Fashioning an Academic Self:

A study of managing and making do

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I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This study investigates how academics are managing and being managed by the demands of their everyday work. Specifically, it sets out to examine how a small cohort of academics located in a former college of advanced education (CAE), now integrated as a Faculty in a traditional Australian university, negotiate the dominant discourses and power relations in this setting. It considers the role played by government policy directives in shaping this particular workplace and its inhabitants. It also explores the tactics and strategies academics employ to manoeuvre the complexities of their day-to-day work life, and how these practices of the everyday fashion academics in this setting.

To date, few studies have explored the changing nature and intensification of contemporary academic work from the perspective of academics working in a former CAE. In taking up this focus, observing the historical and cultural legacy of the institution, the study provides a situated perspective about academic work: one located in a particular workplace, at a particular point in its history. It illustrates how the academic self is fashioned through and within the disciplinary technologies and power relations operating within the workplace setting: how different types of academic performances are taken up and/or valued in this context, and how these performances are then implicated in the production of academic subjects. The research data comprised historical and institutional documentation, as well as semi-structured conversations with academics. A range of related theoretical ideas and positions are used to analyse three specific perspectives about being an academic: work(ing) policies, work(ing) narratives, work(ing) practices. Personal writing about experiences as an insider/outsider in this research study further informs the discussion, with insights about doing academic work in this (and other) workplace settings, and the role of the doctoral process in the subjectification of the academic self highlighted.

The thesis puts forward the argument that managing everyday work is a complex and (self) productive process: one situated in, and shaped by, the institutional spaces – textual, discursive and operational – within which work performances are enacted. It depicts how academics take up, negotiate and/or self-regulate their work practices within these institutional spaces. The process of managing academic work is thus

represented as an interactive yet bounded practice, subject to and subjectified through the specificities of the workplace setting and its inhabitants, and the power relations and disciplinary forces operating on and within the institution. The thesis also demonstrates the fashioning of the academic self involves a set of practices of managing and making do. These practices of the self, which are shaped by the aspirations and positioning (personally, professionally and institutionally) of academics, and the past and current circumstances of the workplace setting, highlight the mutually constitutive nature of discipline and desire in shaping academic work in an institutional context.

Chapter 1: Situating the researcher and the study

> Every time I have tried to do a piece of theoretical work it has been on the basis of elements of my own experience: always in connection with processes I saw unfolding around me. It was always because I thought I identified cracks, silent tremors, and distractions in things I saw, institutions I was dealing with, or my relations with others, that I set out to do a piece of work and each time was partly a fragment of autobiography. (Foucault, 2000b, p. 458)

Introduction

Higher education in Australia was significantly restructured in the 1990s as a consequence of major policy change, known as the Dawkins reform (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988). A significant element of this restructuring involved the incorporation within the existing university sector of colleges of advanced education (CAEs), institutions with rather different practices and expectations of their academic staff, particularly in relation to research. This study investigates how academics involved in one such incorporation, from a former autonomous CAE to a faculty of health science in a large traditional university, are managing and being managed by the complexities of their everyday work circumstances almost a decade later. Taking note of the specificities of, and power relations operating within, this particular workplace setting (including my own positioning within it), the study considers how processes of managing and making do fashion understandings of self-as-academic.

The study draws on several predictable kinds of data, including historical accounts, higher education and institutional policy texts, and participant interviews, to document how a small group of academics in the Faculty of Health Science (hereafter FHS) are managing everyday work after its transition from a CAE – called Cumberland College of Health Sciences (hereafter CCHS) – to a university faculty. The study also incorporates a more personal perspective, however, since I myself experienced this particular transition, from CCHS to FHS. I draw on personal writing about my own work

trajectory, most particularly arising from my decision to research academic work in this setting. New expectations and practices concerning research activity have been central to the transition from academic work in the CAE sector to a university setting. Researching the effects of this transition, however, involves a particular kind of reflexivity with various consequences for the conduct of this study. Most importantly, the process of conducting research in and on my own workplace has enabled me to foreground the role of research activity, and this research in particular, in fashioning my academic self.

Framed from the specificities of this institution and timeframe, the study aims to develop understanding about the construction of the academic self: one constituted by (allied) health practitioners now positioned as academics. It highlights the long-term impact of specific higher education policy directives, within a particular institution at a particular point in its history, noting the legacy of these directives in shaping academics and the work they perform. Using this framework as a backdrop, the study examines how academics in this setting (myself included) manage and are managed by their work and how this process of managing and making do acts as a central site for (re)negotiating and (re)shaping work subjectivities.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to provide an introduction to the study and the researcher. It is structured into three main sections. The first section outlines a personal story, highlighting my motivation for exploring the changing nature of academic work in FHS. Mapping my work trajectory and the shifting and evolving nature of my own work identity over time, I articulate my positioning in the research, as academic (insider) and doctoral student (outsider). This discussion provides a foundation for the second section, which outlines the research and the theoretical discussions shaping the research problematic, study design and methodology. The chapter concludes with a description about the organisation of the thesis.

Positioning self: a personal work narrative

This first section situates the study via a personal work narrative. In unpacking my work trajectory over time, I highlight my (self) interest in pursuing this investigation about how academics manage and are managed by their work. I also provide a snapshot of my pathway into academe and my journey as a doctoral student. This foundation is important, as my experiences echo those expressed by many of the participants in this study. Like the majority of academics at FHS, I entered the higher education workforce later in life, following a number of years working in my professional field. In keeping with this demographic, my appointment was based on my expertise and industry knowledge, rather than my research prowess and/or possession of a doctoral qualification.

With this background in mind, my motivation for and interest in exploring this problematic has related to my experiences as an educator, both within and outside higher education. Broadly speaking, it reflects the concerns I held prior to commencing this doctoral study about the increasing government control over the vocational and tertiary education sectors and the impact of this on the work of educators. It also accentuates my longstanding interest in undertaking research focused on the role of the educator: a focus underpinned by my observation that the majority of investigations, particularly those about higher education, tend to be skewed towards the experience of learners rather than academics.

Perhaps more importantly though, my chosen problematic reveals a much more deep-seated (personal) desire – one intimately associated with legitimising my positioning as an academic. That is, while this doctoral study provides me with a productive mechanism for exploring the academic self (mine included), it also demonstrates my active collusion with the power relations that seem to privilege the discursive regime academic-as-researcher. What this implies – as my own work(ing) narrative attests – is that the doctoral qualification is still being upheld as a powerful signifier, one that is (directly) sanctioned by those it seeks to trans/form.

Taking these different motivations into consideration, in order to explore the various influences that underscore my research stance – the 'sub-text' of my research endeavour

(Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 149) – I start this personal narrative by reflecting on my entry into the workforce. Then I outline the subsequent role transformations (many of which were serendipitous) in health and higher education. Collectively, these experiences have moulded my current understanding of self as worker, which in turn has shaped my approach towards this research.

Trans/forming self-as-worker

My initiation or rite of passage into the world of work was formally marked when I enrolled in a three-year (hospital-based) training program to become a registered nurse. Based on an apprenticeship model of education, this experience shifted my understanding of self away from adolescent to adult, dependent to worker. It also provided me with a range of work skills as well as a rich education about the complexities of life in general. Building on this foundation, over the next decade I held a variety of clinical and non-clinical roles as a registered nurse and undertook further study – a post basic certificate in intensive care and a Masters in Health Science Education. Both of these qualifications helped to support subsequent shifts in my work trajectory: first as an intensive care nurse, then as a nurse educator.

An early milestone in my work trajectory was my transition from clinician to nurse educator, as it opened up the possibility of broadening my work experience beyond that of 'just nursing'. Accordingly, over the next five years (while still working in health) I was presented with two specific opportunities to augment my experience as a educator: moving into a centralised education department within a large area health service in Sydney (New South Wales), initially as a training and development officer, and later as a manager of a small team of nurse educators and trainers. Taken together, these roles greatly enhanced my knowledge about and skills in the design and delivery of formal (accredited) education, from vocational and tertiary perspectives. They also sparked my curiosity about the impact of government policy on the everyday experiences of individuals, through my involvement in a competency-based training program, specifically aimed at gaining greater efficiencies across the health care sector via the development of a skilled and adaptable workforce. The issues emerging from the competency agenda, in fact, became the focus of my Masters thesis (Devonshire, 1996). While a similar policy backdrop has underpinned my articulation of the problematic within this thesis, my doctoral work attends more directly to the (active) role individuals

play in shaping their circumstances: how they negotiate (resist, do nothing or collude with) the power relations operating on and within their work setting.

Collectively, these work experiences in health provided me with a robust basis for my transition into the higher education workforce – marking another milestone in my work trajectory. Becoming an academic, at this time, was not a career direction I had planned nor openly desired. Rather, it eventuated following a request to formalise my casual tutoring role and take up a position as Lecturer (on a short-term contract) at FHS in the Masters program I had graduated from. This opportunity offered me the prospect of a different work-based experience as an educator and enabled me to build my capabilities in the design and delivery of tertiary study. Perhaps more importantly though, it presented me with an opportunity to move away from my managerial role in a workplace that had become increasingly problematic and politically charged: a situation related to the power struggles associated with the streamlining of central service departments (mine included) following the amalgamation of two large organisations (area health services).

Trans/forming self-as-academic

During my first three and half years as an academic, I held five short-term contract positions across two faculties in a traditional (sandstone) university: one in the Faculty of Medicine firmly embedded in the university from a historical and cultural perspective and the other four in FHS. Despite the common institutional identity across both of these workplaces, my experiences as an academic in these two faculties revealed a number of distinct differences – in part, due to the socio-cultural make-up (and power relations) associated with these workplace settings and the inhabitants within them.

My first contract role at FHS, while not categorised as such, was teaching-focused: I was specifically appointed to provide support with the development and co-ordination of postgraduate subjects, in both face-to-face and distance modes. The other short-term contracts at FHS, and the role in the Faculty of Medicine, were also teaching orientated. Their emphasis, however, was educational development (rather than teaching per se), involving the design of structured learning activities (some with web-based components), print-based materials and study guides.

By the end of my fifth short-term contract I found more stable employment, accepting a continuing position as a general (professional) staff member in another (metropolitan) university. Although formally categorised as a non-academic position, many of the tasks I performed in this role were academic in emphasis, given their focus on teaching and professional development in the areas of e-learning and curriculum design. In terms of my doctoral research, being positioned in a non-academic role (while doing academic work) was quite revealing. On the one hand, it provided me with an opportunity to reflect on an alternative (and I would suggest a somewhat healthier, albeit less privileged) perspective about work in higher education. On the other, it raised my awareness about the increasingly problematic dichotomy associated with what is and is not classified as academic work. Notwithstanding these insights, I soon determined long-term employment in a general staff category would be a somewhat limiting move (ironically reinforcing the binary divide between general and academic staff I viewed as problematic). Thus, within approximately two years, I regained my academic status and all that that embodied: first returning to a position as Lecturer at FHS and then later the Faculty of Medicine (a position I still hold).

Trans/forming self-as-researcher

Collectively, these work experiences have influenced the design and location of this study. On pragmatic and scholarly fronts, I decided to situate the research in one workplace setting only. I also determined it would be fruitful to locate my investigation at FHS, as few studies have actually examined the everyday experiences of 'college academics' (Potts, 1997, is a notable exception). Personal observations in the field, as well as practicalities like ease of access, cemented this decision. Furthermore, like many of my academic counterparts at FHS, I had joined the higher education workforce with a particular professional legacy – one founded on experience in the health sector, complemented by a strong teaching ethos, as distinct from a sound track record of research.

Within six months of joining the higher education workforce, I decided to enrol in a doctoral degree. This decision was underpinned by my observation about the symbolic significance of the doctorate and the notion that 'real' academic work involves research – a viewpoint reflected and reinforced by close colleagues. It was also driven by my desire to maintain employment (and progress) as an academic. In hindsight, my

engagement in doctoral study was somewhat naive and premature: I had not understood the commitment I was taking on, nor had I given adequate consideration to the research direction I wanted to pursue in the longer term.

Notwithstanding the difficulties arising from this, my doctoral study has been important on both personal and professional fronts. It has helped me to build my confidence and skills as a researcher, enabling me to more readily assume the somewhat coveted subjectivity of academic-as-researcher. In beginning to trans/form my 'self' in this way, I have been subject to and subjected by the norms that govern what one can become in a setting. As Butler (2005) observes, the process of 'self-crafting' always takes place from within the constraints of what is upheld as a recognisable form of being (p. 22). Furthermore, considering the focus of my thesis, in the process of undertaking my doctorate I am positioned betwixt and between my problematic – learning about, while learning to be, academic. In this way, the doctoral process *and* product act as an important instrument in legitimating my self-as-academic (see, Green, 2005; Lee & Green, 1995).

In summary

Taken together, these work and study experiences underscore my research standpoint and the approach I have embraced to investigate the complexities of managing work in this particular higher education setting. Drawing on my lived experience as the starting point, my aim in this study is to develop understanding about the complexities academics in a former CAE face as they manage, and are managed by, the everyday demands of their work.

Accordingly, I am viewing the completion of this doctorate as a (self) productive process: one that fashions an academic product (thesis) and, at the same time, positions me as an appropriate/d academic subject (re-crafted self). Furthermore, the research study itself has provided me with an avenue for exploring and making sense of my changing work subjectivity/s as I rewrite and fashion my self-as-academic. In this way I am implicated in my own subjectification as academic, via my submission to the (dominant) discourse of academic-as-researcher.

Positioning the study: research focus and framework

In this next section I position the study and articulate its contribution to the development of understanding about the changing nature of, and complexities associated with, university workplaces and academic work. I begin this discussion by aligning my study alongside related contemporary research about academic work, noting the similarities and differences in theoretical and/or methodological approaches. I draw attention to the specificities of the research setting itself, and the position of my study in terms of research investigating academic work in a former CAE. I also highlight the key theoretical ideas that are framing my approach in this study. Taken together, these aspects underpin and inform my discussion about how the academic self is being made up at FHS. Having outlined the focus of the investigation – the process of managing work and its role in fashioning academics at FHS – I then consider the theoretical traditions that enable the analytical work undertaken in this study. I conclude the section with a broad introduction to the research design.

Locating the research: related studies about work in a former CAE
One of the central features distinguishing this study from others is the location of the research itself. Even though academic work has been explored in multiple and varied ways over time, very few scholars have specifically addressed this problematic from the perspective of academics positioned in a former CAE setting within Australia. One notable exception is the work of Potts (1997). He conducted an ethnographic study into the lived experiences of college academics at Bendigo CAE, (during the decade prior to the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS) as a result of the Dawkins reform – the details of which are discussed in Chapter 2), just before it became a faculty within La Trobe University. This study embraces a similar focus to mine in that it explores the everyday world of academics working in what Potts (1997, p. 5) refers to as 'a tightly controlled government institution' with specific economic and educational aims. Yet, it is also positioned differently from at least three perspectives: its earlier timeframe (1983 – 1990), its central problematic (occupational socialisation) and its research approach (symbolic interactionism).

Notwithstanding these differences, my study builds on and complements Potts' work in two respects. First, given the CAE origins of both workplace settings (now positioned

as faculties within separate Australian universities), my study extends understandings about academic work in this particular institutional context. It provides an alternative perspective about the impact of government policy directives – in particular the binary policy instigated following the Martin Committee Report (Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65) (as detailed in Chapter 2) – and the integration of the CAE sector into what became known as the unified national system (UNS) (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988). This is because the findings in my study are representative of a different timeframe (commencing 10 years post, rather than prior to, the Dawkins reform) and workplace culture (an older and more traditional (sandstone) university setting). Second, in spite of the similarities in research focus – the academic self and how individuals located in a former CAE setting negotiate their everyday world of work – my study applies a different theoretical lens to the problematic, one directly influenced by poststructuralist traditions and viewpoints.

Potts' problematic would appear to have emerged from his own experiences as a college academic. Positioned as a 'native' in this setting, his problematic focused on the occupational socialisation of college academics (like himself) and their perspectives about their everyday work. Like Potts, I too have been positioned as a 'native' in my research setting, at different times and in different ways, moving in and out of a number of short term contracts within FHS as noted earlier – a situation that has required careful management of my positioning as insider (academic) and outsider (researcher).

Taking note of the complexities and demands of the contemporary university environment, it is not really surprising that academics like Potts (and myself) have had a vested interest in investigating the world they inhabit. In keeping with this observation, it is useful to review the work of scholars who have influenced my approach to framing the problematic and the arguments I am developing within this thesis. This discussion helps me to position my research and the claims I am making about the contribution of my study in developing understanding about academic work.

Key ideas framing the study

The key ideas that frame this study reflect a longstanding concern about the influence of paid work and its role in constructing the self. In recent times, the complexities of

contemporary work practices and workplaces seem to have placed a renewed emphasis and urgency on this issue. Although documented in multiple and varied ways throughout the literature, my approach in this study has been inspired (and constituted) by the work of scholars taking up Foucault's ideas about the historically specific nature, and discursive constitution, of the self. Collectively, these scholars address questions about how people are being made up at work (or 'made over' as McWilliam (2000) puts it): how academics are being fashioned *by* and *through* their everyday work, and how they are being 'rendered calculable' (Hacking, 2002; Rose, 1999b) *for* and *within* their work performance/s.

In taking up a poststructuralist emphasis in terms of how the self is fashioned at work, three inter-related ideas structure and frame the argument in this thesis. The first idea draws on research concerning the role of disciplinary technologies in shaping academics and the work they perform. Much of this work is founded on Foucault's discussion about the power relations and technologies governing subjects and institutions alike. This focus enables me to draw attention to the discursive forces operating on and within FHS and their role in fashioning an institution and its inhabitants. It also highlights the mutually dependent process of discipline and desire.

The second idea is related to the work of Petersen (2007c) on 'academicity' and her discussion about how appropriate ways of being academic and doing academic work are constituted and sanctioned in local institutional contexts. This perspective facilitates exploration about the culturally specific subject positions that academics at FHS occupy and how these are taken up, embraced, challenged, resisted and/or reinforced by those working in this setting. It also forces attention to the process of academic subjectification and the strategies and tactics academics use to manoeuvre their everyday positioning given the work circumstances they are located within.

The third and final point of reference – how the academic subject is managing and being managed by work – builds on and develops the previous two ideas. It provides the foundation for my discussion of how the practices of managing and making do are intricately tied up with the fashioning of the academic self at FHS. I suggest that these practices of the self involve three kinds of consideration by academics: what fits, based on their desires and aspirations (personally, professionally and institutionally); the past

and current circumstances of the workplace setting; and their positioning within those circumstances.

Collectively, these ideas are situated within the theoretical traditions and influences underpinning the study, a point I revisit and explore in more depth in Chapter 3. They also are taken up and deployed throughout the analysis chapters. In this way, the study develops understandings about how academics are being made up at FHS, how they manoeuvre the power relations and discursive regimes in this setting; how this process fashions what is taken up as academic; and how this influences their 'ways of operating' and of 'making do' (de Certeau, 1988). In summary, it concerns how academics at FHS manage and are managed by their everyday work, and how they are constituted *within* this process of managing.

The research approach

Having introduced the theoretical ideas being taken up in this thesis, I conclude this section by briefly outlining the research approach I have used to investigate the research problematic. First, I introduce the broad research questions to be explored, noting their significance. Then I review the theoretical traditions and methodological influences that framed the research design, taking into account the observation of Wolcott (1999, p. 70), citing Kenneth Burke (1935, p. 70), that 'a way of seeing is, indeed, always a way of not seeing'.

Exploring the lived experiences of FHS academics

This research is a study of the lived experience of a small group of academics working at FHS: a former CAE now integrated as a faculty within a large, traditional university in Australia. The study explores three sets of questions:

- How do different policy texts shape FHS and those positioned within it? What work are these texts performing (institutionally and individually)?
- How is the academic self being constituted at FHS? What do academics reveal about the activities that dominate their work? What do they disclose about the forces regulating their work practices? What desires do they discuss in relation to their role as an academic?
- How are academics at FHS performing care of the self? What tactics and strategies are they using?

Focusing the study in this way this research draws attention to the local institutional forces and conditions that have shaped (and still are shaping) academic work at FHS. It also explores how a small group of academics in this setting manoeuvre their everyday circumstances on a day-to-day basis and how this process of managing fashions their sense of self. Taken together these perspectives develop insights into how everyday work experiences are located in and shaped by the institution and individuals alike.

The significance of this study is twofold. First, the location and timeframe of the research itself provides an important contribution towards understanding how academics are being made up at work. On the one hand, it reveals a specific snapshot about academic work – one taken at a particular point in time and from a particular workplace perspective. On the other, it highlights how the historical and cultural circumstances of an institution (like FHS) have imposed (and still are imposing) a direct influence on the everyday experiences of academics. Second, in exploring how individuals manage and are managed by their work, it builds understanding about complexities, contradictions and opportunities associated with academic work practices at FHS. It also reveals the complex nature of the interactions of and between different disciplinary technologies and power relations operating on and within a workplace setting, and the role that these forces can play in fashioning the academic self.

Sketching the research design

The design and conduct of this study has involved a methodological 'bricolage' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4), drawing on several theoretical traditions in order to construct the investigative stance taken. The details of this approach are outlined in more detail in Chapter 3. Broadly, the dominant theoretical undercurrent is poststructuralist but ethnographic approaches to reading, interpreting and representing culture have also been influential. The work of Dorothy Smith on institutional ethnography (D. E. Smith, 2005, 2006) has been of particular importance, as has also work on autoethnography and reflexive ethnography (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). One of the benefits of drawing on these approaches is that it has helped me to foreground my concurrent positioning within the research setting as researcher (outsider) and academic (inhabitant/insider) – what Campbell and Gregor (2004) refer to as a located knower. Furthermore, by acknowledging my 'standpoint' (D. E. Smith, 1987, p. 181), I have drawn on the

actualities of my experience as the starting point for exploring the cultural legacy and power relations associated with academic work at FHS.

Taking note of this orientation, the research design is specifically informed by the work of Foucault and those embracing his theoretical ideas. With this in mind, an important assumption underpinning this thesis is that any representation (including this one) is incomplete, and always open to alternative readings. What is known and how it is explained is indeterminate; meaning is open-ended and never fixed due to the historical and socio-cultural influences that act on the various subjectivities of an individual (see for example, Usher, 1996). Such a vantage point enables me to highlight the rules, norms and texts governing work practices, while exposing the dominant discourses and power relations that shape and are shaped by academics. It also provides the theoretical tools for examining the practices of managing and making do and how these practices of the self fashion academics at FHS.

Outline of the Thesis

In this final section I outline the structure of my thesis and the emphasis of each chapter.

The first chapter has established the context of the study documented in this thesis. It situated the investigation from a personal perspective, drawing on personal writing about my work trajectory over time and my motivation/s for undertaking the research. It also highlighted my positioning within the study, as academic (insider) and doctoral student (outsider). In this way I have interwoven a sub-text into the main storyline of the thesis about my own subjectification as an academic, one aspect of which is via the process of *this* doctoral study. The second section outlined the contribution of my study to the growing body of research investigating the nature of academic work, noting my research approach and its broad focus.

Chapter 2 situates the study from an institutional perspective. It commences with a review of the broader landscape of the Australian higher education sector and its development over time. Then I provide a historical snapshot documenting the

establishment and development of CCHS and its transition to FHS. Here my aim is to examine the impact of higher education policy from this specific institutional perspective and to map out its trajectory and aspirations over time. Keeping this backdrop in mind, I conclude with a brief discussion about the different forces (past and current) shaping this workplace environment (and its inhabitants). Taken together, these perspectives locate the current complexities operating on and within FHS and provide me with a firm foundation from which to examine how academics manage and are managed by their work.

The focus of the discussion in chapter 3 is the theoretical influences and methodological approaches shaping this research. In the first section of the chapter I explore the key ideas framing the study. Then I examine the research traditions informing the study, and discuss the rationale for my research design. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the conduct of the research, including the process of data collection and analysis. This last section incorporates a brief introduction to the participants, highlighting their backgrounds and pathways into academe.

In chapter 4, I commence my analysis about how academics at FHS manage and are managed by their work. Focusing on the institution I examine how higher education policy has positioned and shaped my research setting over time, noting the continuing struggle (and desire) of this institution and its inhabitants to be/come 'academic'. To set the scene, I review historical accounts and past policy texts in order to draw attention to the institutional palimpsest underwriting the lived experience of my research participants. Then, I explore some of the different policy texts my participants identify or allude to in their accounts to highlight how the institution, and its inhabitants are caught up in the process of activating (more recent) government directives and shaping local action. These perspectives are necessary as collectively they are implicated in upholding the power relations operating on and within FHS, influencing what is actually taken up as constituting the 'real' work of academics in this setting.

Building on the previous discussion, chapter 5 explores the context-specific nature of identity formation. I examine how academics navigate the discursive constructions operating on and within FHS, and their role in sanctioning appropriate/d academic work. Drawing on Petersen's (2007b) arguments about academicity I suggest the

doctorate is like a 'category boundary' (Petersen, 2007c), one that my participants negotiate, reproduce and/or challenge in order to develop (and endorse) their academic subject position/s. I also employ Jackson and Carter's (1998) ideas about labour as dressage to reinforce the role of the PhD in taming and disciplining subjects at FHS. In this way, I demonstrate how individuals are (actively) determining which subjectivities they take up: a process underpinned by a desire to be/come academic, yet tempered by individual and institutional perceptions about what counts (or is valued) at FHS.

Having discussed some of the processes and disciplinary forces fashioning what is taken up as academic work at FHS, the final analysis chapter explores how my participants negotiate their everyday work demands: their 'ways of operating' and of 'making do' (de Certeau, 1988). I consider the different techniques they use to manage (and justify) their work approach and the self-regulatory practices they employ in the process. I identify three inter-related practices of the self that my participants talk about using to manage their everyday work circumstances: negotiating work boundaries (protecting the self); handling work demands (adapting the self); and determining worth (validating the self). I propose the argument that FHS academics operate within a space of 'regulated freedom' (Rose, 1999b), whereby they negotiate opportunity and risk (to self, profession and institution) and shape their work practices accordingly. In this way, they are making 'ethico-political choices' about what presents the main risk (Foucault, 1983b, p. 232). They are determining (whether consciously or not) what are the best strategies and tactics for circumventing the constraints of their work circumstances.

Chapter 7 draws together the ideas developed throughout the thesis. I start by synthesising the analysis, putting forward the argument that managing work at FHS is a (self) productive process: one simultaneously shaped by individuals, policy texts and institutions alike. I also suggest the process of managing is intimately tied up with self and institutional re/fashioning, whereby each defines and is defined by the other. This interactive yet bounded practice of the everyday involves consideration by academics about what fits – personally, professionally and/or institutionally. That is, managing and making do are shaped by the desires and aspirations of academics, yet contained by the constraints of the workplace setting and their positioning within it. With this in mind, academic work is presented as a cultural construction, one that presents an unfinished image continuously under a process of production. Then I provide some observations

about my doctoral study and its role in fashioning my self-as-researcher and academic. The chapter concludes with a brief commentary on the scope of the study, noting potential areas for further investigation.

Chapter 2: The story of an institution: historical and contemporary snapshots

> In spite of a persistent fiction, we never write on a blank page, but always one that has been written on. (de Certeau, 1988, p. 43)

Introduction

In the first chapter I introduced the study and started to reveal my stance as academic and researcher. Building on this initial overview, my aim in this chapter is to situate the study from the perspective of the (past and current) positioning of my research setting within the Australian higher education sector. I begin by reviewing the broader landscape of the sector to highlight some of the contradictions that have been played out over time. Accordingly, the first section outlines the development of Australian higher education with specific reference to its establishment in colonial times, its expansion following the Second World War, and its re-engineered structure and role following the Dawkins reforms. In observing these shifts in overall purpose, size and governance, I foreshadow some of the complexities underpinning the institutional identity of my research setting.

In section two I describe the trajectory of FHS, from its inception as CCHS (a college of advanced education) through to its current location as a faculty within a large traditional university. Essentially this account reveals the circumstances that have shaped *this* institution, providing a history of *that* present rather than an all-encompassing account of *the* present (see, Hacking, 2004). This focus provides a snapshot of the institutional response to specific higher education directives, and draws attention to some of the contradictions that have been (and still are being) played out at FHS. Having considered the situated nature of the study, and the particularities of the research setting itself, in the final section of the chapter I examine the emergence of FHS within the broader Australian higher education environment. By taking note of these historical-cultural-social circumstances and their local effects at FHS I provide

insight into the foundations from which the everyday lived experiences of my research participants are now located. Collectively, these perspectives are appropriate and necessary because, as Sharpham and Harman (1997, p. 11) note, a university workplace environment – like FHS – 'rolls out of the geography of the past'.

The changing landscape of Australian higher education

Essentially what I aim to illustrate in this first section is that the production and purpose of the higher education sector in Australia, from colonial times through to the current day, has been directed and shaped in multiple and varied ways. Despite the range of different explanations about who and what determines the performance of universities, most accounts acknowledge (albeit to varying degrees) that change and impermanence have been a constant feature of (Australian) higher education over time (see for example, Barnett, 2005; T. Smith, 1996a): an observation that calls into question the popular myth that universities (and their inhabitants) are immune to change, enjoying cloistered existences in ivory towers.

From the perspective of my research setting there are three main stages in the development of Australian higher education that deserve some brief comment here: the establishment of the University in colonial times; the expansion of higher education following the Second World War; and the introduction of the Unified National System from 1988. In one way or another each of these landmarks has played a role in shaping the current workplace environment at FHS. They also are indicative of the debates that have underpinned contemporary Australian universities since their inception – the idea of the university; elite versus mass higher education; and the academic/vocational binary.

The early years: establishing Australian higher education

The character and structure of the higher education sector today is underwritten by Australia's colonial past. The first universities were established in the 1850s (Sydney, 1850; Melbourne, 1853), some sixty years following British settlement (Sharpham & Harman, 1997). While their foundations were broadly influenced by the elite British (Oxbridge) model of higher education, inspiration was also drawn from more pragmatic

(British and Scottish) models. This was because, from their inception, Australian universities embraced a much greater vocational emphasis than their British counterparts. Over the next five decades the sector continued to expand slowly with the addition of four more universities: Adelaide (1874), Tasmania (1890), Queensland (1909), Western Australia (1910). Student enrolments totalled 3,300 by 1914 (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998; Macintyre & Marginson, 2000) rising to 14,000 by 1939 (Sharpham & Harman, 1997). Collectively these universities catered for an elite group of students, charged with the mission to provide professional education and exert a 'civilising influence on the colonies' (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998, p. 9).

Taking note of the legacy of these early universities (or sandstones as they are often called) is important in this study for various reasons. First, my research setting is integrated (as a Faculty) into one of these founding universities – a marriage that has had both positive and negative effects. One advantage was the status afforded to FHS following this partnership, in part, because of the positional power and prestige associated with founding universities. Yet, this situation has not been without cost, as I highlight in the next sections. FHS (and its inhabitants) had to make a number of readjustments to accommodate (live up to) and align its practices with the more 'academic' directives of these universities, while still maintaining its professional and vocational mandate. Second, this legacy reinforces the longstanding nature of the debates still being played out regarding the role and purpose of Australian universities – in other words, how to balance the utilitarian requirements of the society alongside the romantic idea(l)s of the University as an institution. Many of these debates, as Scott (2000, p. 204) alludes to in his discussion about universities of the twenty-first century, are still being shaped by a dialectic between tradition and movement– an issue that has greatly intensified over the last two decades as I discuss shortly.

