid reputation for sound financial management, quality research and established networks should be able to 'expect an engagement with TESQA that is tailored to reflect that context' (TEQSA 2015), is highly applicable to this institution.

9.4.2   Need for a distributed leadership model

9.4.2.1 Everybody today is a leader

Recent research also indicates that the unbounded university requires a new definition of leadership. Higher education now constitutes a 'distributed' activity in which the global networks scholars and students belong and contribute to the development of both economies and societies (Coates and Mahat 2014). As a result, higher education is 'characterised by new institutional architectures' which include new 'operating contexts and shifting workforce prospects and technologies' (Coates and Mahat 2014, p. 577). Therefore, universities are institutional nodes which underpin the flow of research and innovation by providing the structure necessary to support these crucial activities (Coates and Mahat 2014).

Leadership has been defined as different to management by Macfarlane (2012) because it is value driven. While management and leadership are used interchangeably, they are

different as management has a procedural focus, whereas leadership 'is about influence, values and vision' (Jones et al 2014, p. 419). Leadership involves more than just managing from one day to another. In contrast, it 'demands passion and commitment toward certain value-based goals such as environmental sustainability' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 21). Intellectual leadership transcends the assigned management responsibilities performed by a professor in a dedicated management position as intellectual leadership is concerned with transformation (Macfarlane 2012). It involves 'developing new insights about the world, either empirically or conceptually' as well as 'transforming the lives of students, fellow academics and professionals as well as members of the wider public' (Macfarlane 2012, p. 119). Macfarlane (2012) also notes that academic citizenship is less likely to be rewarded, whereas, roles associated with being a knowledge entrepreneur are more likely to be rewarded in the knowledge society. The professorial level participants in this study also perceive that positional status in the institution and internal networking hold more sway in the institution than extra-institutional involvement involving non entrepreneurial activities.

Furthermore, Whitchurch & Gordon (2010) argue that as the trend in management is to deploy accountability for managing research and training further down the organisation, there is an increasing blurring between management and the managed. Therefore, on the basis that institutions and academics are now operating in a multi-layered environment, they may both need to rethink the chain of command style management systems which have dominated the era of the knowledge society (Whitchurch & Gordon 2010).

Therefore, it is timely for the executive of this institution to formally acknowledge the role of extra-institutional leadership experience. It is also timely that the executive recognize the type of internal and local leadership, of the type demonstrated in this study, operating outside and parallel to the formal corporate managerial discourse.

9.4.2.2 Third space distributed leadership models

There are a number of 'third space' models available in higher education to choose from. Whitchurch (2008 & 2012) is primarily concerned with creating an alternate mainstream career pathway for academics moving in and out of institutional projects or professional staff performing quasi-academic roles such as learning support. However,

her definition of professional staff is subject to evolution. Whitchurch (2008, p. 379) defines 'professional staff' as staff, without an academic contract, who perform quasi academic roles like policy analysis, who may also have academic qualifications like a PhD or have been an academic 'in the college sector'. However, Whitchurch (2012) argues that because academics now move in and out of 'academically oriented institutional projects', which involve both academic and specialist skills, the classification of 'academic' and 'non- academic' has become more blurred.

Macfarlane (2012, p. 36) is concerned with 'how to re-establish the role of the professoriate in the leadership of the university'. His solution for re-establishing the role of the professoriate involves new approaches to human resource management as opposed to restructuring. Macfarlane (2012, p. 139) proposes that as 'the professoriate is a valuable resource' the institution needs to clearly articulate its expectations for professors and train them to perform these expectations. Secondly, the institution needs to engage them in thinking about the various elements of intellectual leadership such as boundary transgressors 'as well as producing new knowledge and capitalizing on its market potential' (2012, p. 139). However, Macfarlane (2011 & 2012) is focused on the role of full professors.