Expansion of the sector following the Second World War

Notwithstanding these early developments, it was not really until the Second World War that higher education in Australia began to expand. Rapid growth of the sector around this time (a phenomenon reflected across other Western developed countries) was largely driven by the government in an effort to reconstruct the Australian economy (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998; Macintyre & Marginson, 2000; Sharpham & Harman, 1997). The role of universities in this post-war nation-building effort signalled increasing

government interest in and control over higher education (Macintyre & Marginson, 2000). It also heralded the beginning of a sustained government funding effort (Marginson, 2003) aimed at developing human capital. Consequently, by 1960 student enrolments had reached 53, 000, rising to 116, 000 by 1970 and 163, 000 by 1980 (Sharpham & Harman, 1997). The number of universities also increased during this timeframe, from nine (9) institutions in 1955 to nineteen (19) in 1980 (Marginson, 2003).

Various government policy initiatives during this timeframe worked to shape and transform the sector. One of the most significant developments, particularly in terms of this study, was the establishment of the college system (colleges of advanced education or CAEs), charged with the delivery of an alternative (non-university) advanced education (vocationally orientated sub-degree courses) (Harman & Meek, 1988). In some ways, this development foreshadowed the beginning of the shift away from elite to mass higher education. In other ways, it worked to reinforce the elite nature of a university education, particularly as the CAE sector at this time was viewed as a safeguard against diluting the quality of tertiary education in Australia (Pickersgill, van Barnevard, & Bearfield, 1998). Yet, as the history of FHS attests, professional/institutional ambition and student demand meant that over time the distinctions between the university and CAE sector became increasingly blurred. By 1987 there were around 200, 000 students enrolled in CAEs, 72% of whom were undertaking degree level study (Marginson, 2003). The only real distinguishing feature at this time between the two sectors was financial: regardless of their level of study, CAE students attracted less government funding than their university counterparts.

From the perspective of my research setting these developments over time were significant. First, they demonstrate a mismatch between government policy intent and outcome. They also allude to the various forces (internal and external) that contributed to the process of 'academic drift' (Harman, 1977), as evidenced at institutions like CCHS. Second, they foreground some of the potential difficulties associated with aligning CCHS with one of the founding universities. In this instance, this is related to the requirement of CCHS to shift from a vocational (less costly and less prestigious) culture towards a more 'academic' and traditional (research) culture.

The introduction of the unified national system

In many respects, it was this lack of distinction between the university and CAE sector that led to the introduction of the Dawkins reforms in the late 1980s. Importantly, one of the key outcomes of this reform process was the abolition of the pre-existing binary system and the introduction of a Unified National System (UNS) of higher education. Few dispute the significance of this development, which resulted in the amalgamation of eighteen (18) universities and forty-seven (47) CAEs into thirty-five (35) universities. Commentators like Marginson (2003), Coaldrake and Stedman (1998) and Hambly (1997), for instance, note that the Dawkins policy radically altered the nature of higher education within Australia. They observe that it linked the function of higher education more explicitly with economic development. It placed new roles and expectations on the academic staff within the former CAEs. It also marked the shift from an elite to a mass higher education system (with student numbers increasing from 175,000 in 1985 to 650,000 in 1996 (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998), and 980,000 in 2006 (Bradley, Noonan, Nugent, & Scales, 2008)), and enabled the introduction of a much more competitive framework for higher education.

In terms of this study, the Dawkins era is significant as it heralded the development of a new model of higher education, one shaped by neo-liberal approaches to government predicated on business ideals (efficiency, quality and revenue generation) (Marginson, 2003). To all intents and purposes, the government had effectively reworked its relationship with the university sector by establishing a more in/direct approach to the management (and funding) of higher education. That is, under the guise of greater institutional autonomy, it was now able to steer the university in a particular direction by using internal mechanisms like 'accountability requirements, annual negotiations over institutional 'profiles' and the centralisation and standardisation of research' (Marginson, 2003, p. 161).

These developments were then further intensified by the reforms initiated under the Howard government: for example, the 1996 budget cuts and the implementation of changes to student fees, with increases in the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) and the introduction of full-fee paying places for Australian students (Harman, 1997; Marginson, 2003). Over time, these government reform processes have re-engineered Australian higher education, leading to the uptake of a more market-

orientated/corporate stance – academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) – and the rise of what has been variously termed the entrepreneurial university (Anderson, Johnson, & Saha, 2002) or the enterprise university (Marginson & Considine, 2000).

Notwithstanding these policy shifts, Anderson et al. (2002, p. 3-4) point out that over time there have also been a number of noteworthy constants in the tertiary sector. Government patronage of higher education and its continued (detached) authority over the direction and function of universities is one such example. Yet, as they observe, this control is principally exercised fiscally, whereby institutions and academics still maintain a certain amount of autonomy (albeit somewhat elusive in its nature). Another constant has been the longevity of the basic premise of Australian higher education with respect to its teaching and research functions, and degree provision. Likewise, although participation in higher education has increased dramatically, the student mix itself has remained fairly static. So too has the under-representation of lower socio-economic groups (Bradley et al., 2008).

Scott (2000, p. 192) also comments about the continuity of purpose of universities. He suggests that another constant underpinning the function of the university is the contradictory nature of its scientific responsibilities (as a producer of knowledge) alongside its social responsibilities (as a producer of 'knowledgeability' and an enlightened society), an issue often discussed in debates about the idea of the university (see for example, Barnett, 1990; D. Smith & Langslow, 1999; T. Smith, 1996b). Essentially, the tension between the academic and the vocational purposes of higher education have pervaded FHS since its inception. For, as my account of FHS in the next section reveals, the disciplinary drive to be/come more 'academic' (taking up a professional as opposed to a vocational mantle) was evident from the outset: a desire that has been cultivated by the institution, the profession and individuals alike.

In sum, these developmental shifts (and constants) over time illustrate that university workplaces (like FHS) are sites of complexity and change – cultures continually on the move. With this in mind, in the next section I map the development of FHS. Building on this discussion the final section of the chapter considers the complexities underpinning the current circumstances shaping FHS (and its inhabitants) today.

Mapping the development of FHS

In this section I review some of the conditions shaping FHS over time, including commentary about its inception as CCHS. I also provide some introductory comments about the characteristics of my research setting and its work (over time) to be/come academic – a point I revisit in my analysis. Accordingly, I note the situated foundations of FHS – what Soja likens to a 'historical-social-spatial palimpsest … in which inextricably intertwined temporal, social, and spatial relations are being constantly reinscribed, erased and reinscribed again' (1996, p. 18) – and the contested nature of its institutional identity over time.

From its inception in the early 1970s as a CAE, through to its current status as a faculty in a traditional (sandstone) university, the institutional identity of FHS has been in a state of flux: in part, as a consequence of Australian government policy directives, specifically the Martin Committee Report (Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65) and the Dawkins Report (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988). For instance, the Martin Committee Report, commissioned by the federal government, recommended the establishment of CAE institutions (such as CCHS) alongside universities. Incorporated into the tertiary sector, CAEs were charged with the delivery of an alternative form of education (see, Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65). Essentially this development resulted in a reconfigured tertiary sector differentiated by (and funded according to) function: universities delivered academic and research orientated study (S. Davies, 1989, p. 135), as opposed to the vocationally-orientated education provided by CAEs (Meek & Goedegebuure, 1989, p. 29). However, as discussed earlier, this distinction (between academic/research and vocationally orientated study) has been somewhat problematic throughout the history of Australian higher education.

The issue of institutional identity was not just policy related. Another concern, dating back to 1973, was the multi-professional emphasis of CCHS (now FHS). Charged with the development of 'paramedical' education, its initial responsibilities were to provide diploma-based courses in four discipline areas (physiotherapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy and orthoptics), with the assistance of two academic support units (behavioural and general studies and biological studies). In 1975 the disciplinary brief of

CCHS was expanded to incorporate the provision of post-registration nursing education courses and, later, basic nursing studies. Over time, a number of other disciplinary groups (medical record administration, medical radiation technology and indigenous health) were also incorporated. It was this wide disciplinary mix, coupled with the alignment of a number of autonomous (allied health) professions under the one institutional banner, that was problematic. These concerns were related to the aspiration of each of the representative groups for professional status and recognition. They also reflected the well-established professional stratification within health and the influence of this in terms of the local status attributed to the various schools within CCHS. This situation was compounded, post Dawkins, when CCHS became a faculty (FHS) and was positioned alongside older, more established (and prestigious), faculties including medicine, pharmacy and dentistry.

FHS and the CAE legacy

Taking note of these identity issues, the CAE legacy of FHS provides a significant backdrop in this research. On the one hand, as Rodgers' (1985) historical account outlines, the incorporation of allied health education within the tertiary sector helped to signal that these professions (as a group) had 'come of age': not only could they demonstrate a coherent body of knowledge, with specialist skills and understandings, but also they no longer required 'the supervision and patronage of the medical profession' (Rodgers, 1985, p 138). Notwithstanding the significance of this milestone, the move into the university sector was also tempered by the contradictions (philosophical and practical) upon which the binary system had been predicated (Meek & Goedegebuure, 1989, p. 31) and the identity issues that emerged for CAEs as a result (Davis & Hermann, 1978). One of the central issues was the 'equal but different' philosophy (S. Davies, 1989, p. 135), which set up a problematic divide whereby CAE institutions (like CCHS, now FHS) were positioned as providers of another type of tertiary education, one seen as targeted at 'less able students' (Bundrock, Gough, & Taylor, 1997, p. 152). At a local, institutional level, these difficulties were compounded by internal relations of power, within and across allied health, and the relative standing attributed to the different professional groups, born, for the most part, out of the entrenched (although not always openly articulated) health hierarchy.

During these early years, Rodgers (1985) notes that one of the critical issues for CCHS (now FHS) was how to develop its reputation as a leading provider of education in the health sciences, a concern underpinned by a strong desire for and commitment to the advancement of professional knowledge in allied health. He indicates that this aspiration was soon realised and, by the end of its first decade of operation, CCHS was offering undergraduate degrees, specialist postgraduate courses (discipline specific and interdisciplinary) and research degrees (p. 117-118). While the incorporation of a research function was somewhat outside the (government) stipulated scope of operation for CAEs, CCHS viewed this activity as an essential component for the advancement of professional knowledge and practice – a point reiterated in the Principal's statement introducing the Report of Research 1979-1981.

> Without research a health science institution cannot hope to recruit and develop the best minds for its academic staff. It is axiomatic that an institution which neglects research is unlikely to recruit good staff and if it neglects teaching it will not attract good students. If the extension of knowledge in the health sciences is not ventured and carried out in the College sector then it will not be done as no university (other than Queensland) currently concerns itself with health science research. Without this development it will be difficult to sustain claims of intellectual leadership or scholarship in the health sciences. (Rodgers, 1985, p. 1)

Not surprisingly, research development became a strategic consideration for CCHS. The reports of research from 1976-1979 and 1979-1981 document a cumulative growth in research productivity, with a total expenditure of $217,185 for 111 projects and $260,174 for 144 projects respectively (Rodgers, 1985, p. 147-148). For a teaching-focused institution, these figures were not insignificant. They also foreground the underlying emphasis, at the institutional level, for staff roles to encompass teaching *and* research: or, as Rodgers explains, staff were expected to 'be equally dedicated to both ideals … teachers and scholars, not merely a teacher, not merely a scholar' (Rodgers, 1985, p. 163). This type of 'upward academic drift' (Meek, 1984, p. 37) was a common trend across the CAE sector: not only as a result of institutional ambition to be/come academic (in terms of status and function), but also as a consequence of 'the demands of students, professional associations, and the community at large' (Meek, 1984, p. 37).

FHS and the Dawkins Reform

The binary system (while significant) was only one of the forces shaping CCHS. Another critical consideration was the impact of the Dawkins Reform in 1988. This policy, which heralded major changes in higher education, resulted in the abolition of the binary system and the introduction of the Unified National System (UNS) (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988). The UNS was primarily aimed at the development of a more streamlined higher education sector – one that offered greater economies of scale.

> The ultimate goal is a balanced system of high quality institutions, each with its particular areas of strength and specialisation but co-ordinated in such a way as to provide a comprehensive range of higher education offerings. Diversity and quality are paramount; the unified system will not be a uniform system. (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988, p. 28)

Given the focus on increasing diversity and flexibility, each member of the UNS was charged with the task of developing an educational profile that reflected its strengths. This profile, which was to be negotiated with the government, would then determine the level of funding allocated to each institution – a development that marked an increasing level of government control over higher education, alongside more competitive funding arrangements. Interestingly, despite these intentions, over time there was considerable duplication of effort, in part as a result of the increasingly competitive market orientation, nationally and internationally. It is noteworthy then that government initiatives, as put forward in the Nelson Review (Nelson, 2003) and the more recently released 2008 Discussion Paper (Bradley et al., 2008), are suggesting once again the need for more diversity across the system.

From the perspective of my research site, the Dawkins Reform raised some interesting issues, many of which were related to the maturity and position of CCHS at this time. Like other institutions within the CAE sector, the operational brief of CCHS had expanded somewhat and it now incorporated responsibilities previously quarantined as the exclusive preserve of universities (Task Force on Amalgamations in Higher Education, 1989, p.1). CCHS was also publicly recognised as a specialist institution with an excellent reputation for teaching and research in the health sciences (Connell,

Sherington, Fletcher, Turney, & Bygott, 1995, p. 438). Accordingly, CCHS had a significant number of student enrolments each year, with a documented total of 2293 equivalent full-time student units (EFTSUs) in 1988 (Task Force on Amalgamations in Higher Education, 1989, p. 120). These enrolment figures meant CCHS met the stipulated minimum requirement of a sustainable student load (i.e. 2000 EFTSUs) and was therefore eligible to become a member of the UNS in its own right (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988, p. 29). Yet according to this same policy document, CCHS did not have sufficient numbers (i.e. 5000 EFTSU) to justify a broad teaching profile and some specialised research activity (Task Force on Amalgamations in Higher Education, 1989, p. 43).

With these factors in mind, the future of CCHS was in a somewhat tenuous position. That is, although eligible to join as a member of the UNS, its size meant that there would be funding limitations attached. Also, given its proximity to other larger institutions, CCHS would have to make a compelling case for maintaining its independence. Given these issues, following some deliberation, the decision to amalgamate with one of the founding universities was made. Yet, as Connell et al. (1995) reveal, the opinion of the Principal at this time, while acquiescing to this merger, was that CCHS 'should become a university in its own right' (p. 438). This was not a perspective shared by the Vice Chancellor of the University to be amalgamated with however.

Despite these differences of opinion, which generated considerable angst and animosity at the time, there were positive outcomes from this development for both institutions. From the university perspective, the merger, which marked the last of many amalgamations, meant that it had now become the largest and most academically diverse institution within Australia (Connell et al., 1995, p. 435). Similarly, as noted in the report of the task force on amalgamations, CCHS stood to benefit in that its activities would be strengthened and enhanced by the related health science disciplines already included within the University (Task Force on Amalgamations in Higher Education, 1989, p. 31). Furthermore, according to the documentation of achievements from 1991 – 2002, the formal establishment of CCHS as a faculty within a research-based institution, of national and international standing, was both timely and necessary (*Faculty of Health Sciences 1991 - 2002*, 2003).

As a new faculty (FHS) in a traditional (sandstone) university, there were a number of specific challenges to address. One such challenge was how best to equip FHS academics to respond to the University's research agenda. Responses included the renaming of schools to reflect the scientific base of the representative professions, the introduction of initiatives to assist staff upgrade their research capabilities and qualifications, and a recruitment drive specifically targeted at scholars with an established research record. The increased numbers of academics with a PhD and professorial appointments were testimony to the success of these initiatives. For instance, at the time of the amalgamation, less than a quarter of the academic staff had a PhD. By 1996, the number of staff with doctorates had risen to 30 per cent, and by 2002 this number had increased to 50 per cent, with a significant further number nearing completion (*Faculty of Health Sciences 1991 - 2002*, 2003, p. 14). As well, between 1992 and 2002 there had been a significant shift in the professorial staffing profile, with an increase from two to eight professors and from five to fifteen associate professors (*Faculty of Health Sciences 1991 - 2002*, 2003, p. 14). Accordingly, in the report documenting FHS's achievements since amalgamation, the Dean's Forward notes that 'from two great founding traditions, a stronger one has emerged' and that the commitment and vision of both staff and students has helped to fashion the Faculty 'into the fine body that it has become today' (*Faculty of Health Sciences 1991 - 2002*, 2003, p. 3).

In taking up these challenges following its incorporation within a traditional (sandstone) university, FHS had effectively re/written itself (and its inhabitants). This re/positioning process (and the associated performances required by these circumstances) has been an ongoing concern, not only in response to the local, internal demands of the university, but also in relation to the external complexities (such as globalisation, the knowledge economy, technological advances) now impacting on the institution as a whole. With this in mind, I now consider the current challenges impacting on FHS and its inhabitants.

FHS & the contemporary university environment

In thinking about how FHS is (re)forming itself in response to the demands of the contemporary university environment, it is useful to reflect, albeit briefly, on the (traditional) values underpinning higher education and their fit within what Marginson and Considine (2000) refer to as the new 'enterprise university' culture. According to Sharrock (2007, p 5), this focus is appropriate because 'the changes over the last two decades have created a mismatch between older forms of academic culture and identity, and the strange new world that universities now inhabit'. His point is particularly pertinent in this study, given that CCHS as an institution (now FHS) was grafted onto one of the oldest, traditional (sandstone) universities in Australia, a situation amplified by the difficulties arising from the CAE/university distinction and its associated cultural divide.

The question about what constitutes a university has been the focus of debate and conjecture for many years, the discussion intensifying and becoming more complex in recent times. The growing proliferation of texts that employ the idea of the university as a basic framework for discussing contemporary challenges in higher education is evidence of this trend (see for instance, Barnett, 1990; D. Smith & Langslow, 1999; T. Smith, 1996b). Many of these texts still refer back to past (perhaps romantic) notions about higher education – such as John Newman's concept of a liberal education and the formation of character, and Karl Jaspers tenet about the role of the University in the development of society. Interestingly, while these earlier idea(l)s are often used as the reference point for initiating and then extending the discussion about the current role of universities and academics, it is through this process of articulation that the hegemony of these types of discourses continues to be reinforced. What this demonstrates is the interplay between tradition and 'movement' (as mentioned previously), whereby early ideals still frame, or even underpin, many of the shifts and developments that institutions (like FHS) must make in order to respond to contemporary demands and expectations.

Notwithstanding this point, Sharrock (2007, p. 4) cautions against uncritically upholding such idea(l)s and other touchstone concepts like 'collegiality', 'democracy' and 'academic freedom'. His argument is that these idea(l)s are often 'used as alibis to prop up

outdated norms and untenable assumptions' and that what is actually needed is a radical rethink (reinvention) about the way in which contemporary universities operate and function. Accordingly, he questions the rhetoric of many commentators (both in Australia and internationally) who propose that universities are in a state of crisis. He sees such rhetoric as generally built around the uncertainties facing universities as a result of economic globalisation, knowledge proliferation and advances in technology (Sharrock, 2007). He observes, however, that while this 'crisis' rhetoric is untenable, moving beyond it can also be difficult – in part because 'without constant reappraisal of the outside world, members of the organisation become so steeped in their own way of doing things that they lose sight of its limitations' (p. 3).

Over the last couple of decades, this state of crisis has been represented and discussed in the literature in various ways. Some of these accounts are located by their provocative (and pessimistic) titles such as *The University in Ruins* (Readings, 1996), *Why Universities Matter* (Coady, 2000), *Off Course* (Cain & Hewitt, 2004), *On the Brink: Australian Universities Confronting their Future* (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1998). Often these texts embrace a narrative of a 'paradise lost' (whether or not this golden age ever actually existed), and put forward arguments about how universities (and their inhabitants) must adapt and change in order to survive – for failure to do so will result in the demise (death) of the university (Readings, 1996; A. Smith & Webster, 1997, p. 106). Once again, the tension between what was (tradition) and what needs to be (movement) is a central feature of such discussions. From the perspective of my research setting, this tension is intensified by the desire of FHS (and its inhabitants) to align itself and legitimate its positioning within a traditional (sandstone) university context.

Some of the other arguments in terms of this state of crisis take up concerns about the demise of the former discursive frameworks that linked higher education with 'reason' and 'culture'. Readings (1996), for instance, reminisces about how such frameworks have been replaced by concerns for 'excellence', the development of human capital, and the economics of globalisation. Weber also comments on this situation, suggesting that it marks a shift in the purpose of the university from a 'social-nexus' towards a 'cash-nexus' (1996, p. 59). Similarly, Barnett (1990, p. 26) observes the rise of a new vocabulary, which includes 'value-for-money', 'accountability' and 'efficiency', and privileges internal management processes over the wider aims of higher education.

A related ideological debate that universities must now take on board is the changing nature of knowledge – what constitutes knowledge, how this knowledge is produced and by whom. Effectively the relationship between knowledge, higher education and society has altered and the knowledge economy is no longer exclusively associated with the university (Barnett, 1997; Kumar, 1997; Weber, 1996). As Barnett (Barnett, 1997, p. 29) observes:

> ...modern society is forming its own views as to what is to count as knowledge. Today, it dismisses contemplative knowledge, knowledge which brings personal understanding, even knowledge which offers truth. Now it wants knowledge which is going to have demonstrable effects on the world, which is going to improve economic competitiveness and which is going to enhance personal effectiveness. In the process, our sense of what is to count as knowledge and truth changes; and the university is asked to take those new definitions on board.

Acknowledging this instrumental view of knowledge is important. Not only does it reinforce the vocational mission of universities and their utilitarian role in society, but it also points to the close alignment between universities and industry/government agendas. The role of universities in maintaining the discourse of the knowledge economy and the development of human capital is thus being cemented in.

Collectively, these philosophical debates underpin and shape the circumstances of the contemporary university workplace and those positioned within it: the imprint of past idea(l)s continues to influence the evolution of universities today. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to use Marginson and Considine's (2000) term 'the enterprise university' to capture this emergent university format. My rationale for taking up their term, rather than other alternatives (such as 'the entrepreneurial university' or 'the corporate university'), is that it encompasses both the economic (income and human capital) and academic (institutional prestige) dimensions of universities (Marginson & Considine, 2000, p. 4-5). It also foregrounds the issue of university governance, which they define as encompassing 'the internal relationships, external relationships and intersection between them … [or] the pivotal position between the inner world (or worlds) of the university, and its larger environment' (Marginson & Considine, 2000, p.

7). Essentially, these intersections are central to the identity of institutions and, as such, they play a role in shaping the workplace setting.

Marginson and Considine (2000) identify various trends of governance that characterise the enterprise university and influence the internal world within which everyday work practices are located. The first trend they observe is the operational separation of the executive leadership from that which is managed. What they suggest is that these executive leaders, guided by universal principals of 'good practice … interpret the outside factors of government, business, and local and global competition as they see them. They are their own switching station, between the external pressures and the internal changes they want to achieve' (p. 9). Coupled with this form of executive leadership (at a distance) are new methods of devolution. Deans, managers and heads of department now operate much more autonomously (in terms of budget and line management). Yet, this responsibility is always framed by and within measures of performance dictated from above: a situation that acts as a 'powerful constraint' on a manager's capacity to innovate or resist (p. 10-11).

The second trend they identify is how this new form of leadership has displaced more collegial and democratic forms of governance. Participation and consultation processes are now much more selective – often driven centrally – and there are an increasing number of university bodies (in lucrative areas such as fee-based international education) outside the jurisdiction of formal management structures (p. 9). Furthermore, the role of academic disciplines in governance has been displaced by a more amenable (and less powerful) institutional structure, one that has severed 'the old ties of obligation between leaders and the collegial networks below' (p. 10). In dismantling this collegial framework, the enterprise university has become increasingly flexible (in terms of personnel, resources, communication and authority) and formulas, incentives, targets and plans, rather than legislation, are common features. Furthermore, within this new university format, greater emphasis is now placed on being seen to perform rather than the actual performance itself (Blackmore & Sachs, 2001).

Conclusion

In terms of this study it is this changing university context, one imprinted with tradition while simultaneously shaped by the contemporary demands of the enterprise university, that provides the framework for my examination of how academics manage, and are managed by, their everyday work. In taking up this broad emphasis and then mapping out the trajectory of FHS over time, noting the current demands of the contemporary university environment, this chapter has provided a narrative about the institutional context of the study. It has also highlighted the past circumstances (from policy and institutional perspectives) that shaped the workplace setting the research participants inhabit, thus providing a important backdrop for developing understanding about the dominant discourses and power relations in FHS and their role in fashioning academics in the setting. In this way the historical-cultural-social palimpsest that underscores the contemporary environment helps to situate the findings presented in the analysis chapters that follow.

This institutional account underpins the analysis about the complexities of managing and managed by academic work at FHS. First, it draws attention to the particularities of the research setting in terms of the historical influences shaping the institutional context within which the research participants are located. In other words, it highlights that the study is situated in a particular kind of institution, at a particular period in Australian higher education history. Second, it has accentuated the vocational emphasis of FHS and those positioned within it.

In the next chapter I detail the research design, thus providing another perspective in framing the study. The theoretical frameworks and assumptions underpinning the research are explored and the rationale for the research design and the conduct of the study (including the process of data collection and analysis) outlined. The chapter concludes with a brief introduction to the participants, highlighting their backgrounds and pathways into 'academe'.

Every particular study is a many-faceted mirror (others reappear everywhere in this space) reflecting the exchanges, readings, and confrontations that form the conditions of its possibility, but it is a broken and anamorphic mirror (others are fragmented and altered by it). (de Certeau, 1988, p. 44)

Introduction

Having introduced the focus and setting of the study, in this chapter I consider the theoretical traditions and approaches informing the research design. Taking note of the problematic, *how* academics manage and are managed by their everyday work practices and *how* this shapes their sense of self, this research is broadly located within the qualitative paradigm. From this overarching perspective, four main principles have guided the investigation: there is no single reality to be uncovered; knowledge is context and time dependent; the research process simultaneously changes the researcher and participant; inquiry is value bound (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Higgs & Cant, 1998). Framing the study from a qualitative stance alone, however, presents a simplistic picture of the different influences at hand. That is, it suggests an uncomplicated coherence across all forms of qualitative research and it fails to recognise the complexities and nuances of the different traditions encompassed within this framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2).

With this in mind, the chapter begins with a discussion of the specific theoretical ideas and research traditions assembled in the study, highlighting their role in shaping the picture portrayed within the thesis (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000) before giving an account of the design approach and the conduct of the research. An underpinning theme throughout this discussion is my (active) presence in relation to the research process and its product/s (the thesis and my own subjectification as an academic). As

Richardson (2000, p. 184) notes: 'we are always present in our texts, no matter how we try to suppress ourselves. We are always writing in particular contexts–contexts that affect what and how we write and who we become'.

The chapter accordingly is organised into three sections. The first section revisits and develops the key ideas framing the study, as outlined in chapter 1. Using this framework as the foundation, the next section considers the theoretical traditions that need to be taken up and employed in order to develop insight into and understanding about the various complexities, contradictions and challenges associated with everyday academic work at FHS. The chapter concludes with an account of the conduct of the research itself, the process of data collection and analysis, and how the theory has been applied in each the analysis chapters. A brief introduction to each of the participants in the study is also provided.

Theoretical framings

In the first chapter I introduced the three key ideas that underpin and frame this study, noting their role in developing understanding of how academics manage and are managed by their work. In this section I develop this discussion further, drawing on the research literature and theoretical discussions that informed my thinking about the role of disciplinary technologies and academicity in fashioning academic subjects. Using these ideas, I then consider how this (self) productive process influences the practices of managing and making do at FHS. Collectively, these ideas provide a map of the kinds of theory to be drawn on in this study.

Disciplinary technologies shaping academic work

The first theoretical point of reference in this study draws on the work of scholars exploring the power relations and disciplinary technologies operating on and within a university workplace, shaping academics in the process (see, B. Davies & Bansel, 2005; B. Davies, Browne, Gannon, Honan, & Somerville, 2005; B. Davies & Petersen, 2005; Devos, 2004a, 2004b; Kirkpatrick & Thorpe, 2000; McWilliam, 2000, 2004; McWilliam & Hatcher, 2007; McWilliam, Hatcher, & Meadmore, 1999; Petersen, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). For example, Devos (2004a, 2004b) uses Foucault's ideas about (self)

governance to examine how the academic-as-researcher is produced through institutional discourse and targeted professional development initiatives. Focusing on how these technologies fashion the subjectivities of women academics in one institutional context, she develops the argument that these women are caught up *within* two mutually dependent processes: one taken from the position of an 'active' subject engaged in a project of self, the other from the position of someone who is the subject of discipline by others (Devos, 2004a, p. 68). According to Devos (2004b), it is these sorts of interactions that contribute to the creation of 'self-managing, self-disciplining subjects in the University' (p. 593).

Other scholars embrace similar positions using a range of different examples. Nicoll and Harrison (2003) explore the techniques involved in the construction of the 'good teacher', highlighting the work performed by standards in course documentation and the normative function of this discursive technology in determining appropriate/d practice. Comparable arguments are made by those examining the role and effects of particular sign systems in the construction of self. For instance, according to Grey (1994), the concept of (an academic) career is upheld as an organising principle for institutions and their inhabitants, in that it mobilises and sanctions appropriate/d ways of being. Yet, at the same time, it is also intimately bound up with an individual's desire to be/come (academic) – to realise and legitimate their occupational self. This mutually dependent process in terms of the construction of (and desire to be) the 'good' academic is also evidenced via sign systems, such as teaching awards and management 'guru narratives' (see, Kirkpatrick & Thorpe, 2000; McWilliam, Green, Hunt, Bridgstock, & Young, 2000; McWilliam et al., 1999). In other words, the self-disciplinary processes that participants willingly embrace in the pursuit of their desires form part of the ongoing process of trans/forming the academic self (Starkey & McKinlay, 1998, p. 238-239).

Davies et al. (2005; 2005; 2005) provide a slightly different (and somewhat more pessimistic) perspective on this debate, drawing attention to the seductive yet disciplinary effects of neo-liberal discourses in shaping the lived experiences of academics. Through this discussion, they illustrate how neo-liberalism simultaneously activates practices of freedom as well as governance. What they contend is that this process of 'making up' the academic is both circular and contradictory in its nature - a 'crossing over' whereby the individual academic constitutes and is constituted by their

performance. Accordingly, academics are taken to be (un)willing participants in the constitution of self and the maintenance of neo-liberal work practices.

Academicity: culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing

Building on these ideas, the second theoretical point of reference is Petersen's notion of 'academicity' (2007b) – how 'culturally intelligible academic subject positions and practices come into existence through everyday interactions and activities' (p. 174). This is an important consideration as it foregrounds the historical-cultural-social nature of a workplace setting and its (direct) role in categorising what is and/or is not taken up as appropriate/d academic practice. First, it draws attention to the discursive practices that separate 'legitimate and relevant academic being/doing from illegitimate and irrelevant academic being/doing' (Petersen, 2007a, p. 1). Second, it highlights how individuals come into being by 'being appropriated by, and by appropriating, available enactments and desires that are recognisable as "academic"' (Petersen, 2007c, p. 478).

The inter-relationship between institutional culture, work and identity is noted by others, albeit from slightly different viewpoints (see Casey, 1995; du Gay, 1997; Fenwick, 2006; Hall & du Gay, 1996; Solomon, Boud, Leontios, & Staron, 2001). Collectively though, these scholars observe the interdependency of and between the subject and their subjectification. Many also scrutinise how institutional processes (such as those related to performance and reward) and disciplinary networks (arising from the audit culture (e.g. Strathern, 2000) and risk management practices (e.g. McWilliam, 2004; McWilliam, 2007) are formed and maintained at the local level. In the process, they demonstrate how these relationships work to determine what is upheld and understood as 'academic' in a local setting.