Finally, the research by Jones et al (2014) is more relevant to the scope of this proposal as Jones et al (2014, p. 419) do not limit their attention to 'traditional (heroic) leadership based on individual leaders'. They are concerned with creating a collaborative space in which all academics and professionals can come together from their particular fields 'to engage in collaborative activity that integrates multiple expertise' (Jones et al 2014, p. 419). In the overlapping third space, professionals and academics can collaborate 'as they align learning and teaching and research quality to strategic aims and accountability' (Jones et al 2014, p. 425). Therefore, this approach to leadership, which can operate at all levels of the organization, is underpinned by values traditionally associated with collegiality like trust and respect, which enable collaboration to achieve identified goals (Jones et al 2014). In this manner, the proposal for a third space by Jones et al (2014) encompasses all those academics who demonstrate intellectual

leadership who wish to collaborate with professional staff to achieve common leadership goals.

9.5 Directions for future research

9.5.1   The impact of institutional reflexivity on strategic planning

The limited research undertaken concerning institutional reflexivity in higher education, as well as the findings from this study, suggest that a combination of market forces and the demands of external governmentality have been accompanied by an increase in institutional reflexivity. For example, institutions in higher education are obliged to respond to new policy initiatives by successive Australian Federal Governments such as 'student choice' or new demands for increased efficiency. Consequently, faculties are also caught up in the process of having to quickly design responses to best manage the impact of the latest corporate edict. For this reason, most academic managers in this study perceive the executive as being caught between a rock and a hard place. They recognize that the executive has no other option other than to quickly respond to the latest external demand. They also recognize that the faculties have no other option than to follow suite if they wish to remain afloat and avoid down-sizing. However, the reflexive responses being undertaken at all levels in the organisation in tandem are perceived as erratic in nature and self-serving by many participants in this study. This is because they bear the brunt of having to continuously adjust their research and teaching practice accordingly.

However, while this study provides some insight into how this process is becoming more embedded in both the managerial and disciplinary discourses, there is a scarcity of research on institutional reflexivity on how this phenomena impacts on institutional planning. Therefore, further research is required to explore the relationship between the impact of institutional reflexivity on the long term planning objectives of both the executive and the faculties due to both the managerial and disciplinary discourses being equally adversely impacted.

9.5.2 More enhanced concepts of quality

As both the research reviewed in the literature review and the data analysed in this study overwhelmingly suggest that quality has been conflated with productivity and efficiency since the 1988 Dawkins Reforms, it is timely to adopt a wider definition of quality. This is because the practice of continuing to implement a corporate quality discourse which fails to align with academic definitions of quality is both time wasting and alienating. For example, these academic participants demonstrate that while they go through the pantomime of complying with corporate quality requirements, none of them attach any scholarly meaning to the corporate quality measures. For these reasons, they have had to dedicate their very limited resources to establishing a localized counter quality discourse to assure their concept of quality is realized. However, despite these two departments having a national and international reputation for both quality research and quality teaching, the local processes which have been designed to produce these outcomes have not been integrated into the corporate quality discourse. Moreover, as recent research in quality indicates that the concept of quality practised by these participants aligns more with emerging enhanced definitions of quality, it is timely that further research is undertaken on how localized quality best practice can be integrated into national and institutional concepts of quality.

9.5.3 Processes for fully accessing intellectual leadership

As the research reviewed in the literature review as well as the data analysed in this study suggests that organizational structures need to be created to fully access the intellectual leadership skills set provided by the professoriate, further research is required to identify how this objective can best be achieved. For example, research is required to overcome possible objections by academics that distributed leadership models represent nothing more than another neoliberal management technique for integrating intellectual leadership, taking place outside the limitations of principal/agency relationships, into what is officially acceptable to the neoliberal regime of truth in place. This is because research by Marginson (2009) indicates that the positive freedom necessary for the critical break in research requires more than the principle of freedom as control embedded in the current managerial discourse. It

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involves corporate supported mechanisms for harnessing intellectual leadership and intellectual collegiality of the type demonstrated in the two departments represented in this study over a lengthy period of time.