In taking up these perspectives, my study foregrounds how the academic self is being made up in one workplace setting: how academics at FHS are interacting with and implicated in their own (self) regulation and 'academicity' (Petersen, 2007c). It also examines the techniques (strategies and tactics) that individuals employ to (actively) negotiate the power regimes operating on and within that setting in an effort to maintain some control over their sense of self. For, as Davies (1999, p. 67) notes, such '*autho*rity' or agency 'is never freedom from discursive constitution of self but the capacity to recognise that constitution and to resist, subvert, and change the discourses themselves

through which one is being constituted' (emphasis in original). Similarly, Fenwick (2006, p. 26) observes the subject 'is always in motion, and constantly produced in time and space … [It] is continuously constituted and resignified … derived from and subjugated to practices and cultural discourses'.

Accordingly, in this thesis I draw on Foucault's ideas about the interdependent nature of relations of power and relations of strategy, and the idea that 'each constitutes for the other a kind of permanent limit, a point of possible reversal' (Foucault, 1983a p. 225). I also embrace de Certeau's (1988 p. 54) suggestion that strategies involve the 'ability to manoeuvre within the different conditions in which the initial capital is committed'. They are specific to a setting, whereby subjects 'do not "apply" principles and rules; they choose among them to make up the repertory of their operations' (p. 53, emphasis in original). Tactics, on the other hand, are more opportunistic and creative in nature, involving actions utilising the circumstances at hand at a particular point in time.

What this means then is that the process of making up academics is bounded by and framed within the norms and values of the socio-cultural context (Rose, 1999b). Furthermore, it is this act of negotiating disciplinary forces and discursive practices operating on and within a workplace setting, while re/constituting the (ethical) self (Olssen, 2006), that is a central feature of managing everyday work.

Managing and being managed by work

Building on these two points of reference, the third theoretical idea structuring the study is how academic subjects manoeuvre (and cope with) everyday demands and how these forms of action are implicated in fashioning the right kind of academic self. This process of managing takes note of the complex nature of the workplace setting and the multiple (sometimes contradictory) demands associated with academic work practices. Drawing on the technologies participants call up in their narratives (such as the PhD qualification), I explore the power relations operating on and within FHS and how these forces influence and are influenced by academics in the setting. From this institutional view, my aim is to consider how the history and culture of the workplace setting underpins the technologies shaping the lived experiences participants discuss: how they are made up as academics and how they manage and are managed by the circumstances of their everyday work.

The argument I put forward is that managing work occurs across and within the interstices of the individual, the situated nature of the workplace, and the power relations operating on and circulating within the setting. It takes place in a sort of 'in-between' space (see Bhabha, 1994; Solomon, Boud, & Rooney, 2006), whereby subjects operate 'within/against' the power relations in the setting – they work 'half in and half out of what is at hand' (Lather, 2006) as they are governed 'from the outside in and from the inside out' (Ball, 2000, p. 4). Foucault suggests:

> Governing people…is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which impose coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself. (Foucault, 1997, p. 181-182)

From this vantage point, the strategies and tactics academics employ to (creatively) navigate their everyday work circumstances and positioning must be considered alongside the disciplinary technologies circulating within the workplace setting. Both elements are important – one cannot be viewed without the other – because, as Paras (2006, p. 144) observes, Foucault came to acknowledge that the lived experience of a person was as vital as the conditions within which it operated.

In this way, the process of managing work involves the (active) negotiation of self-disciplinary networks simultaneously within and beyond the control of the academic subject. It is situated within a 'performative' net in that academics are subject/ed to judgement and calculation (i.e. fashioning self *by* performance) (see Ball, 2000) as they master and/or submit to particular ways of being (fashioning self *through* performance) (see B. Davies, 2006). In this way, the act of managing work is like a continuous process and product of 'selfing', whereby academics are re/fashioning what work is taken to represent within the constraints of (the performative net in) their local setting. The academic subject is an agent of, yet a subject within, a regime of performativity (Ball, 2000, p. 5).

Examining how individuals negotiate their positioning within this performative net enables me to draw attention to the tactics and strategies academics use to manage the

demands and opportunities of their everyday work. It foregrounds how particular 'fabrications' (see Ball, 2000, p. 16) about academic work are produced within a local setting and how these are then maintained by those they seek to govern. It also highlights how the process of managing work is constrained by, yet located within, the everyday work circumstances of academics and their positioning in the setting.

Taking these points into consideration I suggest that academics have an active role in determining what presents the main risk – to self, to others, to the profession and/or the institution. They are making an 'ethico-political choice' (Foucault, 1983b, p. 232) in that the forms of action they take up on a day-to-day basis are situated by and within the culture and power relations of the immediate work setting, as well as the broader institutional framework. These choices, as Fenwick (2006, p. 28) observes, involve consideration of the 'diverse possibilities of behaviour and self-enunciation'. Thus, while academics are 'actually, potentially, ideally, subjects of freedom … they must be governed and must govern themselves' (Rose, 1999b, p. 62). It is within this process of governance that 'the ethics of freedom have come to underpin our conceptions of how we *should* be ruled, how our practices of everyday life *should* be organised, how we *should* understand ourselves and our predicament' (Rose, 1999b, p. 61, emphasis added).

Furthermore the process of managing work, while subject to and subjected by the power relations circulating within the workplace setting, involves the creative application of a range of strategies and tactics (some more intentional than others). These forms of action are simultaneously shaped by desire and discipline in that the academic subject (willingly) embraces self-disciplinary practices in an effort to realise the self and become an appropriate/d academic (Starkey & McKinlay, 1998). The process of governing through freedom does not inhibit the capacity to act *per se*. Instead it mobilises a 'technology of responsibilisation' (Rose, 1999b, p. 74), whereby the academic is re/made into an 'enterprising subject' (du Gay, 1997, 2004), or an 'entrepreneur of the self' (Gordon, 1987, p. 300).

Research traditions informing the design

Taking note of the key ideas underpinning this study, in this section I consider the research traditions and theoretical tools that I have drawn on to enable understanding of the problematic. The first point of orientation embraces poststructuralist perspectives, in particular the work of Foucault and those developing his ideas. The second point of orientation takes up ethnographic approaches and the work of theorists who problematise the everyday. Collectively these two traditions provide a productive platform for developing understanding about how academics are managing everyday work at FHS and how this process shapes their sense of self-as-academic.

Power, culture and the self

In taking up a poststructuralist stance I aim to explore how academic practices are influenced by and shaped within relations of power and the cultural specifics of the workplace itself, and how discourses influence an individual's understanding of self and subjectivity(s). This exploration is guided by the observations of scholars such as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p. 165), who note that 'social structures and material conditions mean that discourses and language give expression to particular power relations, and lock people into various forms of subjectivity' (see also Weedon, 1987). It also is directly underscored by Foucault and Butler's ideas about the power/knowledge relationship and its role in the formation of the subject (subjectification).

The study has been shaped by Foucault's argument about the separate, yet inter-related, technologies that are in/directly implicated in the re/production of self. The matrix of technologies he identifies provides a useful framework for thinking about the complex and interconnected ways individuals manage and are managed by work. They encompass:

> (1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations of their own bodies, and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to

attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection and immortality. (Foucault, 2000d, p. 225)

Importantly, while Foucault's work was primarily oriented towards the interaction between the technologies of self and technologies of power – a process he called 'governmentality', in this study all four technologies are considered. The first two technologies (production and sign systems) are worthy of inclusion because they demand attention to the (direct) role of government policy in shaping local institutional circumstances. The other technologies (power and self) are important as they help to unmask the processes through which an individual (re)fashions the academic self: they comprise 'the strategies that seek to govern us, and the ethics according to which we have come to govern ourselves' (Rose, 1999b, p.9). This process of (self) governance demonstrates the complex and iterative nature of the power relations simultaneously shaping, yet being shaped by, academics at FHS.

In embracing these technologies the study also draws on the work of Foucauldian scholars who identify a complex and intricate association between the processes of governance and freedom. Gordon (1987), for instance, suggests the process of governance always implies the possibility of the 'strategic reversibility' of power relations.

> … power is only power … when addressed to individuals who are free to act in one way or another. Power is defined as 'actions on others' actions': that is, it presupposes rather than annuls their capacity as agents; it acts upon and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities. (Gordon, 1987, p. 5)

Similarly, Rose observes that 'to govern is to presuppose the freedom to be governed. To govern human beings is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilize it for one's own objectives' (Rose, 1999a, p. 4).

Building on these observations, the participants in this study are viewed as being positioned as the 'object of improvement and the subject which does the improving' (MacLullich, 2003, p. 795). That is, rather than being sandwiched between oppositional forces, they are located within a complex and circulating network of power relations:

not only encompassing the interactions between individual (i.e. desires, ability, status) and organisational forces (i.e. aspirations, regulations, culture), but also the external influences operating on higher education (in terms of university governance, status and role).

This 'double directionality' of subjectification, involving the simultaneous acts of domination and submission (B. Davies, 2006, p. 428), is drawn from Butler's work developing Foucauldian ideas about subjectification, power and performance. Put simply, Butler argues, as Davies (2006, p. 426) explains, that 'the formation of the subject … depends on powers external to itself. The subject might resist and agonise over those very powers that dominate and subject it, and at the same time, it also depends on them for its existence'. Petersen, as noted earlier, takes up this argument in her work about the process of academic (self) trans/formation (Petersen, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008). Using these ideas in this study, I explore how the subject negotiates, reproduces and/or challenges different 'category boundaries' (Petersen, 2007c) – like the PhD qualification – in order to develop (and endorse) their understanding of self-as-academic.

Furthermore, I develop the argument that the process of shaping, producing and enacting the academic subject is taking place within an 'in-between' (Bhabha, 1994) and/or 'performative' (Ball, 2000; B. Davies, 2006) space. What this means is that the subject has a (certain) capacity to act – what Bagnall refers to as 'contingent freedom' (1994, p. 7) – and (re)fashion the self, albeit constrained by their work circumstances and the power relations operating in the setting (see also, Rose, 1999b, p. 67). It also positions the academic as a performative subject who engages in 'deconstructive politics that intervenes and unsettles hegemonic meanings' (Butler 1997a cited in Youdell, 2006, p. 512). Bevir (1999, p. 74) notes:

> Different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structures, so there must be at least an undecided space in front of these structures where individuals decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to perform. (Bevir, 1999, p. 68)

Accordingly, within this space the (active) subject has some capacity to accommodate and/or resist established forms of power/knowledge (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 230; Britzman, 2000). Recognition of the role of the individual in this process of self formation is important, because governmentality is 'as much a matter of "body politics" – the ways of conducting ourselves, the relationship we have with our own bodies and the other bodies that constitute society – as it is a matter of conventional politics' (Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000, p. 83).

To this end, the study embraces Foucault's questions about *how* the academic self is constituted (Marshall, 2001, p. 83) and *how* this influences the way in which individuals negotiate the complexities and contradictions of their everyday. This focus on the everyday is both revealing and important. Rabinow suggests:

> … in order to establish the right relationship to the present – to things, to others, to oneself – one must stay close to events, experience them, be willing to be affected by them … [as] who one is emerges directly from the problems that one struggles with. (1994, p. xviii)

Rose (1999) also comments on the significance of attending to the everyday to understand the broader contextual issues:

> This is not merely because of a general prejudice that one will learn more about our present and its past by studying the minor and everyday texts and practices … than by attending to the procession of grand thinkers that have usually captivated historians of ideas or philosophers of history. It is also because, so often in our history, events however major their ramifications, occur at the level of the molecular, the minor, the little and the mundane … Things happen through the lines of force that form when a multitude of small shifts, often contingent and independent from one another, get connected up. (Rose, 1999, p. 11)

In keeping with this 'mundane' focus, two other theoretical influences that moulded my approach in this study are the work of Goffman (1959) and de Certeau (1988). Both of these scholars provide, albeit somewhat differently, useful observations about the everyday and how people are being made up in institutional settings. Goffman's work, although not directly applied in this thesis, explores the presentation and enactment

(performance) of the self to develop understanding about how people are made up day-by-day within a particular institution and cultural structure. It deserves a mention in this chapter because, according to Hacking (2004), Goffman's attention to the everyday and his focus on performance complements a Foucauldian stance. Hacking suggests this type of combination enables insights into 'what is said, can be said, what is possible, what is meaningful', thus illuminating 'how, in everyday life, one comes to incorporate those possibilities and impossibilities as part of oneself' (Hacking, 2004, p. 300). In a similar vein, therefore, de Certeau's (1988) work about the procedures of everyday creativity – how individuals operate and make do – is taken up in this study. In aligning 'the practice of everyday life' (de Certeau, 1988) alongside 'the practices of the self' (Foucault, 1987) the study facilitates insight into the process of managing academic work at FHS. It also draws attention to the makeshift creativity of individuals, and the strategies and tactics they employ to re/fashion the 'self' as they manoeuvre the power relations circulating within the institution.

Investigating everyday work of academics at FHS

Building on the perspective outlined above, the second research orientation influencing this study is ethnography. Importantly my study is shaped by ideas associated with ethnography, rather than slavishly adhering to its ideals. This emphasis is an important consideration, given the diversity of approaches and positions associated with ethnographic research (de Laine, 1997; Van Maanen, 1988, 1995b) in terms of its processes (how research is conducted) and its products (what is produced) (see, Fitzgerald, 1997; Van Maanen, 1995b; Wolcott, 1999). That is, 'for some it refers to a philosophical paradigm to which one makes a total commitment, for others it designates a method that one uses as and when appropriate' (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998, p. 110).

There are two broad aspects of ethnography that resonate with my research approach. The first is related to its focus on the exploration of social phenomena within a particular cultural context (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998, p. 110; Van Maanen, 1995a, p. 4): how 'people in particular work settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation' (Van Maanen, 2002, p. 103). The second is the immersion of the researcher in the research setting (as participant and observer).

Notwithstanding these ideas, my study further embraces the debate (see Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Eichhorn, 2001; Manning, 1995) about the capacity of ethnographic research to 'accurately' read, interpret and/or represent culture, and the role of text/s and discourses in meaning making (Clifford & Marcus, 1986, p. 13). I take up Van Maanen's argument that 'an ethnographic truth is, like any other truth (including this one), a rhetorical category whose meaning and shape varies with the contingencies of history and circumstance' (1995a, p. 12). All representations are transient and changeable; culture is always in a state of flux (Clifford, 1986; Van Maanen, 1988, p. 127). The product of research is thus like a 'cultural fiction' (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Segall, 2001; Van Maanen, 1995b), that is, both value laden and political (see Plummer, 1995).

A poststructuralist ethnographic orientation forces attention on 'the time and place assumptions made about culture and its description, the role of the observer and the subject…and the context-based nature of description and discourse' (Manning, 1995, p. 246 – 247). It also allows exploration of 'the discontinuities, paradoxes, and inconsistencies of culture and action' (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998, p. 127), together with the combined role of researcher and research participants in the production of the story being told (de Laine, 1997, p. 112; Tyler, 1986, p. 126). Accordingly, this study does not aim to authenticate a particular truth, rather it focuses on the relations of power and their role in fashioning academics at FHS (Britzman, 2000, p. 36). It also aims to reveal the power networks that influence discursive practices within my research setting (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 234). In this way, it responds to Trowler and Knight's (2000, p. 40) call for more 'fine-grained … studies at the local level to illuminate and exemplify the social practices at work within communities of practice in higher education settings'.

In keeping with this focus, this study is informed by the ideas that Dorothy Smith (and others) put forward about institutional ethnography (Campbell, 1998; Campbell & Gregor, 2004; D. E. Smith, 1999; D. E. Smith, 2001, 2005, 2006). Using this approach I can take up 'the actualities of people's lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience' (D. E. Smith, 2005, p. 10). I also acknowledge that my concerns about *how* academics at FHS manage and are managed by work, and its role in

(re)fashioning the 'self', have originated from my own experiences in the setting, thus highlighting my own interests and influences in this study. In observing this personal undercurrent, this study also has been informed by reflexive ethnography and autoethnography (see, Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). Although not formally positioned within the parameters of these approaches, I borrow some of their principles to highlight my presence in the text and acknowledge how my experience in the setting has shaped the approach to, and findings of, this study.

With these issues in mind, an institutional ethnographic orientation is useful as it draws attention to the 'socially organized powers in which their/our lives are embedded and to which their/our activities contribute' (D. E. Smith, 1999, p. 8) and how the social organisation of knowledge is being 'produced/accomplished by people "at work"' (D. E. Smith, 1999, p. 75). It also foregrounds the administrative, managerial, professional and discursive forms of governance (D. E. Smith, 1999, p. 49) – a process Smith refers to as 'the ruling relations'. Taken together, these forms of 'ruling', which are often equated with the idea of 'textually-mediated social organisation' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p. 29), complement the sentiments put forward by Foucault about the interdependent nature of the relations of power and the relations of strategy (Foucault, 1983a p. 225). Both take up the development of understanding how power is exercised in local settings and how this process influences the formation of 'self' as a central concern.

In keeping with these ideas, my study is focused on the everyday lives of a small number of academics in the aim to make visible the power relations operating on and within FHS. Furthermore, as insider/outsider in the setting, I acknowledge my position as a 'located knower' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004), and the role my own experiences as an academic in this setting have played in guiding the focus of the problematic and the research design. As I discuss in the next section, the participants' stories about their lived experiences acts as the primary form of data. These stories provided the framework for directing and locating my study, taking account of the cultural legacy of the institution and its role in shaping work practices. They also highlight the complex and interconnected and nature of the power relations at FHS and their role in shaping everyday experiences at FHS.

The conduct of the research

In this section I articulate the conduct of the study. I outline the data collection approach and the analytical process, concluding with a brief introduction to the research participants.

Data collection

Typically, when working within ethnographic traditions, a researcher would collect a multitude of data sources, including participant-observation. In the context of this study, however, the participant narratives formed the primary data source, with the interview dialogue guiding the collection of additional data (historical documents, government directives and institutional policy texts) (D. E. Smith, 2005, p.135). Focusing on participants' accounts of everyday work, rather than my own, was a deliberate decision, one aimed at avoiding the possibility of the research becoming too 'introspective and self-conscious' (Packwood & Sikes, 1996, p. 338). As Finlay (2002, p. 532) puts it, when 'taking the threatening path of personal disclosure, the researcher treads a cliff edge where it is all too easy to fall into an infinite regress of excessive self-analysis at the expense of focusing on the research participants'.

Traditional forms of participant-observation were not embraced or utilised in this study for two reasons. First, the interview process itself, as Smith notes, produces similar knowledge to that gained through participant-observation – both forms of data are experiential in that the former is in the participant's words and the latter in the observer's words (D. E. Smith, 2005, p.150). Second, this approach addressed ethical concerns about my full immersion (as an academic) in the setting and the covert nature of many of the observations that occurred during the course of my everyday work.

Furthermore, given the theoretical influences at play in this study, all forms of data are viewed as problematic and subject to critique. Interviews, for example, are discursively constructed, influencing what is revealed and how these experiences are (re)presented by the participant and the researcher. Language always mediates and shapes the interactions and representations that can be generated, and 'people's ways of imparting meaning to existence and to themselves' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 193). Equally, research

field notes are not straightforward – they are 'betwixt and between … midway between reality and a published document *and* midway between the anthropologist and the reader of any resulting publication' (emphasis in original J. Jackson, 2001, p. 319).

Notwithstanding these difficulties, interviews were used as the main vehicle for the collection of stories about the everyday work experiences of academics at FHS, providing an entry point for identifying and sourcing relevant textual data. Initiating talk with participants in the interview process foregrounds the dialogical nature of experience (D. E. Smith, 2005, p. 135 - 142). It also acknowledges the storied nature of our lives (see Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, 1995; Clough, 2002; Plummer, 1995; Polkinghorne, 1995). Lincoln & Denzin observe:

> We live in narrative's moment … Everything we study is contained within a storied, or narrative, representation. The self itself is a narrative production. There is no dualism between self and society. Material social conditions, discourses, and narrative practices interweave to shape the self and its many identities. Narrative's double duty is complex; self and society are storied productions. This is why narrative is a prime concern of social science today. (2003, p. 240)

The role of story telling in the (re)construction of identity is also highlighted by Clandinin and Huber (2002, p. 161) who suggest that 'identity is a storied life composition, a story to live by. Stories to live by are shaped in places and lived in places' (see also Edwards, 1997; K. Gergen & Kaye, 1992; M. Gergen, 1997; McAdams, 1996; White, 1989).

In this study, the situated nature of story telling and identity (re)construction are important considerations. The picture portrayed by the story teller is influenced by the purpose of the tale, the culture and setting within which the individual is located, and the events that are included or omitted. In this way all narratives are viewed as 'psychosocial constructions' (McAdams, 1996, p. 307), whereby the researcher as narrator (re)creates the persona presented to the reader (Edwards, 1997, p. 5). Yet, this (re)construction process is complex, with multiple levels and perspectives influencing the image portrayed. For, as Gudmundsdottir (1996, p. 304) observes, the picture is refracted through 'an endless hall of faulty mirrors'. Not only does the researcher re-

create participants' re-creations of their reality, but also this re-creation is then re-created by the reader.

When considering the role of stories in this study, it is important to note that my focus is the analysis of narratives (collection of stories for data analysis) rather than a narrative analysis (collection of data for the production of stories) per se (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5-6; Ylijoki, 2001). This distinction is significant as my aim was to collect stories about how academics manage their everyday in order to open up 'a deeper view of life in familiar contexts…to make the familiar strange, and the strange familiar' (Clough, 2002, p. 8). I was also interested in unmasking the power relations operating on and within the setting, and how these worked to position academics at FHS and how these influenced their ways of operating and making do.

Gathering narratives

Having negotiated permission to conduct my research at FHS, the method of participant recruitment was discussed with, and approved by, the senior contact officer nominated as the insitutional liaison for this study. An 'all-staff' email with information about the study (particpant letter and information sheet) was sent to FHS academics inviting them to participate in the study. Participation was voluntary and interested participants were instructed to contact the researcher. Ten participants responded and seven participants were interviewed. The three participants who were not interviewed did not respond to the follow up email invitation for interview. The decision not to pursue these participants any further was based on the rich nature of the data that had already been generated in the other interviews.

At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked to evaluate their perceived workloads alongside the university policy statement about academic work:

> A notional, ideal percentage distribution of academic work across teaching, research/scholarship and other categories of 40:40:20 to be achieved over an academic year unless it is agreed that a longer period is more appropriate. (The University of Sydney, 2001)

Despite the stated ideal workload distribution, the policy makes some provision for variation at the local level. This variation is dependent on departmental needs, and the strengths and interests of the individual concerned.

Having gathered this information, a semi-structured interview process was used to collect my respondents' stories about their contemporary life as an academic. Each interview was conducted over one to two hours, varying slightly according to the availability of the respondent and the interaction during the interview process. This approach was viewed as appropriate because, as Mishler (1986) observes, most individuals will develop narratives if they are given enough space or encouraged to elaborate their answers (p. 69). Furthermore, a story-telling format facilitates expression about and understanding of experience (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Mishler, 1986).

Most stories have a beginning, a middle and an end (Goodfellow, 1997), often incorporating 'a reconstructed past, perceived present and anticipated future' (McAdams, 1996, p. 307). Accordingly, this understanding was used to structure the interviews. Participants were asked to respond to three open ended questions (see Appendix 1: Interview Schedule). The initial question was concerned with how they came to be an academic. This starting point was aimed at gaining insight into background influences and experiences shaping the participants' stories. Then, participants were asked to elaborate on their current everyday experiences as an academic: what their role comprised, what influences their day-to-day activities, what strategies they employ to manage their role and what aspects of their work and/or workplace setting they find rewarding or problematic. Each interview was concluded with a short discussion about their predictions and/or aspirations for academic work in the future. The intent here was to explore the aspirations/desires of participants and their orientation towards their future as an academic. Prior to each interview, a small amount of institutional demographic data was collected (length of time in the setting, position and main role functions) to further situate each story. Participant perception about (personal) workload emphasis according to the university policy statement was also gathered.

Accordingly, this study is represented as a 'narrative', one whereby I, as researcher (narrator), am determining the storyline revealed (see Hanrahan, Cooper, & Burroughs-Lange, 1999; Packwood & Sikes, 1996). A narrative focus is useful as it acknowledges my influence (as author/researcher/academic) in the thesis. It foregrounds my dual positioning as an insider/outsider in the study – as an academic working in the research setting and a doctoral student researching academic work.

Gathering texts

Acknowledging the significance of texts within institutions and their role in coordinating the presentation and re/presentation of social reality (see, for example, Atkinson, 1990; Gee, 1999), a range of texts about academic work was also gathered. Yet, given the volume and wide-ranging nature of these texts, this review was limited to those specific documents identified within participants' narratives. This approach was appropriate because, rather than conducting a comprehensive institutional policy analysis, my interests lay in how individuals activate certain texts and how academics manage and are managed by these texts.

Reading the data

Using the participants' narratives as the starting point, I undertook multiple readings of the data, from the interview transcription through to writing up my findings within this thesis. While this approach suggests an ordered and linear process the actual experience was much more iterative and messy, one that seemed to emerge as I moved back and forth between data and research literature.

The data analysis commenced with a detailed transcription of each interview. During the transcription process I considered the storyline that each participant seemed to be presenting, noting the way in which they positioned themselves as an academic and considering how their experiences within and outside the setting seemed to influence these accounts. Then, I spent time reading and (re)reading each account carefully, documenting the key ideas and issues that seemed to emerge from the data. Each interview was then rewritten into a descriptive, yet coherent, stand-alone narrative account. Although time consuming, this task facilitated a very close reading of the data, further influencing my thinking about what approach to embrace in the data analysis. It also highlighted the texts I needed to focus on in this study.

To refine my thinking about the focus of the study and guide my data analysis I developed a number of conceptual frameworks during the research process (See Appendix 2: Conceptual maps). This mapping process is similar to Dorothy Smith's procedure of 'making a design' to highlight or sketch the relevant relations influencing everyday experience (D. E. Smith, 1987, p 170).

Analytical approach

Each of the analysis chapters draws on related theoretical viewpoints, as outlined earlier. The analysis in Chapter 4 is informed by Foucault's work about disciplinary technologies (Foucault, 2000d) and the subject and power (Foucault, 1983a, 2000c). It is also broadly influenced by Dorothy Smith's (2005, 2006) ideas about the textually mediated nature of everyday work and its role in shaping the 'local sites of people's doing and experiencing' (D. E. Smith, 2001, p. 162). Taken together, these standpoints facilitate exploration into the (active) role of government policy and institutional texts in co-ordinating work practices, and shaping the power relations operating on and within an institution.

Chapter 5 is underscored by the work of Foucault and Butler and their ideas about the subject and its subjectification. Drawing on scholars influenced by these theorists, the chapter examines how academics are being made up at FHS. Petersen's (2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008) work about 'academicity' is employed to facilitate insight into how academics are constructed *by* and *through* the simultaneous act of submission to and mastery of the power relations at play. Taking up her discussion about the work of 'category boundaries', such as the supervision relationship (Petersen, 2007c), the (self) disciplinary function of the PhD (and the discursive construction of the academic-as-researcher) at FHS is examined. In the process of analysing the role of the PhD in mobilising and legitimising what it means to be the 'right kind' of academic in *this* workplace setting (Petersen, 2007c, p. 479), the chapter also considers how this 'culturally intelligible subject position' is integrated alongside other academic subjectivities. Jackson and Carter's (1998) interpretation of Foucault's work about 'labour as dressage' complements this discussion. Their work is used to highlight how the PhD is acting as a form of 'dressage', taming and disciplining the academic self at FHS. In the process it highlights how the product of the PhD is upheld (by the

institution and its inhabitants) as a key symbol of 'the academic'. Throughout the chapter, the participants' desire to perform (and be seen to perform) as an academic is discussed: how the reward/recognition associated with enacting everyday work practices and performances (by the institution and its inhabitants) is fashioning academics at FHS.

The analytical approach in Chapter 6 is moulded by two distinct, yet related, theoretical standpoints. The first position draws on de Certeau's (1988) work about the 'practice of everyday life' and his ideas about how individuals creatively manipulate the power relations shaping their everyday: how 'users make *(bricolent)* innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules' (de Certeau, 1988, p. xiii-xiv). The second position has its origins in Foucault's views about the practices of the self and the active ways in which individuals work to (re)fashion the 'self'. The main point I take up here, that others following Foucault embrace, is that the practices of the self are 'not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his group' (Foucault, 1987, p. 11). Accordingly, the discussion draws attention to the situated nature of managing and being managed by everyday work. It also highlights the continuous processes and products associated with the development of subjects and subjectivities – a situation that is simultaneously shaped by, yet dependent on, the power relations operating on and circulating within the setting.

Together these theoretical positions provide me with a productive platform for exploring how FHS academics navigate their everyday work: how they actively participate in shaping, while sustaining, the disciplinary technologies that structure their understanding of the everyday and the different approaches they take up to negotiate their work demands and to (be seen to) perform as an academic. In this way, the process of managing and being managed by work is put forward as a complex inter-relationship between discipline and desire, whereby 'individuals create their own selves and realize their desires *through* discipline' (Starkey & McKinlay, 1998, p. 230, emphasis in original).

The research participants

The introductions below to the research participants demonstrate that each became an academic at FHS following a number of years experience in the health industry.

Collectively they highlight a number of different, yet similar, pathways into the setting and a high degree of variability in terms of workload emphasis and interests. See Appendix 3, which provides demographic details about the participants positioning in the setting and their perception about the emphasis of each of their work roles. Pseudonyms are used for all participants. Quotations from the interviews appear in italics.

Robert

Robert talks about being *a traditional academic.* He followed the *normal pathway* into academia: first completing an undergraduate degree with honours and progressing to a PhD, then gaining employment in *a sort of post doc role.* After several years, he decided to move into an applied area of work. His reasons were pragmatic: he wanted to broaden his work experience and funding for his type of research was *drying up worldwide.* In his view, this transition shifted his focus away from being *a scientist [to being] a bureaucrat and an administrator,* a situation reinforced by his *private enterprise business type background* given his role as director of two companies.

Robert speaks about commencing work at FHS, nearly two decades later, as his return to academia: he wanted to do some research *before all the grey cells curled up.* His desire to pursue research, however, was thwarted because in a less that a year he had been *tapped on the shoulder* and asked to take up a senior position within his school. In taking up this managerial position, Robert talks about the role he has played in helping others deal with the challenges of the modern workplace.

Jane

Jane has been working as an academic in the research setting for nearly 20 years. Before taking up her initial full-time academic appointment, in what was then a College of Advanced Education (CAE), she was employed as a health professional. Jane recounts that her first position was teaching-focused and her main responsibilities were in the area of professional practice issues, reflecting the focus of the research masters she was undertaking at the time.

Jane indicates that, following the amalgamation with the university, she enrolled in a PhD because she viewed this as a mandatory qualification if she wanted to progress as

an academic. Jane talks about the difficulties of juggling her part-time work responsibilities with motherhood during her PhD candidature – starting out with no children and graduating with two toddlers and a six-week-old baby. The story she recounts is focused on her struggle to meet work expectations as a part-timer and the impact of this situation in terms of *getting ahead* and progressing as an academic. The dominant storyline in her narrative is her research activity and whether or not this is valued by the organisation.

John

After working for several years as a health professional, John explains that he wanted to do *something more, something different* so he enrolled in a Masters degree in education. Keen to progress, John applied for a job as a senior tutor at FHS. As he recalls, his first appointment in the tertiary education sector was a nice comfortable start – things were *pretty cruisey back then* – he had a *high teaching load … but that was pretty much it* – there was plenty of time for his outside sporting commitments.

John presents himself as someone who enjoys his work. He now takes his academic role, which focuses on teaching and course administration, quite seriously. He talks about working *for* the organisation: he is here to make the university money and to help them survive in the current economic climate; he trusts and accepts the decisions of senior management. John admits that he has not really embraced the research role and accepts the consequences of this situation. He knows he will not be promoted to the next level until he completes a PhD but is not ready to take that step yet.

Louise

Louise, like others at FHS, commenced her career as a health professional. She describes her journey into higher education as being somewhat accidental – she had no intention of becoming an academic, rather her goal was to be an applied researcher. To this end, she decided to go back to university to study and ended up doing a PhD. Both of the academic appointments she has held, the first at a university overseas and the second at FHS, were the result of direct invitation.

In talking about her appointment at FHS, she indicates that she was given the mandate to raise the research profile of her School, and the Faculty more generally. She

reminisces that her early years at FHS were *very exciting*; there was *lots of innovation*. It is a situation, however, that has changed somewhat and she is no longer stimulated by her work in the setting. For this, and other reasons, she speaks of becoming disengaged from the everyday School business and withdrawing input at Faculty level. She talks of a desire for intellectual stimulation and yearns for opportunities to interact with like-minded researchers. She reveals that her current positioning has now improved, due to the large external grant she recently won. She is currently on study leave and can focus work efforts on her research.

Anna

Anna also speaks about being invited to work in the setting. She suggests this situation occurred as a result of her role supervising students in the clinical area, observing that *presumably the people who were within the university at the time felt that I'd been doing that [supervision] effectively*. Prior to her formal appointment at FHS – first on a short-term contract (part-time), then a continuing (full-time) position – she was employed on a casual basis.

Anna tells quite a pessimistic story. She talks about the difficulty she has classifying herself as an academic, a situation she attributes to her lack of a PhD qualification. She is working to rectify this positioning and is currently enrolled in a doctorate (and engaging in other research activities). Research is not the only complicating factor in terms of Anna's perception of self-as-academic, however. She indicates the nature of her teaching responsibilities is problematic as they do not involve *traditional* activities, like lectures/tutorials. Instead, her work consists of small group interaction and individual student contact, within and outside the university setting. In spite of these difficulties, Anna talks about being very committed to her work as an academic and she makes a concerted effort to respond to organisational demands.

Kate

Kate talks about her commitment as a clinician and indicates that she started work at FHS because she wanted *to make a difference*. Given her keen interest in education, Kate explains that her motivation to become an academic was related to concerns about curriculum and its capacity to adequately prepare new graduates for professional practice in her discipline area. Her narrative also reveals a strong desire to maintain

connections with the *coalface*, highlighting a range of contributions she made over time to advance the status of her profession.

Having worked at FHS in a full time capacity for a number of years, she is currently positioned as a working mother who is employed as a part-timer. According to Kate, she is a *pretty self-motivated person*. Her work emphasis over the years has tended to embrace a teaching rather than research focus – this is what interests and motivates her. She enjoys teaching and talks of the fulfilment she gets from *designing things that might be of some use to somebody…[she] gets off on…designing something good. Other people get off on climbing mountains.* Nevertheless, she is aware that being able to deliver a good (teaching) product does not get you *brownie marks,* and in particular does not lead to promotion, where publication and research are the things that matter. She speaks about her need to learn to be a bit more *strategic* in this regard. While she does do some research, this work has to be conducted outside her paid (part-time) hours. Furthermore, the lack of a PhD qualification also acts as a barrier to her progression as an academic at FHS.

Karen

Karen reveals that she worked as a health professional for more than 20 years before she *stumbled on a university that was setting up an undergraduate degree* in her discipline area. Like Louise, becoming an academic was not a career move that Karen had either planned or desired. When an opportunity to blend *country life and farming…[with] something [she] was interested in* presented itself, however, she took it up. She was keen to do something different – she wanted *a bit of an adventure* – and it all seemed to fit for her. She reminisces about the differences between her work in a rural university and that of her current role at FHS. She reveals that her day-to-day experiences in her former academic position were much happier and rewarding – it was the *best job* she had ever had. She worked very hard and enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy in her role. She views her role at FHS in quite a different light, however: she had *always vowed never to work at [this institution]* and her work seems to be *a lot more prescribed* now.

In discussing her ambitions to progress in the system, Karen reveals a certain reluctance to take up a much more senior role. This is because, as far as she is concerned, you are then beholden to the institution – it *owns you like 24 hours a day, 7 days a week*. She does have some seniority, though, from a clinical perspective. Her appointment at this level,

however, prompted her enrolment in a PhD – she felt like she had to catch up on her qualifications. Coupled with this and other attempts to respond to organisational demands for research, Karen talks of a strong commitment to the development of clinical expertise and professional practice. A range of local issues, such as an inability to influence the curriculum or to alter physical, financial and emotional work circumstances, hinders this drive. It also feeds her negativity about the work environment at FHS, a situation she works hard to hide from her students.

Conclusion

This chapter has situated the study and my self-as-researcher from theoretical and pragmatic perspectives. It is has outlined the key ideas and research traditions that I have taken up in the study. Just like a 'bricoleur', or makeshift artisan (Levis-Strauss, 1966), I have assembled a particular study design using the theoretical tools at hand. In the process I have highlighted how this theoretical mix enables insight into the study problematic. I have also foregrounded issues about the role of the researcher and the place of reflexivity in the research process. Collectively, these perspectives point towards the values that underpin this study, from design decisions through to the process of knowledge-generation. They also highlight the textual nature of the research process and the central role of language in governing what can be known and how this can be communicated (Usher, 1996, p. 27).

The three chapters that follow present the findings of the analysis based on the research design outlined from the perspective of work(ing) policies, work(ing) narratives and work(ing) practices. The next chapter, which builds on the previous discussion about the historical and contemporary circumstances of the institution, considers the role of policy texts in shaping FHS and its inhabitants. The second and third analysis chapters discuss respectively how academics are being made up at FHS and the practices of the self that are being employed to manage their everyday.

> Disjunctures between the actualities of people's experience and the actionable institutional realities are imposed by the regulatory frames – law, code, policy, discourses and other regulatory corpora – governing the structure or organisation of textual devices and the categories and questions embedded in them. (D. E. Smith, 2005, p. 199)

Introduction

The primary focus of this first analysis chapter is on the role of higher education policy texts in positioning my research setting over time, and to explore how FHS and its inhabitants are implicated in upholding and shaping these external directives. By drawing attention to the circulation of the power relations operating on and within FHS, and the continuing endeavour and struggle of this institution and its inhabitants to be/come academic, I aim to highlight the symbiotic, yet problematic, relationship between higher education policy and institutional desire, and between local policy texts, academic work and individual action. This institutional focus acts as a productive foundation for the analysis that follows, underpinning and informing subsequent chapters about how academics are being made up at FHS (Chapter 5) and the strategies they employ to manage the demands of their everyday work circumstances (Chapter 6). Not only does it unpack the external and internal forces moulding the workplace that my participants inhabit, but it also exposes the institutional palimpsest underwriting the 'lived' experiences of academics in this setting, a system of differentiation within the circulation of the power relations operating on and within FHS that both the institution and its inhabitants resist yet also reinforce.

There are two main sections to this chapter: one exploring the interface between government reform and institutional action and the other exploring the interaction between institutional policy/documentation and individual action. The first section, which considers the macro power relations at work, examines how higher education policy is actively taken up by an institution, and its inhabitants, and then used as a

mechanism for (re)constructing and (re)positioning the organisation in a particular way. It commences with a retrospective review, drawing on historical accounts and past government directives, about the establishment and development of CCHS (as a CAE) prior to its transition to FHS (a faculty in a large tradition university). This point of departure, which builds on the discussion in chapter 2, demonstrates the disjuncture between past policy intent and actual outcomes while foregrounding the enduring consequences of the binary policy at FHS. It also highlights how the institution and its inhabitants are caught up in the production of a particular 'fabrication' (Ball, 2000) about the academic standing of FHS. Taking note of the CAE legacy and its associated power relations, this section then reviews the interactions of FHS and the institution at large with the reform agenda implied by the Nelson Review. In the process I discuss the circulatory nature of this exchange and how government policy and institutional texts simultaneously shape, yet are shaped by, one another. While there is a textual hierarchy in operation here, there is also a certain co-dependency between what information is presented and how this is taken up, activated and/or reinterpreted by those it seeks to govern.

My review of past and current policy perspectives, supplemented by observations from the participants' narratives, reveals that the drive to legitimise the positioning of FHS, and the professions represented within it, has been a sustained endeavour over time. It also indicates that neither the institution nor its inhabitants are innocent players in this process. Rather, they too are caught up in the process of manipulating external directives according to institutional and individual needs and/or aspirations. In other words, both FHS and its inhabitants are implicated in shaping and upholding the regulatory frames operating on and within the setting.

In the second section of the chapter I shift my attention to the productive nature of local institutional policies and documents – the micro power relations at work – and their role in fabricating and shaping the everyday work of academics at FHS. The examples I draw on, taken from the participants' narratives, bring to light some of the 'lived' experiences associated with the implementation of local policies and practices. These interactions begin to highlight the co-ordinating effect of local texts, in terms of the role they play in the regulation of academic work (developing accountability at individual and institutional levels) and the process of (re)writing the self.

Taken together, the analysis within this chapter makes an important contribution to the overall argument of my thesis. Drawing on the analytical influences outlined in chapter 3, I highlight how different types of policy texts have played a role in the continuing struggle of FHS to legitimate its status and position within the tertiary sector, from the perspective of the production of *this* institution and its inhabitants. I also foreground the situated nature of institutional texts and their role in managing academics in the setting – articulating, legitimating and/or silencing particular ways of 'being/doing' (Petersen, 2007a). What I am suggesting is that both external and internal policy texts function as a (self) regulatory force at FHS. They have political and ethical effects (Cribb & Ball, 2005) in that they help to define what is valued and what one can be/come. They also have constitutive effects, simultaneously manufacturing yet being manufactured by the institution and its inhabitants, producing a particular version of the organisation.

Government policy: (macro) power relations at work

Reference, either direct or indirect, to higher education policy and its role in managing everyday work recur throughout the narratives of all my participants. Some mention the CAE origins of the setting and the consequences of this legacy in terms of institutional and professional status and identity. Others provide more speculative and future-oriented accounts, noting the potential for further change in higher education with contemporary reform agendas, specifically those implied by the Nelson Review.

This first section commences therefore with a review of the CAE origins of my research site. My particular focus here is the divergence of policy intent and policy outcome over time, and the role that the institution and its inhabitants have played in this process. A variety of data sources inform the discussion. These include past policy documents (Australian Department of Employment Education and Training, 1988; Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65), associated commentaries (Commission on Advanced Education, 1975; S. Davies, 1989; Harman, 1977; Harman & Meek, 1988; Meek, 1984; Meek & Goedegebuure, 1989; Task Force on Amalgamations in Higher Education, 1989), historical accounts (Connell et al., 1995; Rodgers, 1985) and interview texts.

Following a discussion of the impact of this past policy environment on my research setting, I then analyse the institutional response in terms of the higher education agenda associated with the Nelson Review. Here my interest is not the actual content of the discussion documents associated with this review, but how the organisational response is being used to (re)position the institution.

Collectively, the analysis in this section points to the ways in which my research setting has been shaped by both internal (institutional/individual ambition) and external (government policy/professional demands) technologies. I aim to highlight that the disciplinary measures associated with the effects of externally driven government policy texts, and the power relations that this sets up, cannot be viewed in isolation. Rather the institutional response – how policy texts are taken up and activated locally – must also be considered. In other words, external policy intentions are not always realised; they are often manipulated and shaped by those they seek to govern.

A historical perspective: the legacy of government policy

The data sources documenting the establishment of my research setting as an autonomous CAE (a consequence of the binary policy), and its development over time, suggest that at both institutional and professional levels there has been a continuing struggle for status and position. This situation is indicative of what Harman (1977) refers to as 'academic drift' – the 'process whereby non-university institutions aspire and work to become more like universities' (Harman, 1977, p. 314). It also points towards the role of policy directives in shaping the institutional identity and positioning of my research setting over time.

Drawing on Rodgers' (1985) historical account, an early example of this type of 'academic drift' can be seen in the allied health campaign for greater professional recognition via a degree qualification. That is, even before CCHS was formally established (following the Martin Committee Report), leaders in the relevant professions had been actively lobbying for the transfer of their courses into the tertiary sector (Rodgers, 1985). Physiotherapy and occupational therapy had some success, brokering an agreement with the University of New South Wales to offer an undergraduate science degree (3 year duration) as a feeder for their respective postgraduate diploma

programs (1 year duration). Speech therapy, however, was not as successful in this regard – the University of Sydney's response was that the provision of 'vocational courses' was not within its brief (p. 37). This rejoinder is somewhat ironic because at this time the university was actually playing a key role in training other (more prestigious) professions (medicine, law, social work, psychology, accountancy, veterinary and agricultural science) (p. 37). This university also had a longstanding tradition in this respect, one dating back to within five years of its foundation (in 1851) when the Faculties of Medicine and Law were established (Connell et al., 1995, p. 122).

Keeping this campaign in mind, Rodgers' (1985) account also indicates that the actual conception of my research setting as CCHS (a college of advanced education) activated some internal power relations within the institution. In Foucauldian terms (2000c, p. 344) these power relations emerged as a result of the established hierarchy in allied health and the consequences of amalgamating discrete (and relatively autonomous) training schools under the one institutional banner. On the one hand, the hierarchical structures categorising the allied health professions (as outlined in Chapter 2) were dependent on a system of differentiation, in that professional difference was a necessary condition for maintaining yet distinguishing the relative status of the representative groups. On the other hand, this power structure was rationalised alongside a common objective to gain disciplinary status through the incorporation of allied health courses within the tertiary sector. In effect, what transpired was a co-dependent process of professional differentiation, rationalised alongside a collective drive to legitimate and uphold the disciplinary base of the representative occupations within the setting. This position was exemplified in the early life of CCHS by the general consensus that in spite of these internal disciplinary struggles the nomenclature ascribed to the college – 'Paramedical Studies' – was inappropriate. The main argument was that the prefix 'para' detracted from the professional standing, expertise and perceived independence of the allied health groups represented (Rodgers, 1985).

These early institutional struggles were further complicated by the intent of the binary policy, given its underlying objective to maintain a clear distinction between the role of universities and that of CAEs. While the Martin Committee noted the aspiration of allied health areas to raise the status of their courses to the level of university degrees, it doubted the wisdom of such a move. It suggested that the 'prime consideration should

be to strive for that standard of training which is essential for the efficient performance of the calling concerned' (Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65, 13.98 p. 124). The reasoning behind this was that if standards were raised there could be a reduction in the numbers qualifying, thus intensifying workforce shortages (which was a key issue for the Government at the time following the Second World War). There was also a view that much of the content of these courses was inappropriate for a university education (13.98 p. 124).

Building on this degree/diploma distinction, the Martin Committee also stipulated that the broad structure of allied health curricula should encompass 'basic sciences, professional studies and clinical work' (Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65, 13.97 p. 123). This tripartite curriculum emphasis had (and continues to have) significant consequences. In terms of operating costs, the incorporation of clinical education placed considerable budgetary demands on the CCHS, both human and financial (Rodgers, 1985, p. 87), an issue further intensified by the apparent funding disparity between courses in medicine (university) and health sciences (CAE) (p. 88). Similarly, in terms of staffing, clinical education was central to the professional preparation of graduates, a point formally reiterated in official documentation around this time (Rodgers 1985, p. 89-94). With this in mind, professional expertise, not research capacity (with or without a PhD), was (and continues to be) considered an essential criterion in staff selection (Source – FHS job advertisements 1989-97). While the next chapter attends more specifically to the role of research in shaping academic work, it is useful to note here its progressive prominence and status over time – particularly when compared to the teaching function – as another (direct) consequence of academic drift.

In spite of the binary policy intent, soon after CCHS was established many academics within the setting were actively canvassing for the advancement of their course provision to degree level and beyond (Rodgers, 1985). The upward academic push was a common phenomenon across all non-university institutions, nationally (the CAE sector) and internationally (e.g. teachers colleges in the United States, and polytechnics in Britain) (Harman, 1977). Principally this was because non-university institutions, and their inhabitants, 'took the universities as their reference point and strove to model themselves on universities' (Harman, 1977, p. 314). This desire to emulate universities in

terms of status and function was intensified by 'the demands of students, professional associations, and the community at large' (Meek, 1984, p. 37).

The search for status and position within my research site did not abate over time. This upward push was also evidenced through the active drive to promote staff engagement in research – a point noted in Chapter 2. This phenomenon, which was reflected across most non-university institutions, resulted in the government formally sanctioning the research role of CAEs, albeit without any additional funding support (Commission on Advanced Education, 1975; Harman, 1977). Government directives sought to differentiate such research from university research by mandating that CAE research should be concerned with practical problems and directed towards utilitarian ends, or otherwise restricting the forms of research activity deemed permissible to research training in degree programs, staff pursuit of higher degree qualifications and individual initiated research (either pure or applied) (Rodgers, 1985, p. 145-146). Like the shift towards degree qualifications, the incorporation of the research function was a noteworthy development, one that highlights the (active) role of government and colleges, whether consciously or not, in stimulating and facilitating academic drift (Harman, 1977).

In many respects, the contradictory intent of the (external) policy directives outlined in the Martin Committee Report, coupled with the ambition and drive of staff within the sector, were key enablers in this upward drift. For instance, as Meek (1984, p. 37) observes, one of the flaws inherent within the binary policy was its aim to maintain 'difference in educational function and level … [while offering] equality in terms of status and prestige' (see also S. Davies, 1989; Harman, 1977; Harman & Meek, 1988; Meek & Goedegebuure, 1989; Potts, 1997). Another flaw followed from assumptions about the differences between student and staff predilections and aspirations for vocational or academic education and research (Meek & Goedegebuure, 1989, p. 31). Notwithstanding the difficulties raised by this situation, Harman (1977, p. 325) notes that the process of academic drift may not have been so easy to realise 'in a "steady state" situation', where student numbers were not undergoing rapid expansion.

In terms of my research setting, one the most enduring consequences of the binary policy has been the 'dividing practice' that it set up within the tertiary sector: one where

CAE institutions (such as CCHS) were charged with the delivery of another (vocationally orientated, cheaper) form of higher education (Bundrock et al., 1997; DeBats & Ward, 1998). This legacy can be traced back to the language within the policy document (Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964/65) and the University/CAE binary distinction that this established, involving both functional (involving distinctions between degree and diploma, professional and vocational) and financial perspectives (distinguishing between high cost and low cost education) (Bundrock et al., 1997, p. 152; Potts, 1997, p. 36). It also set up the conditions for discriminating between university and college academics in terms of salary and status, role emphasis (research/teaching), qualifications (professional/paraprofessional), experience (academic/professional), and research approach (pure/applied).

The participants' narratives make clear that such dividing practices – what I am calling the CAE legacy – are still evident today. Their observations point out how the legacy of past policy is simultaneously being reinforced and resisted by those within the setting. They also demonstrate how such policy texts (even without direct reference in the narratives) still operate on and in the production of institutional reality (D. E. Smith, 2005, p. 186).

Upholding the binary divide

Drawing on interview excerpts from two of my participants, Robert and Louise, I can start to unpack how individuals in the setting are still implicated – a decade later – in upholding the university/CAE distinction established by the binary policy. Based on their past experiences in other (more traditional) university workplaces, these participants present themselves as 'knowing' subjects, with the academic credibility to comment on the CAE legacy. Robert, for instance, draws on this experience as a means for authorising his observations about the internal power struggles operating within and across the different disciplinary groups.

> *When I came here … I really didn't know much about the faculty as a whole … my experiences were based on my time at [University X]… when I was in, you know, a traditional discipline. And I came here and I couldn't believe how independent the academic units were … it was a faculty of, you know, groups that barely talked to each other. Very*

independent … and it was only when I started thinking about its legacy of being a CAE that I realised how that had come about.

Here Robert is implicated in maintaining the power struggles he finds fault with. First, he is careful to position himself somewhat differently from his ex-CAE counterparts – he originated from a *traditional* (rather than applied) discipline – and it is this stance that allows him to comment about the impact of the CAE legacy: he is a legitimate (real) academic. Second, his observation about the lack of interaction between the various professional groups indicates that the University/CAE distinction of the binary policy is not the only disciplinary force at play. Rather, the professions themselves are also responsible for upholding the system of differentiation in and between the different academic units in the faculty.

Louise also observes that individuals in the setting are actively maintaining a system of differentiation. She draws on the medicine/nursing binary to illustrate this point. As she puts it, *nursing has to try and pit itself against medicine, because it has to somehow be more medicine than medicine.* What she seems to be suggesting here is that in its endeavour to gain disciplinary status vis-à-vis medicine, nursing has (actively) sanctioned the binary distinction (i.e. high/low status profession) it is trying to overcome. At the same time, it seems to have set up expectations of standards well beyond those actually required. In effect, what she is implying is that it is nursing (rather than medicine) that is responsible for setting up this relationship of power. That is, it 'puts into operation differences that are, at the same time, its conditions and its results' (Foucault, 2000c, p. 344). Essentially this sets up a circulatory relationship of power, whereby nursing is simultaneously resisting, yet submitting to, this type of binary distinction.

Louise: Why are we acting like the poor country cousin?
In commenting on the inter/dependence between individuals and the disciplinary technologies (or regulatory frames) operating on and within the setting, Louise highlights how her colleagues are implicated in their own (self) regulation. What she suggests is that in the process of upholding the University – privileging what is embodied by this sign system – her colleagues are positioning themselves as something 'other' than academic. They are exhibiting a self-deprecating attitude, one that she actively resists.

When I first came here I couldn't believe the attitude that people in this faculty had towards this faculty in relation to the university. Well I stood up in the middle of a research committee meeting one day saying, excuse me, but I'm sick and tired of you people treating us like a poor country cousin … I'm sorry but we're not. I said there are very good people in this faculty, doing amazing kinds of research. We have much better … teaching. Why are we acting like the poor country cousin? I said this is stupid. If you just don't believe in yourselves, how do you expect the university to?

And later she adds:

*[My colleagues] used to irritate me … they actually tended to make the job much harder for themselves than it needed to be. They set standards that the university didn't have. Because I used to say, where is this stuff coming from? Well it's coming from the university, they'd say. Are you sure, I'd say? So on the rare occasion that I'd be on main campus I'd say, now can I ask you a question? You know, and people would say, where the hell did you get that idea? [And I would say] well, at our faculty they're saying as a **matter of fact** that it comes from the university. And people would say, no it doesn't come from the university.*

According to Louise, it is her colleagues – rather than the institution – that are responsible for acting as the (self) regulatory force here. In the process of privileging the 'University' (what it stands for and what it represents) they call up this disciplinary technology. It becomes a 'fabrication' of the people within the setting, one that activates standards well beyond the normal expectations in the other parts of the university. From this 'imagined' state, the university is being upheld purposefully by her colleagues as 'something to be sustained, lived up to' (Ball, 2000, p. 9). In this way, the University/CAE binary distinction is maintained and the FHS retains its positioning as another (less prestigious) work environment in terms of the university as a whole. By implication, the same positioning is also applied to individuals within this setting.

Yet, Louise reads this self-deprecating positioning as ironic and ill founded. As far as she is concerned, there is much to be proud of within FHS, from both research and teaching perspectives. She reiterates this view later by recalling how FHS played a key role in reinstating the ranking of the university of which it is a part as one of the top

eight institutions in Australia. Even the Vice Chancellor acknowledged that its innovative schemes (such as the research mentoring program) *made the university look* **real** *good* (her emphasis).

While the binary policy is not directly mentioned in these excerpts, both Louise and Robert are invoking it as they discuss its (continuing) impact in co-ordinating local action. Their observations also reinforce the inter-relationships between regulatory (superordinate) texts, institutional (subordinate) texts and individual action. Building on these accounts, I now attend to a more recent government initiative (driven by the Hon. Brendan Nelson, Minister for Education, Science and Training), and examine how the institution and its inhabitants take up and activate the discussion documents tabled as part of the Nelson Review (Nelson, 2003). This review put forward a number of discussion documents about the structure, purpose and funding of higher education in Australia. My intent is to demonstrate the symbiotic nature of this type of government text and institutional action.

The Nelson Review and institutional action

The Nelson Review was pitched as a discussion framework for stimulating debate about the contemporary challenges facing higher education and facilitating the tertiary sector's input into its future policy directions. Effectively signalling the potential for a significant period of change in higher education, the review identified nine broad areas of consultation: learning experiences and outcomes; access on an equitable basis; engagement of universities with their communities; institutional specialisation; efficiency and effectiveness; governance, management and workplace relations; revenue diversification; allocation of public subsidies; and the cutting of bureaucratic red tape. Embedded concerns were the accountability, responsiveness, flexibility and performance of institutions.

Predictably, a number of submissions were put forward by each university in response to each of the discussion papers tabled as part of the Nelson Review (see http://www.backingaustraliasfuture.gov.au). Here I focus on one submission only – the University of Sydney's response (2002) to the Overview Paper (Commonwealth Department of Education Science and Training, 2002). This restriction is deliberate. It

reflects my interest in exploring how subordinate and superordinate texts interact, and their performative function at both an institutional and individual level.

The language used in the University of Sydney's submission is worthy of some attention. It is not surprising, given the public nature of the document, that the submission foregrounds the wide-ranging contribution of the university, at both national and international levels. It interweaves a 'romantic' discourse throughout the text in an effort to reinforce the historical significance and leadership role of this particular university. It also uses 'responsible and accountable' discourses to highlight that support of this particular university is a worthwhile and strategic investment. Together these discourses position the university as a proactive institution, one open to scrutiny and leading by example in terms of the contemporary challenges facing higher education. They also reinforce that the university is ahead of the game and well equipped to actively enhance the future of higher education in Australia. Some excerpts from the submission illustrating these discourses are provided below.

Romantic Discourse

- we insist that we partner with first rate universities worldwide…
- the University wishes its capacity to be as close as possible to best in class
- the University has pioneered…
- our students expect to be taught by those who wrote the books and made the discoveries

Responsible Discourse

- we seize opportunity and adapt to circumstance…
- our strategy has been to earmark a significant part of our budget…
- outcomes…are available to any interested party
- we have identified areas of priority and encouraged synergistic clusters, both within the University and together with groups from other universities
- good governance is fundamental to institutional health …

(The University of Sydney, 2002)

These excerpts focus on the University's representations of itself as an energetic and active agent, taking responsibility for new initiatives as it *seizes opportunities*, *adapts to circumstances* and *identifies priorities*. It confidently 'talks the talk' of new forms of governance, in its references to *a major review of governance structures, introduction of a performance management and development system, simplification of change management provisions and establishment of formal quality assurance protocols*. In effect, the text within the submission is functioning as a positive narrative, one that positions the university as a flexible, responsive, innovative, high quality and value adding institution. Its use of the inclusive *we* and *our* suggests, furthermore, a productive ambiguity between the university as an embodied (corporate) entity and its traditional constitution as the collectivity of its academic staff and its graduates. In invoking all those unseen persons whose individual activities will ensure the realisation of these (institutional) goals, the document can be read as having a constitutive, if not an overtly coercive, function: *we will* blurs into *you will*.

Notwithstanding these discursive effects, there is also cautionary tale interwoven into this submission, namely that this university is in a potentially vulnerable situation as a result of inadequate government funding. For despite its success in attracting research funding, the university's capacity for any further reform or research development is *hampered by lack of essential infrastructure*. However, these funding constraints are not just limited to research. Rather, they also impact on the institution's teaching capability, making it difficult to attract and retain *world class teachers*. Accordingly the university needs to *punch above [its] weight simply to retain a place at the international table*.

Taken together, these observations help to set the scene for the key argument, namely the implementation of strategies to support the provision of greater funding for leading institutions such as this one. Alongside this request is a call for government to 'realise' the amount of research infrastructure required and to have 'confidence' in the ability of leading universities to deploy this funding appropriately.

In many respects the regulatory framework of the Nelson Review subverts the institutional capacity to respond to the reform agenda – it demands nothing less than an aligned and positive submission. Effectively the university must collude with the government in order to guarantee a beneficial outcome for the institution. Thus, the

language used within the submission is not innocent. Rather, it functions to reaffirm the leading role of the university and to (re)assure the government of its capacity to operate in an independent, accountable and autonomous manner. It also functions to alert the government about the danger of not investing in and supporting the aspirations of *this* university in the longer term, particularly in light of the increasingly competitive and global nature of higher education. At the same time, the institution is reiterating government desire to find an appropriate balance between the provision of mass higher education (*spreading thin*) and the best possible academic environment (*peaks of excellence*).

With this in mind, the University submission supports the government's call for more diversity within the system: a point picked up by one of my informants, Robert. It also highlights how the institution is implicated in bringing certain power relations into play, in that the submission incorporates two related yet separate agendas: one driven by the institution, the other by the government. Both are interconnected, with each one informing while constraining the other. As Foucault puts it, 'the exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome' (Foucault, 1983a, p. 220-221). This highlights, once again, the circulatory nature of the power relations operating on and within FHS.

Robert: This is probably as good as it is going to get

Robert discusses the local complexities of the Nelson Review and reveals that he has some *fairly strong views* about the situation. He speaks at some length about its implications, in terms of the shape and future direction of higher education institutions within Australia – noting that while the proposals are far from ideal *this is probably as good as it is going to get*. In his narrative he positions himself as someone with the authority to comment, someone who has the skills and experience to help steer the organisation in the right direction. His experience, within and outside the university sector, has equipped him for this task. He can juggle competing and contradictory agendas – upholding the ideals of 'The University', while putting the necessary managerial and business frameworks into place.

Reform is inevitable in Robert's view and institutions are *just going to have to work with it.* As he reads it, the government has engineered a situation to create enough confusion so that universities will have to *wrestle* with how they interpret the reforms. Effectively they

are being governed at a distance, whereby their freedom to act requires that they accept responsibility for making the tough decisions about how best to position themselves:

> *I think those universities that are going to be seen as top universities are those ones which are going to have a high research profile, can clearly link their teaching to that research and are going to be brave enough to get rid of the bits that don't fit particularly well. And that will allow the critical mass to go to other areas where that bit does fit.*

Here he reiterates what he sees as the desire of this university to maintain its leading positioning and its role as a research-intensive institution. In the process he is sanctioning the government agenda for more diversity across the sector, noting that the Australian economy cannot continue to maintain a system where all universities are striving to be *all things to all people.* Rather, each university will have to identify and concentrate on its strengths – *what they're good at … [and] what fits best with their profile.* Robert seems to be bringing certain power relations into play here. In distinguishing his University from others he is upholding a 'system of differentiation' (Foucault, 2000c, p. 344) and indicates he support for the reintroduction of stratification across the sector. According to him, in same way institutions will have to find their *fit*, so too will academics:

> *And I think quite a number of academics in current universities may have to be prepared to move to find where they fit better … We would be better if probably something like 20-30% of the academics in this faculty went elsewhere, and we were able to replace them with people who fitted better … I think in 5 years to 10 years time the sort of staffing profile we have here, and the type of people we have, will be a bit different.*

Here Robert would appear to be invoking the Darwinian concept – survival of the fittest – to indicate that within his institution in the future, academics will need to be aligned with the broader university direction and position. By implication these academics will have PhDs and will be active researchers. Individuals who 'just teach' will not fit the organisational profile and may jeopardise the institutional standing – they present a potential risk that needs to be removed. From this positioning, Robert is acting as an instrument of the organisation, reinforcing the research/teaching binary and the dividing practice that this sets up. In other words, a teaching-only position is taken

up as a dangerous practice, one that should be avoided at all costs in order to protect and maintain the University position.