9.6 What if a third space had been negotiated as part of quality assurance

This study therefore poses the question of the benefits which could have been enjoyed by all stakeholders in the institution if a distributed leadership model based on the model proposed by Jones et al (2014) had been integrated into the corporate quality discourse. Working within the parameters of a Foucault-inspired perspective, such a model would not have been a grand narrative type solution but would have represented more of an enterprise based agreement. This agreement would have involved corporate governance mechanisms for integrating reviewed and approved localized best practice into the corporate quality management model. A distributed leadership model adapted from the third space model proposed by Jones et al (2014), which would have facilitated this objective, is depicted in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: The 'What if…': third space distributed leadership model

Adapted from Jones et al (2014, Figure 3, Space component for blended leadership, p. 426).

Management

University executive clearly articulates demands from government (e.g. via TEQSA) for quality measures and practices.

Third Space

Zone of negotiation where academics and the university executive seek agreement about a quality discourse and associated practices which reflects the interests of both parties.

Academics

Faculty clearly articulates academics' morally based discourses and practices of collegiality and service.

A distributed leadership model of this type would have firstly, provided a mechanism for academic feedback from the existing quality assurance model to be evaluated by representatives from both the managerial and disciplinary discourses. These representatives could have met on a quarterly basis to share knowledge and experiences and thereby, have created a more enhanced quality management system which reflected localized best practice in both research and teaching. As a result, the requirements of both academics and students could have been more readily satisfied. In addition, the local processes put in place in the respective departments of these participants, which have contributed to their national and international teaching and research reputation, could have been evaluated with a view to wider application in the institution if not elsewhere.

A shift in governance practice of that kind would have resulted in more open forms of communication characterized by mutuality, reciprocity and trust all of which are so glaringly absent in the lived experiences of the managerial system reported by the participants interviewed in this study. This is not withstanding the fact that that it may have been difficult for faculty level academics to influence institutional quality in a third space created for that purpose. For example, Filippakou and Tapper (2008) suggest that even in the U.K. where enhanced quality is now promoted, it is unlikely that dramatic change will take place due to past practices being 'supported by vested interests'.

If these more enhanced quality processes had been implemented, there may have been less need for the corporate agenda in this institution to continuously switch its focus from research to teaching and from teaching to research in a manner perceived as unpredictable and sometimes erratic by many of these participants. As a result, these academic participants may have experienced less stress in trying to respond to and appease a meta-quality discourse which they unanimously reject as improving either quality research or teaching. Finally, instead of these departments having had to waste valuable resources complying with a corporate quality discourse they unanimously perceive as meaningless, they could have been sharing their practice-based local expertise in quality enhancement techniques with the wider institution. If this model had been implemented, it would have meant that these participants could have actively

contributed to the better governance of the institution and possibly wider governmentality.

9.7 The future if nothing changes

In response to my query about what would happen if the present managerial discourse fails to be adapted to become more inclusive, one professorial level participant responded by saying:

> I suspect it will be one of those things where eventually people will say that 'Enough's enough'. It looks an awful lot like 1848 or something where finally there's a revolt by the peasants. One of my colleagues is from Eastern Europe and he keeps saying that this looks like Eastern Europe 1982, and it is. There's a caste of nomenclature all just telling each other how fabulous everything is going but, meanwhile, on the ground it is all just rotting from the inside out. So, I suspect there will be a total crisis at some point in time and there will be a total reorganization (AP1, p. 11).

That crisis may occur quicker than expected as Vicki Thomson, the Executive Director of the Group of Eight Universities in Australia (G8), argues that the demand driven approach to enrolments has left many graduates with 'broken dreams and a large student debt' (Knott 2016, p. 1). She also argues that it has resulted in employers expecting universities to act like degree factories churning out graduates for jobs which do not require that level of skills. In fact, Ms Thomson reminds employers that 'Universities have a far broader role in society, and for our students, than being a degree factory for jobs' (Knott 2016, p.4). Maybe, it is timely then that the key stakeholders involved in higher education conceptualize a wider idea of a university. They may need to do this before a crisis in confidence in the contemporary neoliberal university occurs similar in consequences to the one associated with the financial sector, post the GFC in Australia and elsewhere.

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