The idea of moulding academics so they fit better is discussed by scholars such as McWilliam (2000) and Alvesson and Willmott (2002). They discuss various techniques that are employed to encourage academics to (re)shape themselves in a particular way. Generally, these techniques suit the characteristics of the organisation and its goals rather than the individual. For, as Robert suggests here, the new generation of academics will need to be quite different from those who entered the institution as a CAE:

> *… academics who've not had that [CAE] experience … they've done their undergraduate degree, and now they've done their PhDs – they've seen nothing else. What are their attitudes … I see in some of the ones we've got here, they are different. They hear the whinges and moans … but they tend to just get on with the business and do it.*

In suggesting that future employment strategies will demand a PhD as the baseline qualification, Robert is responding to the demands of the university rather than the faculty per se. In taking up this stance he is responsible for reinforcing one of the power relations operating in the setting – one that appears to privilege and reward research.

Louise: Do we have the best staff and do we keep the best staff?
Louise also makes some important observations about the positioning of the university and its staffing profile. Yet, unlike Robert, she is not as confident about the future. She predicts the university, including the faculty she works within, will not disappear as both have long-standing reputations. Yet, in her opinion the institution has to *drop some of its arrogance … [and] get rid of the elitism.* For, as she warns, there are too many other institutions out there, while smaller and not as well established, *who are snapping at the heals* to take over. They are real competitors and they are going to compete.

Like Robert, Louise acknowledges that the university has some difficult decisions to make about its future direction, particularly if it is to maintain its positioning as a leading institution. From her perspective this is a really critical issue as currently there is little to encourage staff to stay in the setting:

> *But I think [the university] as a whole, and this faculty in particular, has got to look at itself*
> *long and hard and say what exactly is it that we're doing and why are we doing it and where*
> *do we want to be going … Do we have the best staff and do we keep the best staff or do they*
> *toddle off because they get so frigging frustrated with this place that they go to some place where*
> *they're actually appreciated, where they're given the rewards, where they're given time, where*
> *they're given promotion.*

According to Louise, both she and her colleagues are frustrated by the situation at FHS. One issue is the lack of shared vision for the institution as a whole. Another is the lack of clarity about what counts in the setting, coupled with the limited opportunities for reward and recognition at the individual level. Without such clarity, the potential for conflict between the aspirations of the organisation and the goals of the individual is high. At the organisational level, this situation is an important risk management issue, because without the *best staff* the university may not be able to maintain its leading position. Yet, as this excerpt indicates, academics are not merely victims of circumstance. Rather, they have some control over their destiny: they can vote with their feet; they can choose whether or not to stay in the setting.

Institutional policy: (micro) power relations at work

Having looked at the interaction between external policy texts and institutional action, in this section I shift the focus to how individuals activate and/also interact with local policies and textual practices, and their role in shaping the institutional realities the participants discuss. Here I draw on the accounts of two different respondents, Jane and Anna, and the textual influences they identify in their narratives. My particular focus here is the role of these texts in regulating action and sanctioning (privileging and/or silencing) different aspects of academic work.

Textual representations of academic work
Within any institution there are a multitude of local policy texts and documents that govern work practices: some are focused around employment conditions (e.g.

workloads, promotions and performance management); others around work practices and institutional action (e.g. strategic plans and procedural documents). Here I explore the productive effects of these texts, noting their role in fabricating and shaping experiences in the setting and the (active) role that this can then play in the process of (re)writing the academic self.

Acknowledging the earlier discussion about the CAE origins of FHS (as CCHS) and the clinical emphasis of most courses within the faculty, I start with Anna's observations about the impact of the strategic plan on her day-to-day work. Noting the symbolic nature of this document, which is often taken to represent the corporate consensus of the institution (Ball, 2000), she highlights the lack of value attributed to clinical education:

> *Some of the sorts of things … that have had an impact [on my work] are … the strategic plans … for the faculty and the specific plans for schools … And one of the things I recall, given the focus of my role in the clinical area, one of the things that was really obvious, not just to me but to the other members of the Clinical [Education] Committee … was the absence of any real reference to things like clinical education at a faculty level. And that was something that absolutely astounded everyone. That this is a faculty that runs on clinical ed … Still the majority of the students … need to be undertaking work out in the field. And it's crucial, it ought to be the pinnacle of what is valued in a faculty like ours and it's not.*

The silence on the question of clinical education, according to Anna, indicates a mismatch between organisational direction and need. For, even though this work is central to role of the faculty, in terms of the institution at large it is not acknowledged – it is hidden work. Maybe this has something to do with the nature of the work itself, or the fact, as Anna observes a bit later, that this type of work is *almost always done by women*. This point is reiterated in the literature, some scholars (see Cooper & Orrell, 1999) have even equated clinical education with the 'domestic labour' of higher education. What is interesting about Anna's observation is that she goes on to note that other, *richer*, faculties – like medicine – seem able to place much greater value on clinical education. The disparity between the two settings is intriguing. Not only does it point towards the power relations operating across the university, but it is also indicative of FHS's (continuing) struggle for status and position. Furthermore, the value (or lack thereof)

attributed to professional practice and clinical education raises questions about what does and does not 'count' in this setting. This issue is reiterated by local workload policies, which tend to equate teaching workload with face-to-face classes, rather than other (less visible) activities (such as clinical education and online teaching).

Yet, as Anna reveals, strategic plans are not the only regulatory texts operating in the setting. Other (less public) documents, such as those arising from email consultation, also play a role in governing her work. Commenting on the time-consuming nature of managing email correspondence (particularly with the volume of work that now occurs through this medium), she observes that failure to engage and or respond to email correspondence can mean that *you don't actually have any voice in the direction that things may be moving*. While she acknowledges this is not an isolated issue limited to her workplace, she questions the effectiveness of this consultation mechanism, particularly from the perspective of those *working on the ground*:

> *So, who was actually driving the kinds of changes that are occurring … I don't think that very many people who are there working on the ground with students are getting the opportunities to be involved … the way in which information is sent out and the ways in which we're expected to respond to it, um, are things that are really not manageable within the constraints of the general workload … And you know you try to do some things, you try to pick up on some things that may be particularly of concern or interest, but I don't know how much of the response people then give, if they're able to give any at all, is actually a carefully considered response or is it something very reactive at the time.*

One of the critical issues here, according to Anna, is the exclusionary nature of this type of consultation process. In essence, what she is suggesting is that while email holds the illusion of expanding (opening up) the reach of managerial consultation, for people *on the ground* (like herself) it can actually limit (close down) the communication channels. A lack of response should not be equated with a lack of interest. Rather, it is workload constraints that often preclude active and considered involvement.

Anna is also sceptical about *how* information is presented to staff for comment. She tells me that as far as she is concerned the consultation process in her workplace is neither innocent nor transparent. As she puts it, *the kind of information that we're being given is so*

carefully screened that the sorts of responses that you could give to it anyway would be only particular kinds of responses. What she seems to be suggesting here is that, from where she stands, there is a considerable distance between those generating and those receiving texts. That is, for those working on the ground, how they activate texts and how this then co-ordinates their action is predetermined by the power relations operating on and within the setting. She reiterates this point as she recalls how a senior colleague – who occupies a research only position – just ignores these types of emails. According to Anna, such a person's positioning in this setting enables this disengagement, a luxury she cannot afford if she is to progress.

In terms of staff progression, the promotion policy and award classification statements provide some of the regulatory frames that stipulate the kind of person one has to be in order to master/submit to that particular academic positioning. One of my informants, Jane, discusses her efforts to gain promotion at great length. In the process she highlights the circulatory nature of the power relations at play, noting how the CAE legacy hindered her efforts to progress in the system:

> *I'd been attempting for quite a long time to get up to senior lecturer ... When we first became part of the university … I think the bar was probably higher than it is now, because there was this thing that we were a CAE and we weren't quite up to standard and we had to make the grade … I think the bar and the way our applications were viewed for promotion and things was a great deal harsher than it is now … So I struggled initially.*

What Jane seems to be suggesting is that, in the process of enacting local policy, a system of differentiation had been established between those positioned within the university as opposed to the CAE. For as she goes on to explain, the main reason she did not get promoted at this time was directly associated with the expectation that she should be a productive researcher:

> *I mean I went up for promotion and I didn't get it and I actually went to see, you know, the deputy vice chancellor at the time … the message I got from her, even though it was never in writing, was basically – well don't even bother to try and get up on your teaching, because you might teach and teach and teach forever and in your last sort of five years of employment they might give it to you because you've been around for so long – that was the message that I got*

… you had to finish your PhD … you had to get grants … I mean I got that from the horse's mouth. I went there, you know, and there was lip service paid to teaching and stuff. So I think the bar was much higher than it is now and the opportunities to get promoted were much less.

From my reading of this, what Jane is referring to here is somewhat similar to Smith's (2005, p. 85) notion of an intertextual circle. That is, the regulatory text, which in this case is the promotion policy, has been interpreted by individuals within the setting (i.e. the promotion committee) and has set up a ruling relation, one that privileged research activity as opposed to teaching. Without this type of text-reader interaction it would not be so easy to enact this system of differentiation, neither would the power relations across the two settings be so visible.

It is interesting to reflect on the way in which research has been used as a type of dividing practice, as this process of differentiation seems to be driven and maintained by those it seeks to govern, rather than by external forces per se. This point is noted by Robert, albeit in a slightly different manner. For, as his narrative reveals, he too is implicated in this form of internal governance in that he openly distinguishes his 'self' from his colleagues in terms of his research prowess and experience. Armed with a PhD from a traditional (scientific) discipline, he tells me that he assumed a leadership role and helped the faculty become part of the university by *encouraging research and those sorts of things*. In one way, Robert appears to sanction the divide that Jane suggests had been drawn between university and CAE academics. Yet, at the same time, he also seems to be suggesting that there is a much more local (internal) system of differentiation at work.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered how external and internal policy texts can be implicated in regulating and shaping the everyday and the work academics perform. I have also established how these experiences are located within and produced by the historical circumstances of the setting itself, drawing attention to the (continuing) quest and struggle of this institution and its inhabitants to be/come academic. By acknowledging the role of this institutional palimpsest, I have revealed some of the

conditions influencing what are being taken up as legitimate ways of 'being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b) and thus managing academic work in this setting. I develop the argument that the institution and its inhabitants are (directly) implicated in upholding particular textual productions of the academic. Keeping this backdrop in mind, in the next chapter I examine the discursive constructions of academic work at FHS. Paying particular attention to the subjectivity 'academic-as-researcher', I highlight the work of this disciplinary technology in making up academics in this setting.

How do discursive constructions take hold – take hold of the body, take hold of desire? And how are certain discursive constructions appropriated while others are discarded, relegated as irrelevant … and how is it that these embodied appropriations come to work … How do we become passionately attached to particular ideas about who we are; about right and wrong; about good and bad; about competent and incompetent? Or, how do these desires come to make **us**? (Petersen, 2008, p. 55-56 emphasis in original)

Introduction

This second analysis chapter will explore the discursive constructions shaping work at FHS, with a focus on how academics themselves are implicated in calling up and sanctioning particular ways of 'being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b). This examination of the situated nature of the different subjectivities the participants seem to inhabit builds on the discussion within chapter 4, taking note of the historical backdrop and policy directives operating on and within the setting itself. I also consider what is being sanctioned as legitimate work within FHS, and the value (worth) attributed to different academic performances and/or subject positions. What becomes apparent is that even though the participants talk about multiple ways of being/doing, collectively they uphold and privilege the subjectivity of academic-as-researcher, a situation that can be attributed, in part, to the institutional circumstances (past and present) of the setting itself. In taking up this subjectivity as the dominant marker of what it means to be the right kind of academic at FHS, the PhD qualification acts as a key signifier that simultaneously enables and sustains this situation.

Paying attention to the analytical influences outlined in chapter 3, I consider the work performed by the PhD and the privileged status of academic-as-researcher, and how the participants assemble themselves within (and are assembled by) these types of disciplinary technologies. I also explore how academics negotiate other work responsibilities, practices and desires and the role that this negotiation then plays in shaping (silencing and/or upholding) alternative subjectivities. In the process I

demonstrate that the PhD and the research function have produced a particular fabrication about what counts/is counted as the 'real' work of FHS academics and how academics themselves are actively contributing to, while being caught up within, this act of production. Reiterating the position I put forward in chapter 4, I suggest that this fabrication is underpinned by the (individual) desire to be/come academic, one that is driven and defined by the everyday circumstances of the setting and those positioned within it.

In terms of the overall argument in my thesis, the main contribution of this chapter is its exploration of the context-specific nature of identity formation: how academics at FHS are being made up. By shifting the focus away from the institution itself (as in the previous chapter), here I aim to bring to light how individuals navigate 'culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b), alongside the various discursive constructions that are operating in the setting. I contend that 'academicity' at FHS is intricately bound up within the research function and the PhD qualification: for even though my participants talk about a range of subject positions and ways of being/doing, a consistent theme across their narratives is that research performance is *the* critical marker of appropriate/d work practices at FHS. I suggest this circumstance sets up a system of differentiation, which is sustained and challenged by those it seeks to govern.

The chapter, consequently, has been organised into two sections. In the first section, I introduce Anna and Karen, who are both pursuing a doctoral qualification. Their accounts illustrate (albeit in different ways) the disciplinary nature of the PhD, highlighting its role in shaping understanding of self-as-academic. The PhD can be seen as acting as a politics of life at FHS, simultaneously disciplining yet liberating academics within the setting. Louise and Robert's narratives reinforce this observation. Positioned as researchers, with doctoral qualifications, they use this subjectivity to authorise their observations about what constitutes 'real' work in this setting. Their narratives demonstrate that the PhD does not operate in isolation. Rather, its disciplinary role is directly reinforced, even sanctioned, by FHS academics themselves.

In the second section of the chapter I introduce Kate and John – neither of whom have a PhD, nor are seriously considering undertaking this qualification. I discuss how, despite their decision to embrace alternative (re)presentations of academic work, their

sense of self (and performance) as workers in the setting is still marked by the discursive construction of 'academic-as-researcher'. That is, notwithstanding their desire, motivation and ability to make a difference – professionally and institutionally – ultimately it is the lack of a PhD that stipulates (and contains) their positioning, and progression as an academic, within FHS. Their accounts, however, also point out that 'the culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b) can always be challenged. By embracing alternative discursive constructions of academic work, they demonstrate how individuals can negotiate and legitimate different ways of being/doing at FHS. This point is reinforced by other participants in their discussions about the role of their *fringe dwelling colleagues* (Jane) and what constitutes a *functional academic* (Robert) in this setting – a point I elaborate shortly.

The PhD at work

As indicated earlier, from its inception as a CAE though to its integration as a Faculty in a traditional (sandstone) university, FHS has demonstrated a longstanding concern about its status as an academic institution. In mapping out this concern (see Chapters 2 & 4) my intention has been to draw attention to the historical circumstances that have shaped (and continue to shape) the work culture and staffing profile at FHS. Importantly, considering the professional emphasis and disciplinary requirements of course provision at FHS, academic employment has primarily been guided by disciplinary expertise and/or qualifications, rather than research prowess. Such criteria have been common in the less traditional or newer fields of study within academe (such as health sciences), with successful practice substituted for the research degree as an employment requirement (Anderson et al., 2002, p. 5).

The performative nature of the PhD

I now turn to how the PhD is being upheld and sanctioned as an important requirement for academics at FHS, drawing on Anna and Karen's stories about integrating doctoral study alongside their everyday work practices Taken together, their accounts foreground, albeit in different ways, that the doctoral journey acts like a rite of passage. They also highlight that the PhD has a performative function, one that is intimately tied up with 'academicity' at FHS. On the one hand, it formally develops the self as scholar

(fashioning self *through* performance) and legitimates an academic's positioning in the setting (fashioning self *by* performance). On the other hand, the PhD simultaneously acts as an instrument of organisational governance *and* a process of self-regulation (Rose, 1999b). In this way, the PhD is taken up (and named) by those in the setting (Anna and Karen included) as a key element in representations of 'the academic' and it plays a role in determining what is viewed as appropriate/d ways of being/doing at FHS. At the same time, how academics negotiate this process of submission to, yet mastery of, the power relations enacted by the PhD is always open to change and re/interpretation. That is, 'academicity' is never fixed: there are 'multiple and contradictory versions which are open to negotiation, intervention and resignification' (Petersen, 2007c, p. 479).

A second significant storyline is interwoven into Anna and Karen's accounts about their doctoral experience, and the role of the PhD in legitimising their positioning at FHS. This storyline concerns the professional nature of their position as academics and it forms a significant undercurrent in their ability to take up the research mantle. Like many of their counterparts, Anna and Karen were appointed based on their (clinical) experience in the field, not their track record as a researcher. Consequently, both are charged with the co-ordination of work (practicum) placements. They also strive to maintain strong professional links and make a difference as educators, specifically in terms of student preparation for (clinical) practice. This subject positioning plays an important role in their understanding of self-as-academic. It also demonstrates, as Petersen argues, 'that subjectification always takes place in a field of multiple and contradictory discourses and hence the matrices of culturally intelligibility are multiple' (Petersen, 2007c, p. 485).

I begin with Anna's story, which suggests that the lack of a PhD has a very strong influence over the perception of her 'self' as academic. Here I use Jackson & Carter's (1998) interpretation of Foucault's work about governmentality and labour as dressage alongside Petersen's ideas about academicity. This approach enables exploration about how the doctoral process works to discipline, shape and tame academics in accordance with the disciplinary norms at play, while highlighting the role of the PhD qualification in organising, managing and categorising academics within this workplace setting.

Anna: I'm still not sure…that I see myself or construct myself as an academic

Anna has difficulty formally categorising herself as an academic. Her hesitancy appears to arise from a complex combination of, and interplay between, different disciplinary technologies and power relations at personal, professional and organisational levels. She speaks of how people external to the university started to view her differently from the very early stages of her work at FHS because she was attached to *this* institution. By implication the university – what it embodies and represents – seems to have played an in/direct role in (re)positioning her (externally) as something 'other' than she was previously. Yet, on a personal level, being attached to the university has not dramatically shifted her perception of self. Given her strong clinical focus, she still finds it quite difficult to categorise herself, and certain aspects of her work, as *academic*:

> *I'd have to say that I'm still not sure a lot of the time that I see myself or construct myself as an academic. Still … there are aspects of that role … that somehow seem to fit more comfortably than they did before. And certainly the idea of being or becoming a researcher is a really important part of that. And that's [research] something that I see as being a really key feature of the [academic] role per se, and it is something that we should both be doing as academics.*

Clearly the process of becoming a researcher and doing research appears to be a central concern for Anna in terms of her perception of 'self' as academic. Yet, assuming this mantle (ensuring its 'fit'), is not merely a process of self-regulation. Rather, as she suggests when she observes that research is *'something that **we** [myself included] **should** both be doing as academics'*, it involves a number of other (organisational) forces. In this way, she is highlighting the potential combination of and interactions between the various disciplinary forces that work to govern what it means to be academic at FHS. She also is maintaining the category boundary that inhibits her classification as academic.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that throughout her account Anna reiterates the importance of completing her PhD and actively engaging in the research role. Accordingly, she views research as *really crucial* activity if she is to start to acknowledge herself as an academic:

> *[Research is] something I've always been interested in doing and so having opportunities to be involved in research or research related activities has been really crucial in terms of there been*

any kind of shift there. But I think that [shift] … did occur when I started to have the opportunity to be involved in research related activities with other people … even though you know I'd been trying to work on [my research degree]… I didn't ever particularly consider myself to be a researcher, or an academic at that point, even though that was part of what I was doing … I actually think … in terms of that perception of myself as an academic … that still for me … what would preclude me from viewing myself as that per se is not having a PhD.

What is interesting here is that although Anna is actively engaged with research as a higher degree student, it is the research collaboration with her colleagues that seems to provide her the latitude to start re/casting her academic self. Yet, she can only make small adjustments. Ultimately, the lack of a PhD is the limiting factor in terms of re/writing her understanding of self and legitimating her positioning as an academic. It is a self-imposed limitation though, one that she does not extend to her colleagues:

There is some fantastic work being done by those academics that don't have a PhD or beyond … but (pause) yes, and that's interesting in itself because I couldn't say that I don't see those people as academics, because I do. If they're clearly working across the range of activities and responsibilities and so on that make up the academic role per se then certainly I see those people as being academics.

Her self-regulatory behaviour here points to the disciplinary role that can be enacted by the PhD. From one perspective, Anna is sanctioning the PhD as a powerful signifier of the academic self: it acts as a productive symbol that she appears to readily submit to, modifying and manipulating her behaviour accordingly. It is a self-imposed regulation, however, one that is not extended beyond her 'self'. From another perspective, however, the PhD qualification ratifies the ability of the academic to perform as a competent researcher. As Anna goes on to explain, the possession of a PhD would legitimise her role as an academic.

So it's something to do with … a lack of [pause] *confidence I suppose … That [confidence] would come, or I think would come, if I completed a doctorate…I think it [the PhD] does make a difference … in terms of people's perception of themselves. From what I've observed, there is a new confidence and so therefore it legitimises their possession of that particular role.*

The *new confidence* Anna thinks she would gain with the completion of a PhD is noteworthy, particularly as she is performing the same sort of activities as the academic colleagues she mentions above. However, as far as Anna is concerned, a PhD qualification is essential if she is to (re)classify herself as an academic: its completion is representative of her rite of passage into academia (and FHS). This point is reiterated by Jane, who observes that, in the more traditional Faculty settings, having a PhD is an essential employment criterion: *it's just one of those things that you need to have … you don't even get in without it.*

Essentially, Anna's account demonstrates the productive function that the PhD is playing in fashioning her identity as academic. It is operating as a disciplinary force that forms part of the 'apparatus' (what Foucault calls the 'dispositif') that controls and re/moulds individuals into appropriate/d subjects. Furthermore, possession of the qualification acts as a visible indicator of an individual's compliance with, and submission to, this power relation. At the same time, it also embodies a certain 'freedom' in that it signals the attainment of a level of performance that can open up the possibility of career progression and mobility, both within and across institutions. In this way the PhD is acting as an instrument of government through its promise of freedom (Rose, 1999b). It forms one of the power relations operating in the setting: a 'dividing practice' that draws a distinction between those individuals with, and those without, a PhD.

Karen: I don't think people really cared if I had one [PhD] or not
Karen provides a somewhat different perspective from Anna in terms of the role of the PhD in shaping 'academicity' at FHS. She does not attribute the same status to the PhD as Anna does, nor does she allow it to dominate her perception of self-as-academic. Yet, it was her employment in this setting that prompted her doctoral enrolment. According to Karen, she is *catching up* with her qualifications: the role she occupies means she *has to do this study*. While this may help to legitimise her positioning externally, as far as she is concerned she is a valuable member of staff with or without a PhD: she does not need this qualification to validate her (self) worth. Essentially she is challenging the category boundary of the PhD and its capacity to legitimate her positioning as an academic.

> *I think there was a bit of an expectation [for a PhD]. But I think, and I don't want to sound [as though I'm] big-noting myself, I think my role was valued enough. I don't think people really cared if I had one [a PhD] or not. And I still don't think they do. I don't think they see me as either … a real active researcher or a high-flying academic.*

Karen seems to be simultaneously complying with yet resisting the normative function of the PhD. She will never be seen as a *high-flying academic* – someone who is well-known and a leading academic in their field – because achieving this status involves much more than getting a PhD. While she is not without ambition, at this stage of her career she sees the costs of progression outweighing the benefits: *she would have to do too much work to get somewhere in the hierarchy, especially as a woman.* Karen does see progression at FHS as directly linked with *research dollars and publications.* Research productivity, by implication, is given much greater priority than other forms of academic work: it is 'what counts' at FHS. Karen does privilege the discursive categorisation, academic-as-researcher by herself participating in the research imperative of the organisation. At the same time, she also challenges this stance, as she does not think a PhD is necessary to validate her capacity as an academic at FHS.

From my reading of her position, informed by Foucault's (1983a) ideas about relations of power (see also English, 2005; Marshall, 1990), the research function is operating as a disciplinary technology shaping 'academicity' at FHS. One of the conditions enabling this power relation is the status afforded to the PhD: it is the culturally sanctioned symbol of and pathway towards being an academic. Another is the institutional privilege that Karen thinks is afforded to the active researcher. Taken together, these conditions, which seek to differentiate individuals, provide one of the mechanisms for governing the conduct of academics by upholding the research function as an institutional norm.

Karen reveals she has made (active) attempts to respond to the organisational expectation to *be* a researcher, for not only is she undertaking a PhD but she is also engaged in some externally funded research projects. These activities have placed her in a difficult space, however, one whereby she has to negotiate competing agendas (completion of her PhD versus her externally funded research). Interestingly, FHS organisational policy prohibits doctoral students from applying for *internal* research grants. While the sense behind this ruling is apparent to Karen, other pressures mean

she has not really heeded this advice. She explains there is considerable pressure (within her School) to attract external funding. So, if an opportunity presents itself whereby she can do this without too much effort she will do so, taking time away (from her PhD) to prepare the grant application. What Karen is highlighting here is a form of local policy in/action, whereby local imperatives at the School level play a (direct) role in governing action, despite the overall organisational policy frameworks.

Her situation is further complicated by the quantitative approach that FHS applies to the measurement of research performance, whereby points are allocated for specific outputs (e.g. peer-reviewed publications, research supervision, external grant funding). These performative measures mobilise a form of governance at a distance, as individuals strive to respond to institutional expectations and needs while self-regulating their behaviour accordingly. Karen observes this is a difficult situation as *people get anxious and worried [because they've] … got to produce so many points in so many years.* A further complicating factor is that this form of surveillance only involves checking 'what is observable, and thus the emphasis focuses on visible compliance, rather than on, for example, the spirit of compliance' (N. Jackson & Carter, 1998, p. 52).

To overcome these difficulties, Karen employs a strategy of *under-working.* She talks about making active choices about what she can and cannot get done. The PhD is one of the first causalities in this regard, despite her instigation of a work/home boundary to quarantine a specific 'space' for this work. This self-regulatory ruling prohibits her from taking routine work home (an exception is marking student assignments). Clearly the more personal aspects of her work (like the PhD) are easily subsumed by her professional responsibilities. The irony is that the PhD is not just for personal gain: it is also an institutional expectation at FHS.

The PhD: 'a politics of life' at FHS

From my reading of Anna and Karen's narratives, the PhD at FHS represents what Rose calls 'a politics of life'. Not only does it provide academics with a certain freedom to act, but it also operates as one of the power regimes influencing the identity and positioning of individuals in *this* setting. For as Rose (1999b) notes:

> The fact that freedom is technical, infused with relations of power, entails specific modes of subjectification and is a necessary thing of this world, inescapably sullied by the marks of the mundane, does not make freedom a sham or liberty an illusion; rather it opens up the possibility of freedom as neither a state of being nor a constitutional form but as a politics of life. (Rose, 1999b, p. 94)

Essentially, the PhD process is performing a normative function. It acts to 'discipline' the academic and the work they perform – forming an 'ideal of order' that is rational, functional and productive (N. Jackson & Carter, 1998, p. 56). It also moulds the individual into a particular type of person: a competent researcher capable of conducting independent study. In this way the PhD can be viewed as a form of dressage in that it 'tames' and shapes the employee into an 'ideal worker … who is not only obedient but is willing to modify any behaviour which managers might define as deviant' (N. Jackson & Carter, 1998, p. 57). The process of taming is multi-level, involving:

> accepting the requirement of submission to discipline ... the modification and manipulation of behaviour in ways desired by those in control … and the idea that work has an intrinsic value – the 'governors' see work as a good in itself for the 'governed', who must therefore be encouraged, or if need be compelled, to do lots of it. (N. Jackson & Carter, 1998, p. 57-58)

Yet, it is this very process of disciplining the academic subject that also buys the individual a level of freedom, in that they have met the minimum FHS requirements to be/come a researcher. Anna's narrative clearly illustrates the interaction between discipline and freedom. Her enrolment into the doctorate itself represents her submission to the PhD technology. Yet, at the same time, this enables her to realise her intrinsic desire to be a researcher and to be/come academic. Karen, on the other hand, does not have the same self-validation needs as Anna. Yet, her doctoral enrolment indicates that she too is caught up in a process of submitting to, while resisting, the disciplinary force of the PhD. Essentially, what they both highlight is the double movement of power, whereby the research function is a necessary condition for being/doing, and thus legitimating self, at FHS.

While both Anna and Karen's narratives highlight how the PhD is operating as one of the key technologies 'making up' the academic subject at FHS, it is not the only influence at work. Academics who hold PhDs act as another disciplinary force, as my participants Louise, Robert, and Jane demonstrate. Effectively, they uphold and privilege the culturally sanctioned role that the PhD and its associated products enact at FHS, thus maintaining this particular power relation. Louise and Robert, for instance, are careful to point out that when they were appointed at FHS they were the only people in their respective Schools *with* a PhD. In discussing her positioning at FHS, Louise uses this qualifier to reveal that she was specifically *hired to increase the research profile of the School*. She took this role very seriously, and she worked hard to ensure improved research productivity, both within her School and the Faculty more broadly. Likewise Robert, who returned to academia to *do* research (following a long period of employment in industry), took up a similar position to Louise and soon after his arrival he was supervising a large number of postgraduate research students and supporting the research efforts at School level. From my reading of their narratives, both use their possession of the PhD to authorise (legitimate) their observations about work at FHS.

Robert and Louise are not alone in upholding the PhD and the privileged status it affords to researchers. Jane comments on the disciplinary nature of the PhD and its (direct) impact on her career progression. Effectively, she completed the PhD because when FHS became part of the university *there was a huge push to get that qualification*. She was interested in doing research. However, *it became very clear that unless you did [a PhD] you weren't really going to go anywhere … it was pretty mandatory*. Similarly, John observes *if you don't have a PhD then teaching ain't worth nothing really*. He suggests *the more research you do, the less teaching and admin you do … the higher you get up in the chain.* In this way, the PhD forms one of the power relations separating legitimate from illegitimate academic performance.

Both the institution and its inhabitants, therefore, are implicated in maintaining the politics of the PhD – a situation intensified by the CAE legacy and the vocational mandate of FHS. Effectively, the PhD is used as a system of differentiation whereby distinctions are drawn between those with and those without this qualification. With this in mind, the next section reviews how academics without a PhD negotiate and justify their positioning (and performance) in the setting.

Negotiating alternative ways of being/doing

This next section draws primarily on the narratives of John and Kate, neither of whom are undertaking, or have completed, a doctoral qualification. Noting their strong desire to 'perform' as an academic, I explore how they negotiate alternative ways of being/doing at FHS, using business (economic) and/or professional (vocational) frameworks to justify their positioning. This desire to perform, however, is not straightforward. Not only does it differ according to the individual concerned but it also is defined by, and outside of, the dominant discursive markers and disciplinary technologies operating within FHS.

While they are aware of the limitations of not having a PhD, particularly in terms of their career progression at FHS, both Kate and John state they made a (conscious) decision not to undertake a doctorate at this point in time. Kate attributes this stance to her positioning as a part timer and mother, and its associated restrictions on her capacity to 'do research' at work. Similarly, John indicates his decision has been shaped by his positioning within and outside FHS. Currently, he is weighing up his options – whether to continue as an academic or pursue alternative employment in an education or management role:

> *I have thought a lot and talked a lot to people about PhDs and I've got what I want to do – it's just a matter of taking the … next step. Yeah. And given that I've got a small, like a family with 2 small kids … there's priorities. But I know that I can't go further within the university system without [a PhD] … I've reached the maximum I can earn as a lecturer. And I won't become a senior lecturer until I get a PhD. So I either take the opportunity of completing a PhD or finding a job if, if the money thing becomes crucial or finding something that pays more money outside the Uni system.*

Kate and John's in/action in relation to the PhD demonstrates a certain freedom to act. That is, despite the constraints they face, they have choices – they can comply with the 'rules' of the system (complete their PhD), do nothing (maintain the status quo), or consider alternatives (work outside the university). Their choice highlights how they are challenging the institutional norms shaping academicity at FHS. Their in/action,

however, is not without consequence (as John makes clear). It is also influenced by the various subject positions they inhabit, within and outside the workplace setting.

Kate and John do not equate their performance as academics with the dominant discourse: that of productive (active) researcher (with PhD). Instead, their judgements are influenced and shaped by the subjectivities that they desire (value and uphold) – educator; health professional; clinician; worker; organisational agent; manager; parent. Many of these subjectivities are encompassed within McCollow and Lingard's (1996) categories of 'academic-as-worker' and 'academic-as-professional' (see also Barcan, 1996; Meemeduma, 2001). Taken together, these categories foster a utilitarian stance to work, one encouraging close connections with the organisational values/goals (commercial and/or service orientated), while simultaneously positioning academics within an employee/employer binary. They also enable and sustain the role of maintaining clinical connections at FHS.

Notwithstanding their similar positioning and desire to reconstruct the boundaries defining what constitutes the right kind of academic at FHS, Kate and John articulate their motivation for fashioning their academic 'self' somewhat differently. John rationalises his understanding of self from an organisational framework: he strives to be a *good* employee (compliant worker) and is willing to do *what it takes* in order to ensure institutional survival. Kate, on the other hand, suggests a more personal agenda: one driven by an interest in promoting student learning and developing her profession, while juggling the different demands on her time (as mother and part timer).

In noting these differences, I highlight other discursive versions of academicity and the role of alternative forces (professional, individual, organisational) shaping academics at FHS. In discussing these alternative ways of being/doing, Kate and John point toward some of the different boundaries (liminal spaces) that academics negotiate on a day-to-day basis (work/home, academic/vocational, university/clinical setting, researcher/teacher, business/education imperative). They are engaging in what Petersen refers to as 'inclusionary and exclusionary discursive practices' (Petersen, 2007c, p. 479). They are being enterprising about managing their everyday, creatively (re)negotiating the discursive categories shaping their experience and positioning in the setting.

John: I'm employed … to make the university money … to do a job

John presents himself as a committed and conscientious worker, aligned with his version of the organisational agenda, driven by his respect for and responsibility towards the University as an educational institution. Having moved beyond his *cruisey* past, he says that typically he works a *40 hour week* (if not more) and takes his role responsibilities very seriously:

> *I think it probably comes down to my attitude of what I'm doing here … I'm employed to make the university money … I'm employed by the university to do a job, and … my attitude is to do that job as best I can. So I think … some sort of responsibility to the university is crucial to me, and respect for the place I'm working in. And, I think early on in my years when I started off here I didn't have that sort of respect and hence took advantage of it. But now I don't. Now I respect the university and what they do and all that. So I think that attitude of, I'm here for the uni primarily and encourage them to make money in order to survive – so if that means me taking on higher loads so that the School survives, that's fine by me.*

What John seems to be suggesting here is that he exists in a sort of symbiotic relationship with the organisation – he is dependent on FHS for employment and FHS is dependent on its employees to achieve its aims. In taking up such a position, he represents himself as operating as an instrument of the organisation – he is prepared to perform his work to the best of his ability, no matter *what* effort is required.

From my reading of John's narrative, he equates his performance and the attainment of the positioning as a 'good' employee with a sort of 'selfless' submission to the organisation – he is here to do a job and his work efforts should 'profit' the University not himself. For as Davies (2006; see also B. Davies et al., 2001) highlights, drawing on Butler's work about subjectification, the understanding of self is intricately bound up in a process of mastery and submission.

> The individual subject is not possible without this simultaneous submission and mastery. The formation of the subject thus depends on powers external to itself. The subject might resist and agonise over those very powers that dominate and subject it, and at the same time, it also depends on them for its existence. (B. Davies, 2006, p. 426)

With this relationship in mind, John's academic subjectivity is linked with his desire to gain recognition, while mastering his teaching role (which he equates with being a *good employee*). The realisation of this positioning, however, is dependent on his submission to the demands of the organisation.

An associated example of this process of subjectification is John's desire to be seen as a *good teacher* – a subjectivity he values deeply. He couches his ability to excel as teacher from an organisational (business) framework, openly embracing a business discourse and privileging economic drivers rather than educational outcomes. As he puts it, students are more like *consumers* than learners, and he is here to *make the university money* (this is what he has been *employed* to do). Similarly he suggests universities, like other employment sectors, must now attend to issues like income generation and satisfying 'shareholders' (stakeholders). It would appear that John is trying to be the 'perfect corporate fit', in that he self-regulates his behaviour according to his own interests and those of his institution (McWilliam, 2000, p. 76-77).

While this (apparent) compliance with the organisational agenda could be equated with Foucault's ideas about how 'docile bodies' are produced as a result of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1991, p. 182), this does not fully capture the complexity of the processes at play. Rather, a much more encompassing explanation is provided by Foucault's discussion about the care of the self and the idea that individuals (actively) negotiate the disciplinary structures they are positioned within. For, as Foucault outlines, individuals have a certain level of agency as 'power relations are possible only insofar as the subjects are free' (Foucault, 2000a, p. 292). The (active) process through which individuals (re)constitute their understanding of self, however, is also influenced by the cultural, societal, and social constraints of the setting. Thus, while John has some agency and can make choices about his work, this 'freedom' is both conditional on, and conditioned by, the power relations operating in the setting.

Kate: I've had to learn a bit about being more strategic
Kate, like John, has been employed as a lecturer for over ten years and has played an active role in organising the clinical placements of students. Presenting herself as someone who is in touch with the realities of the *coalface*, she explains she has worked

hard to maintain her professional ties. She also is a committed teacher, who wants to make a difference.

With these parallels in mind, it is hardly surprising that Kate seems to occupy a similar range of subject positions to John, that of 'academic-as-practitioner', 'academic-as-teacher' and 'academic-as-parent'. Yet, the gender distinction means that Kate is positioned and is positioning herself somewhat differently. One difference is that Kate has chosen to work part time so that she can manage her concurrent roles as an academic (i.e. teacher) and a wife/mother. Another is the way in which she blurs the home/work boundary. Unlike John, she does not apply any self-imposed rules about (not) doing work at home. According to Kate, she has little time for anything other than work and being a mother, and academic work is not a job where *you can walk out the door and forget about it.*

The ability to juggle the demands of the different subject positions she occupies is a central theme in Kate's account. While she acknowledges that the flexibility afforded to the academic role is what enables her to effectively manage her work alongside her mothering responsibilities, she also notes that she has had to learn to be more strategic about her work. For although she really enjoys being a mum (with a son who is now five years old and just starting school), she recalls that the work expectations she was required to meet as a part timer were too much at one stage. Juggling this situation necessitated some clear decisions about how she could spend her time, both at work and at home:

> *When I first came back to work after having my child I was working three days … I was given the same [teaching] load that I had when I was here full time and I survived that for about a year. It just about broke up my marriage … so I just decided … enough was enough and I had to put the reins on and look after my own life a bit more. So that's when I asked to go down to one day a week – it was either that or leave.*

As Kate indicates here, continuing with this workload was not an option, since it was having such a direct impact on her personal life and her positioning as a wife and mother. She had to take action in order to regain some sense of control over her life. The ability to make decisions about what is and is not acceptable highlights a certain

freedom to act. Yet this freedom is always conditional, as it dependent on, yet constrained by, the power relations operating in the setting.

Kate's situation also reinforces Raddon's (2002) observations about the conflicts that academic mothers can face in terms of accommodating (managing the demands of) their different roles. These issues highlight the public (work)/private (home) binary that academic mothers must negotiate. Separating the spheres of academic work and motherhood is problematic, as each one informs, yet is informed by, the other. One consequence is that academic mothers often undertake extra work, outside of their paid hours, in order to succeed (perform) at work. Kate is clearly in this position, indicating she works many more hours than she is actually paid for, and that any research she does has to be accommodated in non-work time in the private sphere of her home.

As an academic mother, she wants to perform (and be seen to perform) in both her chosen role positions. Her ability to carry out such performance is enabled by the flexibility of her work hours, which helps her to switch from one positioning to another within and outside the workplace setting:

> *I'll tell you how I manage* [laughter]. *I arrive here at 9.30. So I drop my child at school. I pack up my computer at half past two, and I go home and pick him up do all the things at home that mums do … Then as soon as he goes to bed, I turn on the computer, and then I work at night.*

Clearly the work/home boundary is not operating here, as Kate appears to fit her work tasks around her mothering responsibilities. Such flexible work hours can lead to the *perception that university lecturers have a very easy existence*; this is not Kate's perceived reality though. Managing work and motherhood is very demanding. She has a busy existence, with little spare time to do anything else:

> *I know I put in far more hours than 3 days so I don't have any conscience problems … I'm pleased that I can actually do that … Oh yeah, the flexibility is wonderful … I do work other days, weekends … I do work a lot of other hours. But physically here, I'm not here as much.*

Kate does not feel at all guilty about her work approach. While she may not be constantly visible on campus, she does a lot of extra work in her own time. As a part timer, she has always accommodated other tasks such as research, new unit developments and online teaching outside of her official (paid) work hours. So, for Kate, the boundaries between her work and family life have become very permeable and the work she performs at home is both a substitute for, and a supplement to, her regular paid work (see Wright, Williamson, Schauder, & Stockfeld, 2003).

The autonomy of the academic role is something that Kate has always valued. In fact, it is one of the main reasons for her continued employment, despite her limited career progression as an academic over the last decade. According to Kate, she does not exhibit the (male) qualities often associated with academic success – she is not *self-promoting, aggressive* or *strategic*. Yet, somewhat paradoxically, using a more personal set of criteria, Kate feels she is actually quite successful as an academic: she lives up to her own expectations of doing a good job, delivering a good product, being a good teacher, making a difference, and so forth. At the same time, though, Kate is managing the tension between what the organisation stipulates and what she perceives constitutes successful performance as an academic; she is continuously renegotiating her positioning within and outside the workplace setting.

Like John, Kate self-regulates her behaviour according to her own interests and those of her institution. Yet, she does not embrace the organisational agenda in the same way that John does. In fact, the discursive categorisation of the 'academic-as-professional' (market, corporate or bureaucratic) does not neatly fit into Kate's understanding of self. Rather, her perception of self is simultaneously influenced by her clinical and teaching subject positions, alongside her positioning as mother, wife and part-timer.

Being enterprising: creatively negotiating discursive categories
Kate and John's accounts both illustrate that, at a personal level, individuals creatively (re)negotiate a range of discursive categorisations about academic work. Such categorisations are neither fixed nor defined though, each being (re)interpreted and (re)shaped according to the (academic) subject positioning/s and the power relations operating within and outside the setting at any one particular time. In effect, it is this fluidity that enables both Kate and John to take an 'enterprising' approach towards their

work. Rather than adhering to the dominant discursive regime, 'academic-as-researcher', they (re)classify their performance as an academic using an alternative framework, one that fits their different purposes. They embrace alternative ways of being/doing (Petersen, 2007b) at FHS.

Notwithstanding this, both Kate and John still are playing a (active) role in upholding and reinforcing the discursive categorisation 'academic-as-researcher'. Even though research is not incorporated into their day-to-day work practices, it is nevertheless an influential feature influencing their understanding of self. John, for instance, is careful to point out the career limitations and barriers he faces as a result of choices he has made. Kate, on the other hand, encompasses this role dimension (albeit in a limited manner) outside her paid work hours. It is this process of acknowledging and discussing their inactivity as researchers, while simultaneously privileging and upholding their teaching roles, that reinforces the dominance of the research role.

This discursive categorisation influences John and Kate's understandings of academic self: they are performing another role to that of the productive researcher. Their narratives do not seem to sanction or fully embody the researcher/teacher binary, however. Rather, this binary is a power relation they are managing and negotiating as they accommodate the institutional imperatives alongside their personal career interests and aspirations. Thus, in accepting the consequences of their research in/action, and upholding the value of their work at FHS, they are creatively (re)shaping their academic self. Importantly, their narratives highlight that the boundaries between the personal and professional can be difficult to distinguish and that academic work often incorporates multiple subjectivities. They also indicate the need for more discussion about what does or does not constitute contemporary academic work at FHS, raising questions about how to overcome dominant discursive categorisations that inhibit thinking about and recognition of alternative ways of being academic.

The capacity of individuals to creatively embrace alternative subjectivities is noted by other participants. Jane, for instance, suggests some of her academic colleagues demonstrate inappropriate academicity: they 'just' teach, they are like *fringe dwellers*, they do not engage in what she refers to as *mainstream academia* (teaching, research and university/community service). What Jane seems to be suggesting is that these *fringe*

dwellers are like itinerant workers: they come in to do a job (in this case teaching) and then they leave. From an institutional perspective her fringe dwellers colleagues are fulfilling an important role. Yet, from Jane's perspective, their employment at FHS is somewhat problematic as it raises workload inequities. That is, while she has the same teaching load as these 'fringe dwellers', they do not engage in any of the 'other' mainstream work she performs. Notwithstanding this, Jane does not totally discount the possibility of allowing a space for another type of academic worker at FHS, someone who has a transient, but important, role to fulfil.

Extending Jane's observations about the role of 'fringe dwellers', Robert discusses the significance of individual academics understanding how the university operates more broadly. Essentially he is enlarging the idea of academicity discussed previously, to suggest that other forms of academic work than the teaching/research dualism must be taken up as legitimate ways of being/doing work at FHS. For, as he puts it, *functional academics* at FHS need to take a big picture view: they should be involved in committees and other types of work outside of their responsibilities in terms of teaching and research. As far as he is concerned, academics can no longer insulate themselves from the 'real' world:

> *We can't tolerate academics that largely keep themselves in their little area and have little involvement outside their teaching and research. They at the very least they have to … become aware of the way in which the university really does work and that then allows them, I think, to operate in a more realistic way. You know by being on committees … [and] for the first few months they are often a liability … But after a while they start to learn and when they move off that committee they actually become a much more functional academic because they then are able to make more informed decisions. They're more realistic about resource allocations … knowing what's possible and those sorts of things … [And] if they've got any aspirations to progress they have to start getting into that other mucky stuff, you know, the administrative things and negotiating with their colleagues, within and without [the setting].*

According to Robert, *real* academic work is much more than teaching and research: it also involves all that *other mucky stuff*. An academic cannot be *functional* without this type of involvement. Yet involvement in these sorts of activities – this *mucky* work – is forming another dressage process: one that is disciplining the individual according to

organisational norms. It is through this kind of involvement, Robert suggests, that new academics become aware of the rules of the game and what they need to do in order to survive and prosper in this workplace.

Conclusion

Essentially, this chapter has discussed the performative role of the PhD and how it is acting as a form of 'dressage' in the process of making up the 'right kind' of academic at FHS. Building on the analysis in chapter 4, this chapter provides another perspective about the power relations operating on and within the setting, and how these are (actively) upheld and reinforced by academics themselves. I have also highlighted how the PhD (and research more generally) is functioning as a system of differentiation: how academics are consciously (and sub-consciously) using the research/teaching binary to negotiate their different subjectivity/s and ways of being/doing at FHS.

Furthermore, considering the historical-social-cultural backdrop of FHS, as outlined in Chapter 4, it is hardly surprising that the PhD, and the research role more generally, have been endorsed as the dominant markers of academicity. Yet, as this chapter illustrates, this marker it is not the only culturally sanctioned subject position or way of being/doing that is taken up by my participants. Other subjectivity/s that are embraced reflect the different career (employment) trajectories and aspirations of the individuals concerned, and the extent to which they have bought into the different discourses and cultural norms operative within FHS. This chapter has explored the multiple and shifting nature of the subject positions individuals can and do occupy at any one time, and some of the technologies that are shaping these subjectivities. With this in mind, the next chapter goes on to analyse the strategies individuals use to negotiate the complexities and/or competing demands of their everyday work – their ways of operating and making do.

Contemporary views of the subject concur that it is always in motion, and constantly produced in time and space. Subjectivity has no existence, per se, but is continuously constituted and resignified … Always, subjectivity is produced by power and acted on by power. And usually the subject exercises power, sometimes to resist the very power that is shaping it, but always from within the socio-psychic forces and resources that constitute it. (Fenwick, 2006, p. 27)

Introduction

In this chapter I build on the previous analysis and the arguments I developed about the CAE legacy of FHS (as CCHS) and the disciplinary technologies and discursive regimes that are working to (re)fashion the research setting and those positioned within it. Using this foundation as my backdrop, I now explore the strategies and tactics that academics at FHS employ in order to manage the demands of their everyday work: their 'ways of operating' and of 'making do' (de Certeau, 1988). This focus allows me to present another perspective about 'academicity' – the culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing – at FHS (Petersen, 2007b). That is, having noted what is being taken up as legitimate work – what constitutes and is being constituted as the right kind of academic in this setting – I now consider the different techniques individuals use to manage and justify their approach to everyday work: how they accommodate, reproduce and challenge 'academicity' (Petersen, 2007c) at FHS. What I highlight in the process is that these techniques are framed by an individual's ways of talking about their work in terms of their aspirations and desires (from personal, professional, institutional perspectives). They are also bounded within the contextual constraints and power relations operating on and circulating within the workplace setting.

Drawing on the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 3, I examine how interview participants talk about their experiences in manoeuvring the demands of everyday work and the types of strategies and tactics they identify as being useful in this respect. In this way, I illustrate how these techniques form part of the ongoing process of

trans/forming the academic self at FHS, constituting the forms of action and self-disciplinary processes that participants (willingly) embrace in the pursuit of their desires (Starkey & McKinlay, 1998, p. 238-239).

By attending to the 'practice of everyday life' (de Certeau, 1988) and 'the practices of self' (Foucault, 1987), the chapter demonstrates that the process of managing everyday work (at any given point in time-space) involves a process of give-and-take. Individuals creatively negotiate the disciplinary technologies operating on and circulating within the setting, while determining what constitutes an acceptable cost: personally, professionally and institutionally. Furthermore, it is from within this space of 'regulated freedom' (Rose, 1999b, p. 22) that ordinary academics negotiate opportunity and risk – to self, profession and institution – and shape their work practices in terms of what Rose refers to as the 'everyday, practical procedures, systems and regimes of injunction, prohibition, judgement through which human beings come to understand, and act upon their daily conduct' (Rose, 1999a, p. xx).

The chapter is structured into three sections to reflect the different practices of the self the participants discuss in their narratives: negotiating work boundaries (protecting the self); handling work demands (adapting the self); and determining worth (validating the self). Taken together, these practices comprise the self-disciplinary strategies and tactics participants employ, from their simultaneous positioning as subject and agent, to manoeuvre everyday work circumstances and take care of their 'self'. These practices highlight how the different subjectivities of FHS academics are influenced and framed by 'academicity' – the culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing (Petersen, 2007a, 2007c) – and how this shapes the different forms of action that can be taken up at a local level.

In each section, these practices are examined in terms of the particular techniques and events that enable and/or constrain the logic of everyday action as an academic at FHS. Underpinning this discussion is an assumption about the complexity of the inter-connections between participants' work circumstances and their practices of the self. On the one hand, practices are bounded by, yet situated within, the specificities of place (institutional milieu and culture), positioning (subjectivity), and practice (stance towards and emphasis of work roles). On the other, they are shaped by the participants' spoken

desire to perform as an academic, alongside their ability to manoeuvre within the everyday risks and opportunities they face. Furthermore, while these circumstances may be embodied differently in different people, interacting and overlapping in varying degrees and combinations, collectively they situate the practices employed by the participants in this study.

Negotiating work boundaries

This first section examines the practice of negotiating work boundaries. The discussion commences with a broad overview of the different types of boundaries participants discuss in their narratives, and the strategies and tactics associated with these distinctions. Such boundary practice is then further elaborated using excerpts from the narratives of two participants, Anna and Louise.

These participants discuss a range of strategies that they use to take care of the 'self'. Many of these strategies are framed from temporal and spatial perspectives, whereby (imaginary) boundaries are drawn up in order to manage when and where everyday work practices are enacted. Some boundaries involve the implementation of self-imposed rules like not taking work home, monitoring the hours physically spent at or doing work, and limiting time allocated to specific tasks and role responsibilities. Others consist of tactics such as withdrawal from or non-participation in the everyday, and being selective about work emphasis and effort. Yet, as the participant narratives demonstrate, the process of setting up such boundaries and rulings is always negotiable. Furthermore, participants do not always talk about being in the 'control seat', noting how other forces (such as peers and work demands) also play a role in determining the final outcome of their 'chosen' course of action.

They talk about this practice of the self using binary distinctions (work/home, academic/clinician, university/industry) to articulate what they will and will not accept as a reasonable workload and/or their positioning at FHS. The work/home distinction, for instance, is used to indicate how they manoeuvre their everyday responsibilities alongside 'other' (non-academic) priorities. John highlights this point when he talks about containing his work efforts within *the 40 hour week* and not taking work home at

the weekends: *I won't work one day a week, Sunday … I don't work, full stop.* He indicates he manages this self-imposed ruling – keeping his *Sunday totally free* – by using strategies like *going in early on Monday* or doing *work of an evening sometimes*. John specifically protects this time-space because, according to him, having a weekend is *more important than work*. He 'makes do' by working additional hours and accommodating *higher loads* (as noted in Chapter 5) during the working week. Likewise, Karen talks about containing her work effort within the *normal* working week, with *normal meaning 40 hours a week*. Accordingly, she discusses strategies like having *to set fairly strict hours*, quarantine *distractions during the day* and make a *deliberate attempt to shut off* from work at home. She likens her work stance to *under-working*, because if she did what she thinks the *organisation expects or needs* she would be working many additional hours, well beyond those of a *normal* working week. In both cases, *the 40-hour week* is being employed as a marker, or self-regulatory mechanism, to gauge and then justify work effort alongside work demands.

Kate and Jane also talk about negotiating the work/home boundary. From their positioning as part-time academics (and mothers) both identify this distinction as an essential consideration in caring for their 'self'. Their narratives highlight that they manage and are managed by this situation somewhat differently, however. Jane talks about how she carefully *watches* the hours she is able (and willing) to work. She reports that she is very diligent about this, indicating that there *are a thousand and one things [she] could do … but they don't get done … [because she's] not prepared to get paid for 60% and work 80.* Kate, on the other hand, does not monitor the hours she works per se. Rather she is vigilant about the time she spends *physically* at work (as noted in Chapter 5). She speaks about containing her time at work by doing work such as conducting online teaching tasks and research and responding to email correspondence at home *outside [her] paid time*, usually late at night when her five-year-old is asleep. According to Kate, this strategy helps her to validate her work effort and commitment (personally), while communicating to work colleagues *[she's] doing plenty of work, don't you worry.* In this way, she does not *have any conscious problems*, nor does she feel the need *to prove [her]self to anyone.* However the flexible and autonomous nature of her work – *being able to dictate what you do, when you do it and how you do it and … nobody's ever looking over your shoulder* – is not without (personal) risk: it can lead to the (mis)perception from both professional and student perspectives that *university lecturers have a very easy existence.*

Alongside this work/home distinction, given the professional mandate of FHS, participants with clinical placement responsibilities in particular discuss their dual positioning as academic/clinician, and the tensions arising from the university/industry interface. Kate, for example, while noting a senior clinician's criticism about her decision to leave *the coalface* for *the ivory tower*, talks about the importance of understanding *the other side*. She also speaks of a desire to keep her *claws in* and to find ways of maintaining connections with *the coalface … hospitals, patients and things*. Similarly, John observes the importance of his clinical placement role, noting *it keeps your hand in and you get to keep in contact with the professions*. What he suggests is that it enables *a bigger picture of what's happening out there as well*, thus counteracting the protected nature of the university environment (which he likens to living *in a bit of a cocoon*). According to John, academics need to take up this viewpoint as universities are like other areas of the labour force: they have to deal with *decreased resources … increased workloads* and *get more money for their shareholders*.

Anna: I very rarely feel that I have actually walked away from [work]
A strong undercurrent throughout Anna's narrative is her close connection with and involvement in work, both on and off campus. It is a situation compounded by her positioning as a clinical academic, where *the impingement of the administrative aspects of that role into the time and space in which anything else might occur has always been really significant*. Yet, as she observes, this issue is not limited to clinical academics: *other people … are now experiencing the same kind of [difficulties] … in terms of finding any time and space to do research or even to further develop the teaching aspects of their role … [it] is something that seems to be spreading I think*.

She reports difficulty with the (mis)perception of the flexibility of her day-to-day work practices, noting that drawing boundaries between her work/home time-space, as well as juggling the demands of her teaching/administration/research roles, is problematic. She articulates these difficulties by indicating that she rarely feels like she has *walked away* from her work because, even when not physically on-campus, she is *invariably working on something*. Her situation is compounded by workplace demands, because *to actually prop up a system that … is as big as the one in which we're working in now there are very significant administrative tasks that need to be done*.

Anna explains that as a clinical academic *you might be there … doing a whole lot of administrative work and when you finally get through some of that, or get to some kind of point where you can step back from it for a while, you have to then try to shift gear altogether and get back into some of those other things. And the kind of preparation that's required to teach effectively and to engage effectively with students and to be providing feedback to them and to be doing what you're doing with some sort of reasonable currency … those are all things that require considered thought.*

This talk of the difficulties arising from the sheer volume of administrative tasks she is required to perform highlights the constraints she sees this placing on her capacity to engage in other academic responsibilities, such as teaching and research, often considered more important.

Her use of the term *impingement* accentuates the intrusive, all encompassing nature of these tasks, reinforcing the comments about her struggle to maintain a clear distinction between work and other aspects of her life. As she explains, however, this type of administrative impingement is not confined to clinical academics. The problem is *spreading*: non-clinical academics are now experiencing the same sort of time-space intrusion she has always had to manage. Anna is focused on the intensification of academic work in general and the difficulties this presents for academics (herself included) in accommodating the demands of the everyday. The large administrative load she accommodates 'at work' leaves her little time-space for teaching and research. She has to make do by incorporating these tasks in another space outside her workplace setting.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Anna points out the importance of the administrative function she performs and her contribution in terms of *propping up* the system. By positioning herself as playing an integral role in this process Anna reveals a certain level of collusion with, and commitment to, the organisation, aligning herself as one of the necessary supports sustaining organisational requirements and needs. At the same time, she identifies the importance of distancing herself from this aspect of her work. This is necessary so she can take up other responsibilities that require *considered thought*.

This movement back and forth in terms of Anna's proximity to the organisation, and the effort that is expended in the process, points towards another tension she is

managing: how to accommodate organisational needs within and around personal desires. Talk of the significance of her administrative tasks emphasises the contribution and the centrality of her role in this regard. Nevertheless, wrapped within this discussion is a desire for maintaining her credibility as an academic. What this means is that she must make a concerted effort to *step back* and *shift gear* from her administrative tasks, otherwise she will not be able to find adequate time-space for *the kind of preparation that's required to teach effectively … and to be doing what you're doing with some sort of reasonable currency.*

One of her strategies for managing these *day-to-day difficulties … is to find a way to distance [herself] to some extent.* This distance, she explains, is important:

> *So that…I don't always feel quite as personally responsible for things…that don't necessarily work out, or don't seem to be moving ahead. I think one of the things that I've got written somewhere in my thesis is actually something to do with…being tired of trying to explain or be responsible for what are essentially systemic problems in a lot of instances.*

While articulating some responsibility to the system, Anna indicates this is a position she is not willing to accept. She must find a way to protect her 'self' by dissociating herself from this 'technology of responsibilisation' (Rose, 1999b, p. 74). She has to manoeuvre the boundaries around what she will and will not be held accountable for. Her strategy for maintaining some sense of control over her work life is not an isolated one. She observes other academics are also *retreating into their own space a lot more to protect themselves, their own physical space.*

Louise: I used to be in the middle of everything…now I'm on the edges of it
Louise also recounts a story of engagement/disengagement with the everyday, highlighting some clear distinctions between her past and current experiences at FHS. Like Anna, she frames her narrative around her positioning as an academic, noting how this circumstance influences the way she manages and is managed by her work. Yet, in part, she presents a somewhat different perspective about the work boundaries she negotiates, given the established nature of her academic career and her stance as a productive researcher.

Louise talks about her withdrawal from the everyday business of the school as a decision prompted by the behaviour of colleagues who neither required nor valued her input anymore – they were *threatened by [her] competency* so they had to *put it down … trash it*. This situation is quite different from her earlier experiences at FHS when she felt *very much wanted … [people] knocked themselves out to be of assistance … they were incredibly supportive and very encouraging.* She observes:

> *I used to be in the middle of everything in the school. And now I'm on the edges of it. And I basically feel that I was pushed, put down, put aside and so why bother … I mean I don't need this … I'm too far along in my career at this point. I have tenure … [and] despite the fact that I don't have enough time to do research I'm probably one of the most productive people in this Faculty. The number of publications I have a year I rank up with most of them … I know I'm one of the most published people in the school.*

According to Louise this shift from the *middle* to the *edge* of the school action was a necessary tactic to protect her 'self'.

She talks with a level of regret about her current disengagement. She used to enjoy being in the *middle* of the action: it was a *very exciting time ... a time that everybody could find some place to shine.* She uses *Camelot* as a reference point to indicate that it was *a brilliant time to come to the Faculty - the Faculty had just become part of the university … it was innovative, it was exciting, people were encouraged to think creatively and to think about new ways of teaching, new kinds of programs.* She played a key role in building the research capacity of her school (and the faculty more generally) – *that was [her] mandate.* She *was hired to increase the research profile of the school* and facilitate the *adjustment* and *adaptation* of FHS from a CAE to university context. She also integrated research into a new subject that the head of School *'lanced'* her with on her arrival (an early example of research-led teaching).

As these work conditions changed she repositioned herself in the setting because she did not need to be *pushed, put down, put aside.* She questions the need to engage with everyday School business, not seeing this as necessary for sustaining her credibility or understanding of self-as-academic. She has nothing to prove – she has a well-established career and *ranks* up there alongside other *productive* researchers. In spite of this situation,

she reports that her colleagues continue to censure her input. It does not alter her sense of self-as-academic though:

> *I mean I sat through enough meetings with 'Oh [Louise]' and after a few 'Oh [Louise's], I said why bother … I mean I can tell you what's going to happen, I've been around long enough … I've read enough … to be able to tell you where things are going intellectually. I know people. It's my job. I study human behaviour. You know, you're not going to listen to me, fine I'll keep my mouth shut. So, I basically dropped off of almost all of the committees … I decided that if they wanted me to be on the fringe I'd be on the fringe … I don't have to do this sort of stuff … I think I have a contribution to make to the school, but why bother?*

Louise refuses to accept the criticism of her colleagues. She constructs herself as someone who does make a direct contribution – she's *been around, read enough, knows people* and *where things are going intellectually*. She negotiates this situation by taking some (personal) control: withdrawing her input, staying on *the fringe,* keeping her *mouth shut* and *dropping off* most committees.

Her talk indicates her in/actions have both positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand, her (active) withdrawal has the potential to place the school at risk because of the loss of her expertise. One the other, distancing her 'self' is a (self) protective mechanism positioning Louise in another, presumably safer, space. From this de-centred position, she is no longer subject to or subjected by her colleagues and her absence works to accentuate the value of her voice. In managing this tension, Louise is (actively) working to reconfigure her sense of (self) worth, personally and professionally.

She believes she adds value but questions whether she should make the effort:

> *In the last year I've been allowed to actually speak up occasionally … I do have things to offer. But it's frustrating to sit in a meeting when you basically know that you can't open your mouth, you're going to be shut up, so I don't bother. So that's why I stopped going to those meetings, but some of the meetings I've started to go to again and people are actually coming over and saying we're glad you're back, we're glad you're back.*

Her colleagues do then exert an influence (both positively and negatively) in terms of her ability to negotiate the situation.

Personal issues also play a role in determining her schedule. Louise explains she has a chronic pain problem, and her pain and fatigue levels often dictate what she does and does not do. She is also getting older and is now neither able nor willing to maintain the long hours she used to work:

> *I can't put in the 12 and 16 hour days that I used to put in, I won't put them in … I mean I can get through teaching because I have to I go into … a performance mode and I go into this altered state of consciousness and I get through it … But in terms of the kind of creative stuff that you need to do in terms of writing and thinking … that happens at weekends. It basically does not happen during the week.*

While Louise *gets though* the necessary tasks, her regular work, she suggests this requires a shift to a *performance mode* or *sales routine … where [she] can do the entire lecture and [her] head can be someplace else.* The more creative work is conducted outside the working week in unpaid time, highlighting the permeable nature of the boundary between her work and home.

In summary, the participants in this study speak of using a range of techniques (associated with protection of the 'self') to negotiate everyday work demands. Some strategies involve setting up temporal and/or spatial boundaries to aid selectivity about work emphasis and effort. Others appear to be driven by an individual's desire to generate some sense of control over their work environment, albeit conditioned by and conditional on the institutional circumstances they operate within.

The in/ability of the participants to negotiate these sorts of boundaries within the time-space they have available (and consider reasonable) appears to be acting as a central force regulating how they are managing and being managed by their work. It also reinforces my earlier observation that participants are operating in a space of 'regulated freedom' (Rose, 1999b), whereby they assume responsibility and accept accountability for their work approach and the consequences flowing from this.

Such practices of negotiation are intimately tied up with the participants' understandings of self-as-academic. They involve a process of determining what self-disciplinary techniques to employ, given the desires and/or positioning of the individual involved. In this way the participants occupy a sort of betwixt and between position, neither totally in nor out of control of their situation. They discuss a diversity of approaches to this aspect of managing and making do. They also demonstrate the permeable nature of the different boundaries they are negotiating, reinforcing Thrift's (2006, p. 140-141) point that 'there is no such thing as a boundary. All spaces are porous to a greater or lesser degree … and every space is in a constant motion'.

Handling work demands

The second practice of the self participants talk about is how they are handling their work demands. They discuss the ways in which they modify, re-make and/or re-consider their academic self, in line with the work circumstances at hand and their positioning in the setting. Major adaptations they identify are the transformation of teaching practice and the need to embrace a more collaborative stance in research. They also identify issues related to the management of risk (personally, professionally and institutionally) and the adoption of an enterprising stance towards work. Collectively, these adaptations demonstrate a range of constraints and opportunities shaping academic practices at FHS.

Participants make reference to this practice in both generic and specific terms. On the one hand, they discuss the broad adjustments an institution, and its inhabitants, must make to accommodate the changing nature of the university workplace and its contemporary requirements. On the other, they speak about the personal and pragmatic ways they negotiate the intensification, and complexity, of their everyday work demands. In both respects, one of the main issues participants articulate is how they manage teaching, alongside other demands and expectations. Kate talks about incorporating the online environment into her teaching and the opportunities this presents. Not only does it help her to link *resources to students* more effectively and be *much more time efficient,* but it also provides her with a mechanism for negotiating the local school constraints (like the

monitoring of *photocopying* and *STD phone calls*) associated with budget reductions and increasing student numbers. Rather than *getting depressed* about this she *accepts* the situation, acknowledging the *need to find more ways of doing things [because] … if you can't change things or use your resources better then you might as well get out.* She indicates that aligning her 'self' with the organisational agenda and its requirements is a necessary tactic for school (and personal) survival because, as she puts it, *it's do or die basically. I'm not ready to die just yet.*

John indicates he has made adaptations to his teaching because *staff numbers have gone down … more tasks have come across from other areas and we're having to do more with less.* He suggests these difficulties are compounded by the changing nature of the student body, now positioned as paying customers. Accommodating *consumer* needs by *starting to cater a little bit more for students than we did in the past* poses some difficulties, however, because *giving students more choice means more work for [academics].* He talks about managing this situation by drawing on his knowledge of the system and *streamlining* his work practices in terms of teaching, administration and student support. These strategies are supported by his *task driven and task orientated* work stance and his ability to *switch on and switch off* from teaching responsibilities. He adopts a pragmatic approach towards his work, organising and structuring his day carefully: he uses lists to negotiate tasks – *I love lists, I'm just the list king* – and attends to emails and phone calls at specific times in the day. His *strong faith,* and the use of *prayer when difficulties arise*, provides him with another tactic for handling work demands.

Beyond these individual approaches, the participants also discuss the imperatives of the changing work environment they inhabit and the difficulties these can present in terms of handling everyday work demands. Some articulate these observations as issues of personal and institutional accountability, from funding and/or performance perspectives. Others comment about the significance of, yet difficulties associated with, Faculty demands like the negotiation of clinical placement requirements, noting *the competition for territory between universities, the negotiations that 'that' all brings out [and] the battles that get fought when somebody cheats on an agreement* (Robert). These environmental circumstances influence how participants are managing and are managed by their work, and whether (or not) they are able to take up an enterprising stance towards their practice.

In this regard, John speaks about the change to research funding policies at the Faculty level and the way in which this *penalises the Schools that maybe are not as research active as others, or research smart in terms is what they get people to do.* Here he positions himself as someone who understands the strategic imperatives facing FHS, whether or not he is actively involved in their realisation. He notes the situation is compounded by institutional *top-slicing*, where central funding (previously automatically allocated) now has to be earned, based on local performance indicators in the areas of teaching and research. John's comments about funding constraints are reiterated by others. Robert, who refers to himself as *a bureaucrat and an administrator [rather than]… a scientist*, talks about the need to introduce a more *corporate approach* to the management of the school and determine how to *best use our dollars … and looking at where we could earn additional money.* Others refer to *feeling … that you've got to bring in the dollars* (Karen), yet *how you get the dollars doesn't really matter* (Kate).

In managing these types of local power relations, the participants negotiate the nature of work they undertake and the effort they are willing to expend in the process. Karen highlights this tension when she talks about her strategic positioning in the faculty, despite her stated desire to *keep a low profile.* She manages the situation by using the small amount of funding she is allocated for undertaking this role to *buy out* her teaching. While she feels a bit *bold* paying someone else to do her teaching, it enables her to engage in this role and have time to concentrate on more personal goals like completing her PhD. Louise also speaks of having the capacity to *buy out* teaching: in her case, as a result of funding received though an external research grant. This situation, which has enabled her to focus on research, addresses her stated desire for the *intellectual stimulation* she experienced earlier in another university. It also helps her to create some distance from the everyday accountabilities she (actively) resists, like getting *permission to take a trip overseas* and justifying her marking and why *her grades are appropriate.*

These constraints and opportunities must be managed carefully as the following cases indicate. In the first case, Jane discusses the difficulties she has accommodating current organisational research expectations as a part-timer. Robert, on the other hand, talks about the self-disciplinary strategies he has instigated to manage the teacher/student interaction more effectively.

Jane: I'm not sure I want to keep playing

Jane talks about the importance of handling her work demands carefully. Her positioning as part-time academic and mother means she must negotiate 'the independent, aggressive nature of academic work and the dependent, caring nature of mothering' (Raddon, 2002, p. 387). She *watches* the amount of time spent at (and doing) work and tries to contain her work efforts within paid work hours. This strategy, however, makes it difficult to meet organisational expectations and realise her desires. For instance, in terms of her research role she articulates a mismatch between what the organisation expects (and needs) and what she is able (and willing) to achieve:

> *The model of the … academic who comes into research and [who is] a productive researcher … if you're full time and you're kind of putting 100% into your job I think you can match that reasonably well. I think it's much more difficult when you're part time … because for a start I've got kids and … [when it's] major grant writing time … mine are on holiday … I can try and prepare before then, but then there's teaching commitments and that makes it very difficult … I also have another half … who worked shift work. So, I didn't have the whole weekend to say "well you take the kids and I'll write a grant for the whole weekend". I've never had that kind of time.*

Jane does not perceive the organisational expectations as being unreasonable. They just do not allow a space for a part time work approach like hers. Personal commitments, given her dual positioning as an academic-mother, mean that the time-space (within and outside work) for handling work demands, like developing grant applications, is restricted. It is an issue she struggles with:

> *I sort of debate with myself about whether [my 60% ruling] is a cop out or whether it's not. For a certain extent it is, but it's a choice I make … I'm not prepared to flog away every weekend writing research grants. I'm 60% … I'm not going to work 80 and get paid for 60 … So within 60% it is extremely difficult to do what you have to do in terms of admin and teaching and suddenly generate this quality research grants at a time that you're up to your eyeballs in school holidays.*

In making this *choice* she is disciplining her 'self'. She takes responsibility for her conduct and the consequences arising from the self-disciplinary techniques she is applying here. Finding strategies to manage work expectations within her part-time hours, while simultaneously taking care of her 'self', is the challenge she has to manage. It is a difficult situation: one influenced by her desire to maintain credibility as a researcher, in the context of changing research performance markers at the institutional level and beyond.

Jane indicates she is at a crossroad in her academic career. She has to reconsider her position as a researcher and decide whether to stay in the *minor league* and just *paddle around*, or whether to move into the *major league with the research grants*. If the former, she would just continue as is: she would still *have honour students … get publications out … [and] get small grants*. However, she would look *less respectable*. If the latter, she would have to make a concerted effort and lift her research *up to the next level*.

She constructs herself as someone who understands the implications of this decision, personally and professionally:

> *I've always stayed here because I made a very active choice to be here and very regularly I weigh up … the pros and cons of being here and being somewhere [else]. I'm not here by default, never have been and never will be. And I'm at that point now where I'm kind of weighing up the pros and cons and they're not coming out too well … I've been in the system because … what I've got out of it has always out weighed the cost … I'm not sure that's the case at the moment for me … As I said with the need to take [my] research up to that next level, all that … palaver of the way you have to do it [i.e. big grants], I'm not sure I want to keep playing.*

Throughout her work life at FHS, she has made *a very active choice* to continue working as an academic. The shifting expectations she discusses in terms of her research role are forcing a reassessment of the situation. This means she has to negotiate what Dean (cited in B. Davies & Petersen, 2005, p. 93) refers to as a technology of agency and a technology of performance. In one respect, she has the freedom to act and the capacity to decide whether or not to *keep playing*. At the same time, she is governed by this choice as her in/action is measured alongside this 'performance' demand. She has to weigh up

the consequences from the perspective of her understanding of self and her credibility as an academic.

Robert: There were always a few students who would use you up …

Robert also illustrates the interplay between self-regulated yet self-regulating behaviour though his talk about the strategies he uses to handle student interaction. He explains that when he returned to academia to be a researcher (after 15 years in industry) he *saw teaching as something [he] was just prepared to do as part of the job.* He also anticipated no problems in teaching undergraduate students; after all *[he'd] done this before ['he'd] just pick it up again.* It proved to be not so easy. First, he had to negotiate competing work demands (teaching, research and administration). Second, he had to manage a more diverse student cohort, one that exhibited a *marked change* in their attitude towards academic staff: *they were far more demanding … there was less intrinsic respect in their preparedness to take what you said to them on face value, there was a lot more sort of credentialing of people.*

Acknowledging this disciplinary capacity of the student body, Robert manages student/teacher interaction carefully. He has to *discipline* himself about not spending too much time with individual students, ensuring his efforts are applicable to the wider student group:

> *I found that if I didn't do that [discipline myself] there were always a few students who would use you up. There were some genuine students that needed additional support, and that was something I found difficult because there simply wasn't enough time. And that's tough, sort of basically giving students who [you] are intrinsically happy to help, but you have to say to them 'I'm sorry that's all the time I can give you'.*

Robert's concern to do the best for his students highlights a commitment to his teaching role, in spite of his stated desire to be a researcher. He has limited time for this role, though. He allocates *all the time* he can to student interaction and has to manage this carefully to avoid the risk of being *used up.* Furthermore, the demands have intensified, he observes, following the introduction of student fees, via the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS). He comments that students now have a consumer mentality and are much more likely to say *I deserve* or *I have the right for these sorts of things [consultation time].*

Alongside Robert's undergraduate teaching, another issue he has to manage is the (external) demand for more flexible approaches to learning. He embraced this challenge, including making value judgements about the most appropriate course of action, and actively encouraged others to do the same: not only as a response to the financial constraints that his school faced, but also because it enabled a reduction in student contact hours, thus freeing up more time for (important) activities, such as research and teaching. *I'd been encouraging people to change, to be less didactic and traditional, and in their own best interest to reduce their contact hours to be able to put more time into their research and teaching.* It appears that Robert's active support of flexible teaching and learning actually mobilised a technology that then regulated his own work practices. For, as he highlights, when he had to *basically turn around and do exactly the same thing almost overnight* he found this shift *difficult … having taught something in one way and then just picking it up and trying to do it on the run.*

In spite of these difficulties, Robert suggests there is merit in embracing a less didactic (traditional) approach to facilitate student learning. One benefit of moving *away from the traditional presentation forms of lectures, pracs and tutes* related to funding: the School *no longer had money to provide for independent tutorials.* On a personal front, *using information [in his teaching] … in value added ways* was an important strategy for Robert, particularly given the large number of postgraduate students he had *accumulated* and his tendency *to wear too much,* which restricted his capacity to provide *quality teaching.* One of the solution he speaks about is his *push* for postgraduate coursework *to be progressively changed over to distance … [because even though] the total amount of work was not that much different … it became more manageable … you could choose more when to do the work: not locked into, you know, times and those sorts of things, which I found just about crucifying at the time.*

Not surprisingly, all participants discuss their approach to handling everyday work demands from the perspective of teaching practices, research expectations and institutional constraints. The adaptations they talk about in relation to such practices of the self highlight that various strategies (some more strategic in intent than others) are employed to effectively manoeuvre their work circumstances. Their strategies, which are self-disciplinary in nature, are often motivated according to their positioning in the

setting and their spoken desire to take up a particular stance towards their work practice as an academic.

Participants' narratives further reveal that the practice of handling these demands involves the simultaneous process of managing, yet being managed by, the expectations at work, on both personal and institutional fronts. They speak about having to accommodate a range of issues such as the changing nature and expectations of the student cohort, advances in information and communication technologies, research requirements and institutional funding constraints. It is through this process of accommodation that the participants develop their understanding of their 'self' and their positioning in the setting.

By reframing their day-to-day work practice in order to manage these demands, participants talk about the tasks and responsibilities they are (and are not) willing to take up. They also highlight an awareness of the consequences (personally, professionally and institutionally) of their 'chosen' in/action. In many respects, the participants are engaging in a sort of risk management practice here, whereby they are manoeuvring and (re)fashioning their 'self' according to the circumstances at hand. The approach to handling these work demands, therefore, is intimately associated with another practice of self: the practice of determining worth.

Determining worth

Beyond environmental influences and processes of (self) adaptation, participants also discuss a range of techniques that they employ to validate, or render credible, their work stance and approach, and the role that these techniques play in shaping understanding of self-as-academic. Some of the meaningful work practices that participants identify are capacities to maintain professional connections (with clinicians and research peers) and to take an active role in influencing curriculum and policy directions. They speak also about seeking opportunities to engage in intellectually stimulating work and receiving (external) validation from peers about work commitment and ability. Having a PhD and being an active researcher is also associated with credibility as an academic at FHS (as discussed in Chapter 5).

Participants talk about such practices of the self from individual, professional and organisational viewpoints. Their views are influenced by their stated desires to perform as an academic, underpinned by past work experiences, professional aspirations, role focus and positioning in the setting. While this performance is measured and articulated differently according to the individual concerned, participant narratives collectively indicate both collusion with and resistance to the performative measures discussed. Not surprisingly, given the discursive constructions fashioning the academic self at FHS, participants talk about their worth from the perspective of the institutionally validated categories of research, teaching, professional and community outreach.

Louise talks about determining her worth as an academic in personal and organisational terms. She speaks of her *legitimacy* as a researcher, noting she was *the first PhD… [and] was hired to increase the research profile in the school.* In the past, her research agenda had to take a *back seat.* However the situation is different now as she has won an *ARC grant … [with] three years of funding … [and her project is] actually getting noticed at a national level.* This situation, though, is difficult as FHS is *still a fairly immature faculty in terms of research … [and] people who have research backgrounds [like she does]… need a different kind of intellectual stimulation that's not here.* She has to find stimulus and validation, from *high powered colleagues … overseas.* Furthermore, the current push for establishing *research clusters* at FHS, while necessary for novices, is somewhat risky for people like her because *if we're also going to stay ahead of the game [in terms of research], we've got to be encouraging some new and innovative ideas and if we sit in these research clusters, that ain't going to happen.*

Other participants reiterate this desire for legitimacy as a researcher. Jane sees her struggles in this respect as related to colleagues' perceptions about her positioning in the setting. For, as she puts it, *if you become part of a team … whether you like it or not, you're not taken seriously as a part-timer.* She constantly gets asked *when will you be back full time.* This is the accepted norm, she observes, *that's what academics do, that's how they work* and if you do not work full time then *you don't quite cut the mustard.* Similarly, Kate talks about the consequences of being positioned *in this university … [and the] need to move towards more of what they're expecting of you,* which in her case *means getting more publications … [and being] much more strategic now in how I spend my time.* Looking back on her past work approach and knowing what she knows now, she indicates she would have approached her work quite

differently: she *would have made many more strategic moves and actually got publications and brownie marks for [working with her professional association].*

The participants also discuss their credibility and (self) worth in terms of the value that is placed on the teaching role, organisationally and personally. Louise talks about the *rhetoric* that surrounds the value attributed to the teaching role, and the rewards associated with this at an individual level. She questions what is espoused at an organisational level, suggesting that while *we prize teaching, where's the evidence of this?* The only way *you get a teaching award [is] by being able to promote yourself. It's about self promotion.* She will never get a teaching award, she notes, because she refuses to *self-nominate.*

Others comment about the emphasis afforded to teaching at an institutional level. Noting the prior positioning of FHS as a CAE, Jane observes that until recently universities have been *bumming around with their head in the sand and teaching abysmally.* Now, however, *public accountability* and funding conditions have forced universities to *pick up their game … to pay attention* to teaching quality. She observes *the university basically caught up to what [CAEs] were doing in terms of curriculum design and … evaluating teaching and all that sort of stuff.* At a personal level, this situation has been beneficial because it meant the university introduced mechanisms for formally recognising and rewarding this aspect of academic work. This supported her promotion efforts. As she observes, now *you really can get up teaching … whereas previously it was listed … but in reality the behind-scenes message you got was don't bother.* Kate is not as positive, however, about the institutional rewards and recognition for *doing a good job.* She observes the university is *constantly at you to prove, prove, prove, prove, prove … [and if you] fit into this funding formula … you're OK.*

Such observations highlight that the process of determining (self) worth involves manoeuvring personal values and intrinsic motivators, alongside organisational markers of success and their reward conditions. It is a difficult balancing act, as Anna observes:

> *… because if you're going to continue working really hard, trying to find ways around difficult circumstances, trying to find new ways of working, trying to continually improve what you're doing, then it would be good to feel that that was going somewhere for you on a personal level as well as doing something positive for the program in which you work.*

Her comments suggest that reward and recognition are important considerations in terms of measuring and maintaining an individual's perception of (self) worth. The two stories that follow reinforce and expand on this observation.

Jane: It's a bit like prostituting yourself on the street!

Maintaining *credibility* as an academic is a dominant storyline throughout Jane's narrative, particularly in terms of performance as a researcher. She highlights the importance of being *respectable* and being *taken seriously* by peers. She also articulates the sacrifices she has made over the course of her career to establish this credibility. Thus, despite the organisational expectation to *step out there and get known,* she disciplined herself not to engage in research activities, such as networking and presenting conference papers (a process of 'self' sacrifice). Her *priority was to get the piece of paper – the PhD* (a process of 'self' creation). Having reached this milestone, now the challenge for Jane is how best to accommodate, within her part-time work hours, the organisational push for external research (both in terms of large grants and collaborative research partnerships).

She indicates her ability to maintain this personal sense of integrity as a researcher is currently being influenced by the new organisational demands for research productivity. As Jane explains, she is *an active researcher – she does research and [she does] publish.* Yet, she is now only considered a *minor player* in the scheme of things. A much bigger (personal) investment will be needed to reach the next level and gain more *credibility* (i.e. power and position):

> *Five years ago I could still be credible as a researcher … I mean I do research … but not in the big league … I'm in the minor league. I could keep going away in my minor league and I could have honour students, I could get publications out, I could get small grants, or whatever, and I would look respectable, because … [the university] would recognise those sorts of things. The ball park, the posts have altered. Now, publication, yes we fund it, but it's worth diddly-squat really by comparison to large grants and PhD students.*

These shifting requirements mean that Jane now faces an important decision about her career as an academic: whether to continue as is – she'll just look *less respectable* (have less worth) in terms of the *big picture* of the university – or whether to take her research *up to the next level* and start playing in the *major league.* This decision has consequences in terms

her perception of 'self' as academic, because it is through this process of choosing the career direction she will take that Jane is disciplining her 'self'. As Grey puts it, the concept of career offers 'a vehicle for the self to "become"' (1994, p. 481).

Jane presents a particular perspective about what is rewarded at FHS. She is also aware of the consequences of research in/action in terms of progression as an academic and observes that she will not progress her career by *paddling around, behind the scenes, holding the school up*. Such activity is not what gets 'noticed' or rewarded. Rather, she explains:

> *It is the announcement at faculty meeting that so-and-so has got $200,000 dollars, or a million bucks, that's what gets it … The fact that there's 4 or 5 other people holding the fort to enable that person to get there, that's irrelevant. People who get the accolades are the people who are up there shining in research. I mean that's how it is … The person who's down there holding the fort … the person who's doing the school admin, you know, that's not going to get you to Ass Pro.*

While Jane is subject to and subjected by those people *up there,* the effort of those *shining in research* is almost always dependent on the (silent) support of people, like herself, who are *holding the fort.* At a personal level, in terms of her career progression, the costs of engaging in this type of enabling work are high as this type of support underpinning is not publicly really visible nor measurable. In some respects, she is highlighting a binary division – those that do/do not shine in research, one that seems to place public reward and recognition well beyond her reach.

She reiterates this point by comparing her situation with another academic in her school. She talks in particular about the *hours* that this individual had to put in to win her reputation. It is a path she is not willing to follow:

> *Just by example there's a woman who's … got more experience in the profession than I do … she and I started at the same time … and she started as a senior lecturer … and I came in as a lecturer. She works phenomenal hours to have got where she is … I mean she's gone from senior lecturer to associate professor to professor, with a huge [research] reputation around the university and internationally. And she's done brilliantly. But, the hours that she's had to put in to do that have been absolutely enormous. I've been here for the same length of time but have*

> *not (1) in the first instance been able to or (2) been prepared to [put in those hours] and you*
>
> *can see the difference. I've gone from lecturer to senior lecturer and it's taken me 15 years to do*
>
> *it. But that's just how it is.*

It is Jane's decision to contain her work hours, that has influenced her ability to progress in the setting. Her actions are self-disciplinary in nature: simultaneously protecting yet limiting her understanding of 'self' as academic. She takes care of her 'self' by adopting a determined stance about the hours she is (not) prepared to work and this in/action she sees as inhibiting her career progression as an academic.

Her ability (or lack thereof) to progress within the system she sees as also tied up with the organisational expectation for developing collaborative research partnerships, within and outside the institution. Jane speaks of the numerous attempts she has made to link up with other researchers in her field, none of which have yielded any tangible outcomes:

> *I have been in touch with Nursing and … said look these are my areas of interest is there*
>
> *anybody that I could get in touch with, blah, blah, blah and got nowhere. I have been to the*
>
> *research conference that the 'College [of Professional Studies]' runs. There have been a couple of*
>
> *people that I have picked out … I have actively contacted them. I have gone to see them and*
>
> *said look this is what I'm interested in, you're doing this, do you think there's any possibilities*
>
> *[of collaborating], and I got nowhere. I've been in touch with someone at University [X], who*
>
> *if I come up with a proposal and write something, will probably jump on it with me. But*
>
> *there's no opening of we're doing this and would you like to get involved, it's [establishing a*
>
> *collaborative research partnership] extremely difficult to do.*

The lack of success Jane talks about does not seem due to any lack of effort: she seems to take a proactive approach and does her homework. However, finding like-minded people interested in a collaborative research effort appears to have been a difficult and frustrating task for her:

> *I've been around since we became part of the university and, you know, people would say …*
>
> *you need to link up with other people … And I said, 'excuse me, that's like prostituting*
>
> *yourself on the street! It is not that simple to do' … And I get sick of being told … you have*

to be out there, and you have to be proactive … some people crack it, some people don't … And maybe there's just something wrong with the way I do it, I don't know. But I don't think it's all that simple … I think it's much more difficult. And the people who are up there it's all very well for them to say … just try this and do that and get in touch with people. You do that and I can tell you don't get anywhere … So it bugs me hearing people saying you know you've got to do this … they've got no understanding whatsoever of what it's like to be the person that's not up there.

According to Jane, the rhetoric espoused by people *up there* is actually quite different from the situation she has experienced; the space she occupies as a researcher is located quite some distance away from those *up there*. Furthermore, she indicates the personal 'cost' – which she likens to *prostituting yourself on the street* – is not one that she is necessarily willing to pay. This metaphor is a very colourful indication of the dilemma Jane sees herself as facing: how to manage (whether to continue with or resist) the pursuit of an activity she finds difficult and distasteful. Her dilemma is also tied up with her sense of 'self' as academic, and the respect (or lack thereof) that she generates in terms of her public performance as a researcher. While she is aware that establishing a collaborative partnership will help strengthen her *credibility* as a researcher, her positioning in the setting means that this task seems beyond her reach.

Anna: [Those] closest to me … know whether or not I'm doing a half decent job
For Anna, the support of her peers is *absolutely vital.* She explains this because *finding ways to actually manage the day-to-day circumstances for me are much more to do with having a few close contacts within my own area of work.* She appreciates being on Faculty committees as this provides her with opportunities to network with like-minded colleagues (clinical academics) in other degree programs. It also provides her with some perspective in relation to her own expectations about the range of activities she *should* be engaging in, but is unsure about *how to go about [them] and where to start.* Committees related to *clinical education and the rural careers project* have provided *really, really important opportunities* in terms of her understanding of self-as-academic. *Having the chance to actually meet people from other schools and from other programs who were in similar roles was really vital.* She explains this helped her to manage her (self imposed) expectation *that I should be doing a lot more from the point of view of teaching and research getting research grants and so on.*

She spells out that it is actually the contact with specific people from particular programs that is important, observing that:

> *It was the interaction with probably the people from a few particular programs that was the most supportive. And … some on-going contacts were established there that were really crucial in terms of maintaining my role and probably maintaining some semblance of sanity as far as* [laughs] *keeping it going was concerned.*

This sense of community with like-minded colleagues, whom she respects *in terms of their work and their commitment to that work*, has been critical. It provides validation of her work approach:

> *Peer support is absolutely vital … finding ways to actually manage the day-to-day circumstances for me are much more to do with … having a few close contacts within my own area of work … The people who are closest to me are those who are genuinely going to know whether or not I'm doing a half decent job and it would be more important for me to have some reasonable feedback and/or acknowledgement from people who really know what I'm doing and how I'm going about it than to get some sort of other acknowledgment that may not really be based on what I'm doing.*

In terms of Anna's sense of self, the approval of her peers seems much more important than formal accolades from the organisation. They understand her work ethic and are the ones in the best position to make an informed judgement about whether or not she is performing her role appropriately.

The importance of this type of recognition is accentuated because she is not in a position to attract *nice big research grants* – an outcome she too sees the organisation valuing highly:

> *If you happen to be in a position to be getting nice big research grants … everybody jumps up and down … blows balloons up and generally makes it all sound really good. If you don't happen to be in a position to be doing those kinds of things which draw any kind of acknowledgement for what you're doing in terms of your work and how it might be valued, then it's really vital to be getting some of that closer to home. And in a lot of ways that's probably*

> *the most important thing for me … Some of that other acknowledgement which is the kind of*
> *stuff that leads to people being promoted … the rewards are given for appearing to do*
> *something … I would rather be actually doing something in a particular way that's positive,*
> *than appearing to.*

What she seems to be indicating here is that own internal integrity is more important than external recognition from the organisation. She would *rather be actually doing something in a particular way that's positive, than appearing to.*

Overall, participants' talk indicates that their ability to participate in what they determine as meaningful work is a central feature of managing the everyday. They speak about the practice of determining (personal) worth, or (self) credibility as an academic, using institutional, professional and/or personal markers of success. In this way, they are manoeuvring the local and external performative measures operating on and within FHS, alongside the desires, aspirations and accountabilities they hold as academic and health professionals.

The clinical focus of most FHS academics means this (personal) endorsement process often involves strategies associated with maintaining connections with, while making contributions to, the professional (clinical) field. However, other important influences participants identify are institutional performance measures (student numbers/satisfaction, teaching awards, research grants/publications) and personal validation via peers.

Such processes of validation support Rose's (1999a) argument about the importance of engaging in meaningful work, where the concept of being 'fulfilled *in* work' (emphasis in original, p. 104) plays a central role in the production of the self. As he elaborates, '… finding meaning and dignity in work, workers … identify with the product, assume responsibility for production, and find their own worth embedded, reflected and enhanced in the quality of the work as a product and experience' (Rose, 1999a, p. 106-107).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how the participants in my study are managing their everyday work circumstances – their ways of operating and of making do. To this end, I focused on three inter-related ways of being/doing that emerged from participant narratives. Using these ways of being/doing as a framework in the discussion, I examined the (self) disciplinary techniques (strategies and tactics) and 'ethico-political choices' (Foucault, 1983b, p. 232) that individuals take up to manoeuvre and/or reinterpret the demands of their work circumstances. While these techniques and choices are always situated within the power relations operating in the setting itself, they provide the means by which an individual can negotiate what they take up as a reasonable and/or acceptable approach to their work as an academic. Such ways of being/doing – negotiating work boundaries, handling work demands and determining worth – provide another perspective on academicity at FHS, one that highlights the processes that academics use to manage (and justify) their approach to everyday work and their positioning within the setting.

> The suturing of a subject to a subject position is not a simple process of hailing a subject into place through the hierarchical or hegemonic operations of power. Rather, it includes people recognising their investment in a subject position, and enacting their productive power to capitalise on this realisation. It incorporates an acceptance of selves that are able to act as well as be acted upon differently in different contexts. (Scheeres & Solomon, 2006, p. 89)

Introduction

This study is concerned with the everyday lived experiences of being an academic by a group of academics in one university setting. The basis for this account is the narratives of a small number of academics in this setting. The thesis explored their talk about the process of managing and being managed by their everyday work and how the academic self is constituted *within* this process of managing. The investigation was informed most particularly by the work of Foucault, and those associated with or building on his theoretical arguments, about the processes involved in the trans/formation of the self.

Two specific perspectives on such trans/formation were explored. The first involved a focus on the circulatory nature of the power relations and disciplinary technologies operating on and within the research setting, together with their role/s in the process of academic subjectification. This perspective can be summed up in the words of Starkey & McKinlay (1998, p. 230) as concerned with how 'individuals lose themselves in regimes of power but, paradoxically, are created as subjects/other-selves by these same regimes'. The second perspective was focused more narrowly on the actual research context, drawing on Petersen's (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) work on 'academicity', specifically on how 'culturally intelligible academic subject positions and practices come into existence through everyday interactions and activities' (Petersen, 2007b, p. 174).

Building on these basic orientations, I also drew on other scholars who equate the practices of the self with the process of (self) governance through freedom (Fenwick,

2006; Rose, 1999b). Collectively, these theoretical influences highlight the mutually dependent nature of discipline and desire, the role both play in fashioning an academic self and the set of practices of managing and making do that are being taken up at FHS.

The study has provided a situated account about work in a former CAE now integrated into a traditional (sandstone) university setting, at a particular point in time. The participants' accounts of their work practices provided the basis for exploring how academics at FHS articulate and explain the complexities, challenges and opportunities of their day-to-day circumstances. It also has provided insights into how different types of academic performances – or ways of being/doing (Petersen, 2007c) – are taken up and/or valued in this context, and how these performances are then implicated in the production of academic subjects at FHS.

One of the central arguments put forward in this thesis is that academic work involves a process of managing, while being managed by, the everyday: academics constitute, yet are constituted by, their work performances. This practice of managing is not constituted by academics in isolation from the setting in which they find themselves located, however. It is situated within, and shaped by, the institutional spaces – textual, discursive, and operational – within which work performances are enacted. The ways in which an individual actively takes up, negotiates and/or self-regulates their responses to the power relations within these spaces has been a central concern. For, as Fenwick and Somerville (2006, p. 251) observe: '[S]ubjects are *always* in movement, mobilised by spatial and temporal work arrangements as well as by identificatory desires: to belong to *this* group or inhabit *that* identity' (emphasis added). Academics thus participate in an ongoing process of actively negotiating the tensions between discipline and desire (Starkey & McKinlay, 1998).

From an overview in the first section of what the theoretical orientations of the thesis have intended to illuminate, I re/turn in the second substantive section to some reflections on my dual positioning at FHS – as an academic *learning to be* a researcher (the doctoral process), and a researcher *learning about* academic work (the doctoral product) – and to the process of my own subjectification as an academic. These reflections develop the perspective opened up by the personal work narrative in Chapter 1, offering a view of my own trans/formation as an academic. The thesis then concludes

with a brief discussion about the implications of the study, including a series of questions identifying potential areas worthy of further investigation.

Reviewing the study

In this first section I revisit my account of what the participants' narratives tell us about how their everyday work performances are fashioned, enacted, rewarded and reinforced at FHS. I locate my research alongside other studies examining how subjects are made up in contemporary workplace settings. I commence with a brief discussion about the inter-relationships between work and the self. I then review the theoretical framework alongside the conclusions of the study.

Performing academic work at FHS: a (self) productive process

In taking up institutional history as a key consideration, my study documents a situated view about the mutually constitutive relationship between work and self, one that uses the process of managing the everyday as a mediating force in determining appropriate/d ways of being an academic at FHS. It illustrates the role of past and current government higher education policy directives in shaping this workplace setting, noting the different power relations that continue to sustain and uphold the situation. Then, building on these particularities, the study considers how participants are assembled by the different disciplinary technologies operating on and within FHS and how these technologies shape subjects and work practices: how academics are being made up in the setting and how this influences the strategies and tactics they take up to manage their everyday work demands.

Furthermore, by attending to the accounts of a small group of academics about their experiences of managing the everyday at FHS I highlight the (active) role of participants in fashioning their academic self. What is revealed in the process is that academics themselves are often implicated in upholding the power relations they resist, thus supporting investment in some subject positions and not others. In this way the practice of managing is simultaneously influenced by the institutional context (its history and culture) and those positioned within it. It is represented as a situated and ongoing process, one whereby academics are manoeuvring their positioning alongside

institutional, as well as personal, expectations and desires. An underpinning consideration is the practice of making do, which involves the different tactics and strategies individuals take up to manoeuvre, accommodate and/or respond to these different demands.

The findings of this thesis are thus aligned with the perspectives of scholars who discuss how the subject is being fashioned at and constituted through work, that is, how 'subjectivity in work is a process of provisional and open-ended movement' (Fenwick & Somerville, 2006, p. 251). Importantly, such scholars identify this (self) productive process as not just a form of 'passive subjection' (Fenwick, 2006, p. 35); rather, it involves an active subject who (willingly) determines the forms of action taken up at work (Fenwick, 2006, p. 34). Others, such as Rose, reinforce this perspective through discussions about the powers of freedom, how this works to deploy 'a technology of responsiblisation' (1999, p. 74) and how subjects play key roles in their own self-regulation. The argument I put forward, therefore, based on what the participant narratives tell us about everyday work lives, is that rather than being 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1991), subject to and subjected by the power relations operating in the setting, participants articulate a certain capacity (albeit restricted) to manoeuvre their day-to-day circumstances. While these forms of action are influenced by the desires and aspirations, the roles and positionings of the individual concerned, they are also bounded by and contained within the circumstances of the workplace setting.

The thesis builds also on the work of Devos (2004a, 2004b, 2005) and others, providing another perspective about the academic as an 'active self-constituting subject' (Devos, 2005, p. 122). Like these scholars, I suggest that academic subjects have a capacity to *deliberate* – personally, professionally and/or institutionally – about the most appropriate (in)action to take given the constraints at hand. This deliberation, which takes place within culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing (Petersen, 2007b), emphasises the relational nature of academic subjectification. In other words, the subject is 'formed in specific social, historical, cultural practices and relationships: but as it emerges, so emerges the subject's capacity to exercise political and moral agency' (Fenwick, 2006, p. 28). Petersen further takes the view that these deliberations, about what is the right and/or wrong action to embrace, 'do not remain outside us, or pressed down upon us,

but become part of our own embodied moral fabric and agency, our own ethical, emotional and practical compasses' (Petersen, 2007c, p. 478).

Collectively, these arguments highlight that the process of managing the everyday is a negotiated practice aimed at establishing and then maintaining a sense of being 'in control'. Yet, as this thesis highlights, these practices of the self are complex in nature. They are not just shaped by a desire to manage – to perceive the self as being 'in control'. Rather they are also contained within and mediated by the power relations and disciplinary technologies operating in a local setting.

Based on the findings of this study, therefore, I concur that subjects do indeed take an *active* role in determining the types of strategies and tactics (forms of action) they (willingly) take up in order to manage their everyday work. Acknowledging, as do others (see, Devos, 2004a; Fenwick, 2006; Petersen, 2007c), the difficulties associated with the concepts of *choice* and *agency*, I highlight the subjectification of (academic) workers as an iterative and (self) productive process, simultaneously situated and shaped by the subject and the institution: the subject has some *freedom* to act and to determine whether (or not) to resist, comply and/or collude with the power relations and disciplinary technologies shaping their everyday experiences. I move now to offer some reflections on the discursive account documented in this thesis about the practices of managing the everyday, with reference to the key ideas framing the problematic.

Reflecting on the theoretical framework and study conclusions
The work of Foucault, and those drawing on and developing his ideas, has been of fundamental relevance to framing my thinking about how academics are being fashioned by and through their everyday work performances. His discussion of disciplinary technologies (of production; of sign systems; of power; of self) and the different forms of domination they represent (Foucault, 2000d, p. 225) has been particularly influential.

As noted in Chapter 3, rather than confining my examination to the technologies of power and self, I consider all four technologies in this study. That is, building on the interactions between the technology of self and technology of power, I examine how an institution like FHS is shaped by, yet shapes, government policy directives (a technology

of production) and how the University and the doctoral qualification are upheld, reinforced and privileged as a symbol of 'The Academic' (a technology of sign systems). Taken together, these four technologies influence and situate the process of academic self-regulation and the 'culturally sanctioned ways of being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b) at FHS.

The productive role of government policy directives in shaping my research setting over time is demonstrated in Chapter 4, which highlights the effects of this technology of production in the cultural legacy associated with the CAE origins of my research site following its integration as a Faculty within a traditional Australian university. I see this technology of production being upheld and sustained (as a sign system) by those it sought to govern. Similarly, in Chapter 5, I explored how the doctoral qualification is being taken up by the institution and its inhabitants as an important signifier for 'the academic' at FHS.

By taking note of the historical-social-cultural background of FHS and the circulatory nature of the power structures operating on and within this setting, this study further provides an account of the context-specific nature of identity formation. Keeping my institutional circumstances in view, while drawing on Petersen's notion of 'academicity', I examine (in Chapter 5) how the doctorate and the subjectivity 'academic-as-researcher' is mobilised, upheld and sanctioned (by the institution and its inhabitants) as dominant markers of appropriate/d academic work at FHS. I argue that this situation is underpinned by the desire to be legitimate/d as academic at institutional, professional and individual levels.

In exploring the (ongoing) processes involved in the production, reproduction and negotiation of the academic self at FHS, I examine how the doctorate acts as a 'category boundary' Petersen (2007b). I consider how this qualification is simultaneously upheld and challenged as the representative symbol for the academic, noting the role of doctorate in reproducing, developing and endorsing an academic self. I also note that, while the doctoral boundary forms a dominant storyline in participant narratives, alternative 'ways of being/doing' (Petersen, 2007b) are also discussed, endorsed and embodied. Such alternative perspectives include what it means to be a 'good teacher' (Nicoll & Harrison, 2003), a 'good worker' or a 'perfect corporate fit' (McWilliam et al.,

2000). While these alternatives involve the negotiation of different boundaries, they are still underpinned by (personal) desire to perform as an academic and disciplined by what is put forward as valuable and worthwhile from organisational, professional and individual perspectives.

The final area of significance is associated with my discussion about the process of managing and being managed by work. Acknowledging the history and culture of FHS, and its role in making up academics, I explore the strategies and tactics participants employ to handle the demands of their everyday work practices – their ways of managing and making do. In taking up this particular focus, my study presents a situated perspective about how academics are subject to, yet subjected by, the power relations operating on and within a specific workplace setting. It demonstrates how the participants manage the contradictions, challenges and opportunities of their everyday world of work and how this process of managing is enacted within an institutional setting. This involves understandings of how participants manoeuvre their everyday work conditions, establishing rules of conduct and initiating (self) disciplinary actions in an effort to 'care for the self' (Foucault, 1987). As the participant accounts in Chapter 6 highlight, (self) disciplinary practices of the everyday comprise practical strategies and tactics that enable the subject to reframe and refashion their academic self. Such reframing/s are simultaneously based on their desires and aspirations (personally, professionally and institutionally) and on the past and current circumstances of the workplace setting and their positioning within it.

In summary, this study complements and builds on work investigating the processes by which academic subjects are made up in contemporary university settings. It has focused on how academics manoeuvre the mundane circumstances of their work practices rather than addressing such specific process of self-fashioning, through teaching awards, research mentoring, and supervision (see, Devos, 2005; Kirkpatrick & Thorpe, 2000; Petersen, 2007c). My study has been focused on how academics manoeuvre the mundane circumstances of their work practices. The practical strategies and tactics participants identified, in terms of negotiating boundaries, handling work demands and determining worth, provide insight into some of the practices of the self being taken up at FHS. These strategies and tactics are indicative of the (self) regulatory practices participants employ to re/fashion their academic self within the constraints of (the

performative net in) this local setting. Such practices, finally, involve the question of the 'ethico-political choices' (Foucault, 1983b, p. 232) participants make about what (appropriate) action/s to take in order to function (effectively) in the workplace setting they occupy. Such 'choices' often involve the creative re/interpretation of the situation at hand – one whereby participants realise their desire through (self) discipline.

Reflecting on the process

In this second major section of the chapter I return to a more personal perspective on my experiences as an academic at FHS. Building on the account in chapter 1, regarding my work trajectory and motivations for undertaking this study, I consider the doctoral process and the role this has played in my own subjectification as an academic. I begin by specifically commenting on the methodological challenges, in terms of the study design, my dual positioning as insider (academic) and outsider (researcher), and the product of the research, before addressing broader considerations of realising the self.

Methodological challenges

The first challenge in undertaking this study was determining how to research and represent the complexities associated with the practice of managing everyday academic work. While there have been many and varied accounts of particular aspects of academic work, there has been little attention paid to how academics manoeuvre everyday work circumstances and demands. Even fewer studies have been positioned from the perspective of academics working in a former autonomous CAE setting, almost a decade after the introduction of the UNS.

A central issue has been how to refine the problematic, since the concept of 'managing' opens up multiple possibilities and approaches in terms of defining the study scope and its focus. The research literature, complemented by personal experience in the research setting, was used to negotiate and define my approach to the problematic. Studies drawing attention to the mismatch between traditional academic ideals and the contemporary demands of university workplaces were influential. In particular, those studies that highlighted issues such as the circulatory nature of the power structures at play within an institutional setting, the diversity of academic work (see McCollow &

Lingard, 1996) and the fragmentation of professional life in academia (see Rowland, 2002). Building on my own experiences as an academic, I drew on this literature to confirm the relevance of the study and the type of knowledge contribution that could be claimed.

The second methodological challenge was related to my insider/outsider positioning at FHS. As an academic working in the setting, I am not a naïve observer in this research. Rather, my experiences have influenced and shaped this study, forming a sub-text about the study design, analytical process and research product. To render this tension less problematic, I deliberately privileged, yet restricted, my voice in the thesis text. On the one hand, I used personal writing (here and in Chapter 1) to articulate my role in shaping the design and outcome of this study, a point I take up in more detail shortly. On the other, I restricted the research data to the participants' narratives (rather than my own), to illustrate how academics at FHS manage their desires and motivations alongside the demands of their everyday experiences.

The third methodological challenge that needed to be addressed concerns the outcomes of the thesis, in terms of its role in the production of knowledge about the fashioning of an academic self (mine included). On a personal level, this doctorate provided an avenue for the development of my 'self' as researcher, building my confidence, knowledge and skills in the practices of conducting and reporting research. At the same time, however, there have been some tensions associated with this (self) productive process. My exposure to, and subsequent interest in taking up, poststructuralist views in this thesis, for instance, was not without difficulty. This reflects the complexities of this theoretical focus, its analytical implications and my underlying humanistic tendency (presumably not unrelated to my professional training) to privilege the self and its capacity to act. Notwithstanding these dilemmas, the product of this thesis provides a situated representation about academics managing everyday work at FHS: how a former CAE and its inhabitants are handling the demands of a contemporary university work environment at a particular point in its history.

Realising the self through discipline and desire
Moving on from methodological challenges, I now turn to reflecting on how the completion of this thesis, and the narrative within it, is representative of my own

subjectification as an academic at FHS. I highlight three specific points about this process, noting the role of discipline and desire in my (self) production as an academic. First, as indicated in chapter 1, my pathway into the university sector was somewhat accidental, based on my professional expertise rather than research prowess. It was not a career move I had specifically planned or desired. Yet, on entering this new setting, I soon determined to work on my 'self' by undertaking this doctorate in an attempt to respond to the research expectations of academics in this setting. My doctoral study, culminating in the completion of this thesis, highlights my efforts to realise my (academic) self through a process of discipline and desire. Like some of the participants in Chapter 5, my doctoral study has acted as a form of dressage, developing and fashioning my 'self' as academic. On the one hand, it has shaped my research stance through the process of learning how to speak, write and perform research from the theoretical framework I chose to embrace. On the other, it highlights my active collusion with the process of academic subjectification at FHS, in that I am taking up, reproducing and sanctioning the dominant discourse of academic-as-researcher. In the process, I have of course repositioned myself in terms of the researcher/teacher distinction evident in the setting.

The second point I raise with respect to my (self) formation as an academic is related to my desire to understand the complexities of my work practices and positioning within FHS. The choice of thesis topic was directly influenced by my (self) interest in learning about professional practice in this workplace setting. My initial thesis problematic was concerned with the nature of academic work and flexible learning. This focus was based on my teaching role at the time, as well as on my experiences and interests in the move towards the delivery of more flexible forms of learning. Within a year, I had shifted this focus as a consequence of my own struggle to manage the expectations and demands associated with my positioning and work practices as an academic at FHS. Noting the role I have played in this study, it is also useful to provide some brief comment on the practices of the self my participants articulated. In short, the major categories I identified as the practices of the self at FHS – negotiating work boundaries, handling work demands and determining worth – mirror my own take on the processes associated with managing and being managed by work. That is, I have negotiated a range of boundaries in undertaking this study in an attempt to manoeuvre the

complexities and demands of the different (academic) roles and positions I have held. The doctoral process, including its product, is undoubtedly reflective of my own desire to determine worth as an academic.

I conclude these reflections with a more future-oriented comment, one that considers the implications of the doctoral study in terms of my work as an academic. Here, my observations are based on insights gained, as a result of my positioning as doctoral student, into the process of supervision and the supervisor/student relationship and responsibilities. The novice/expert continuum, and the role of unpacking tacit knowledge, is one consideration. I now have a much clearer understanding, having undertaken this research, about the process of supervision, including a more realistic perspective about research conduct and its outcomes. Similarly, I have gained insights about my own strengths and weaknesses as a doctoral candidate: providing another perspective about the process of research and supervision. The next question then is how to apply this new knowledge in my future research practice and supervision.

Conclusion: Questions arising

Reflecting on the key ideas shaping this study, three broad areas seem to merit further investigation. The first encompasses issues about higher education policy directives and their local consequences (institutionally, professionally and personally). This area is important because, as demonstrated in this study, the culture and historical context of a workplace setting deserves serious attention. Based on the situated nature of the findings generated in this study, therefore, this thesis provides a specific snapshot of the practices of managing academic work, in a particular type of institution, at a particular point in its history. While it undoubtedly has benefited from the prior study Potts (1997) conducted of (academic) occupational socialisation in a CAE setting just before the Dawkins reform, it is framed somewhat differently in terms of its problematic and methodological stance, as well as the empirical facts of the institution studied and the timeframe of the research. Taking note of these similarities and differences, and the type of institutional palimpsest documented in these studies, some of the questions arising from this study include the following: How does institutional context shape practices of managing work? How are these practices of managing and making do articulated and

enacted in other institutions with similar histories, in Australia and overseas? How are higher education policy directives shaping academic work in contemporary times?

The second broad area of interest, building on these questions, is related to the nature of academic work in a professional faculty, such as FHS. The appointment of the majority of academics appointed into these types of faculties (as noted in earlier chapters) is based on evidence of considerable industry experience and professional expertise, not necessarily research prowess. This situation raises questions about: What factors motivate professionals to seek university employment? What processes are involved in the orientation and socialisation of professionals entering university work environments? What are the challenges associated with aligning academic ideals, particularly the research imperative, alongside industry requirements and professional allegiances?

Noting these professional concerns, questions about what constitutes and is being constituted as academic work in these contexts demands further inquiry. This focus picks up on the ways some of the participants articulate their views about academic work at FHS. As noted in Chapter 5, they used terms like *high flying academic*, *functional academic*, *mainstream academia* and *fringe dweller* to describe the work practices that are or are not sanctioned and legitimated at FHS. Some of the questions that arise here include: What is 'mainstream academia' in contemporary times? How does a professional university context influence the subjectivities being produced and enacted? What is a 'functional academic' and how is this functionality defined and enacted? How is a functional academic made up and how does this influence the practices of managing everyday work?

These issues of functionality also raise questions about academic work performance/s and the relative weight given to teaching, research and professional practice roles. The focus of such questions includes how academics are re/writing and trans/forming their understanding of self, via the doctorate and/or research demands, as well as the value (or lack thereof) attributed to teaching and professional practice roles. Accounts by participants in this study suggest that the research/teaching binary is still quite prominent, with academics on either side of this divide differentially aware of the

position they occupy. They also pointed to the worth being attributed to specific roles at FHS, while noting the silent nature of professional practice concerns in this setting. Whether or not this situation is still prominent now in (this and other) former CAE settings merits further investigation. Consideration should also be given to the kinds of government policy that would alter the relationships identified in this study. For instance, how is the research role at FHS being privileged and upheld now? How can the research/teaching binary be addressed and what might be the consequence or reconsideration? How do academics in professional faculties manoeuvre the university/industry interface? What strategies might facilitate greater recognition of teaching and professional practice roles in a traditional university context? How might these strategies be incorporated into promotion policies and institutional rewards?

Beyond the immediate area of attention of this thesis, the fashioning of an academic self in a former CAE context, a final perspective emerges. Participants' stories revealed not only much about how academic subjects are being made up at FHS but also something of the (self) justifications concerning the strategies and tactics that participants took up in caring for their selves. Their accounts of practices of managing reveal some of the tensions (institutional, professional, personal) participants negotiate on a day-to-day basis and how these tensions simultaneously fashion and are fashioned by academics in the setting. Beyond the processes of managing and being managed by work and the (self) productive nature of this interaction, a final set of questions then suggests itself, questions concerned with the ethics of academic practice and how academic work roles and positions are being (personally) justified in contemporary times. Central to this focus is the question: How do academics fashion themselves to become ethical subjects? This orientation opens up an area explored by Foucault in terms of what he calls the aesthetics of self. It goes beyond the question of technologies of the self to ask about 'the kind of relationship you ought to have with yourself … which determines how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions' (Foucault, 1983a, p. 238). The negotiation of this relationship though, as suggested by the findings in this study, is simultaneously influenced by the disciplinary forces operating on and within a local university context, and the desires and aspirations of its inhabitants. In other words, it is the combination of the personal, professional, institutional and social that works to shape what constitutes and is constituted as moral action in (academic) workplace contexts.

Appendix 1: Interview schedule

Interview Phase	Key Questions
Reconstructed past	Could you start by telling me about how you came to be an academic? Probe/prompt questions: • How long ago was that? • What was your work life like when you first started out as an academic? • What were your main responsibilities?
Perceived present	What are your experiences of being an academic now? For example, if you were to describe a typical day in your life as an academic what would you tell me about? Probe/prompt questions: • What does your current work as an academic involve? • What do you think are some of the main factors that influence your work today (internally/externally)? • What strategies do you use to manage your various role responsibilities? • What aspects of your work and/or workplace setting do you find rewarding? • What aspects of your work and/or workplace setting are problematic and why?
Anticipated future	Considering what you have told me about your experiences as an academic in the current environment, what do you imagine (and/or hope) your work life will be like in the future? Probe/prompt questions: • What will your role involve? • Is this problematic in any way?

Appendix 2: Conceptual maps

A number of conceptual maps were developed during the course of this study. The following table summarises the emphasis and role of each of these frameworks in developing and refining my thinking about the problematic.

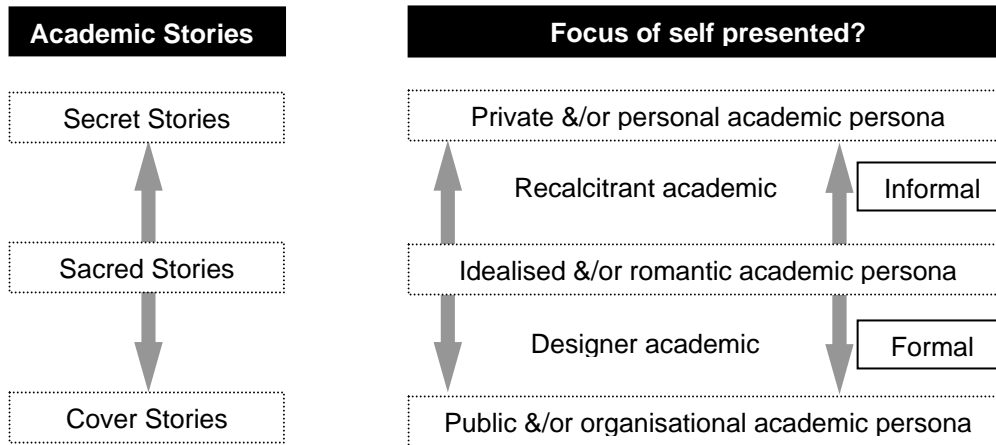| Focus	Role in developing my thinking about the problematic
Figure 1: Narrative and the self	This framework was developed drawing on the work of Clandinin and Connelly (1995). It provided me with a tool for thinking about the role narrative and the presentation of self. In the early stages of the analysis I used this framework to review the participant narratives and consider the different storylines they were employing to position themselves at FHS
Figure 2: Self regulation: accommodation and/or compliance	This framework was developed as part of my confirmation of candidature interim assessment paper to illustrate the circular nature of the process of self-regulation. It built on my thinking at the time about the interconnected nature of the processes fashioning an academic self.
Figure 3: Framing the problematic	This framework was an early attempt to capture the nature of the research problematic. Once again the aim was to depict the circular nature of the forces shaping the everyday. It was developed as part of my confirmation of candidature interim assessment paper.
Figure 4: Foucault's Technologies 4a: Disciplinary technologies 4b: Disciplinary technologies at FHS	The first framework was developed as a heuristic device for conceptualising the interconnected nature of Foucault's disciplinary technologies and their role in the continuous process and product of self. The second framework was developed when I commenced my analysis. It was used as an analytical tool for thinking about the different technologies that operate on and within a university setting and how these forces are (directly) implicated in trans/forming the academic subject at FHS.
Figure 5 Identity in construction	This framework was developed as a tool for thinking about the various influences shaping the formation of my 'self'. It formed part of an independent project conducted as part of the coursework component of this degree.

Figure 1: Narrative and the self

Academic Stories	Focus of self presented?

| Secret Stories | Private &/or personal academic persona |

Recalcitrant academic — Informal

| Sacred Stories | Idealised &/or romantic academic persona |

Designer academic — Formal

| Cover Stories | Public &/or organisational academic persona |

Figure 2: Self-regulation: accommodation and/or compliance

Recalcitrant employee

Viewed as

may → Conflict &/or challenge ← may

Individual subjectivities
Traits, values, attitudes & behaviour

Self-regulation

Organisational forces
Traits, values, attitudes & behaviour

may → Complement &/or fit ← may

Viewed as

Designer employee

Figure 3: Framing the problematic

Figure 4: Foucault's technologies

4a: Disciplinary technologies

Regulatory practices	

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Technologies of          Technologies of Sign
Production               Systems
              Self
Technologies of          Technologies of
Self                     Domination/Power
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4b: Disciplinary technologies at FHS

Regulatory practices

Technologies of Production
- Higher education directives
  - Binary policy
  - Unified national system
- Nelson review

Technologies of Sign Systems
- CAE vs University sector
- The Phd qualification
- Academic-as-researcher

Culturally sanctioned ways of 'being/doing'

Technologies of Self
- Aspirations, expectations, opportunities & desires
- Role & positioning
- Professional affiliation/s

Technologies of Power
- Institutional strategy & policy directives (e.g. promotion)
- Colleague/student demands
- Professional requirement/s

Figure 5: Identity in construction

Political Environment

Professional Identity
Subject Positions include:
nurse/educator/academic

Economic Environment

Workplace Environment

Worker Identity
Subject positions include:
colleague/manager/service provider

Learner Identity
Subject Positions include:
doctoral student/learner at work

Continuous process & product of 'selfing'

Understanding of self

Service — Freedom
Learning — Work
Research — Teaching
Continua of Influence

Personal Identity
Subject Positions include:
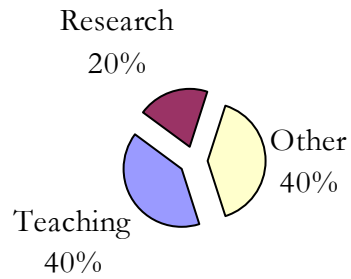Individual/family member/friend

Social Environment

Appendix 3: Demographic details and participant perception of workload emphasis

Demographic details

| Participant	Level of appointment	Time in setting	Worked in another university	Highest qualification	Work pattern
Robert	Senior Lecturer	5-10 years	Yes	PhD	Full time
Jane	Senior Lecturer	> 10 years	No	PhD	Part time
John	Lecturer	> 10 years	No	Master	Full time
Louise	Senior Lecturer	> 10 years	Yes	PhD	Full time
Anna	Lecturer	5-10 years	No	Master (enrolled in PhD)	Full time
Kate	Lecturer	> 10 years	No	Master	Part time
Karen	Senior Lecturer	3-5 years	Yes	Master (enrolled in PhD)	Full time

Participant perception of workload emphasis
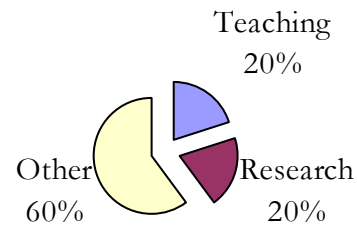

Robert - perception of workload emphasis

Teaching 10%
Research 10%
Other 80%

☐ Teaching ☐ Research ☐ Other

Jane - perception of workload emphasis
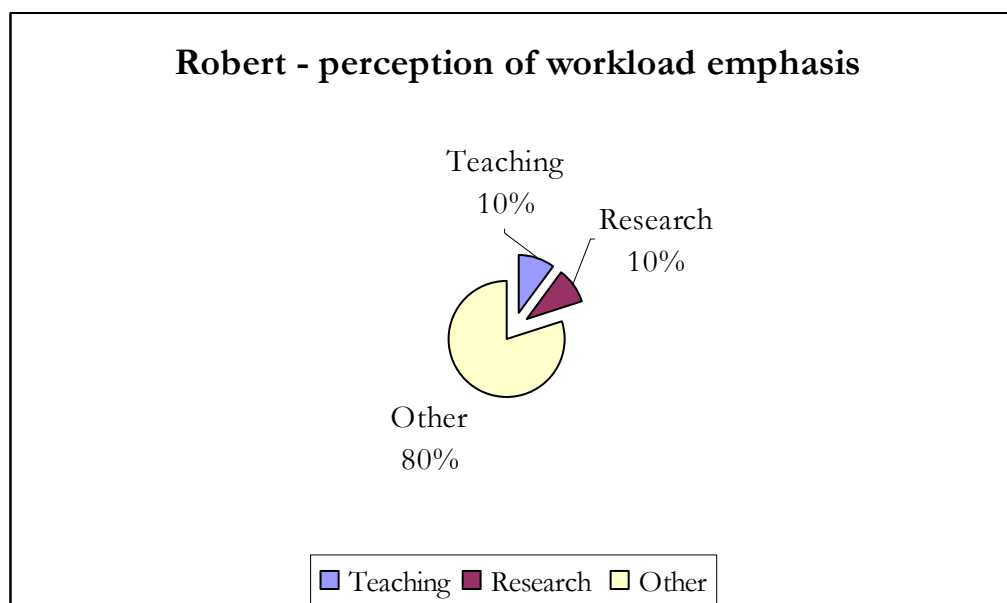
Research
20%

Other
40%

Teaching
40%

Teaching Research Other

John - perception of workload emphasis

Teaching
30%

Other
60%
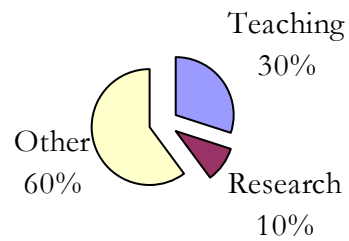
Research
10%

Teaching Research Other

Louise - percepton of workload emphasis

Other
30%

Teaching
50%
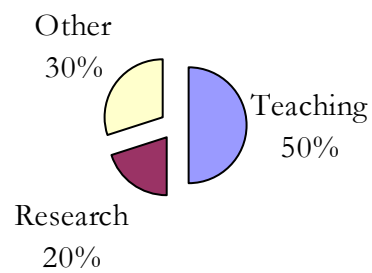
Research
20%

Teaching Research Other

Anna - perception of workload emphasis

Teaching
20%

Other
60%

Research
20%

☐ Teaching ■ Research ☐ Other

Kate - perception of workload emphasis

Other
10%

Research
20%
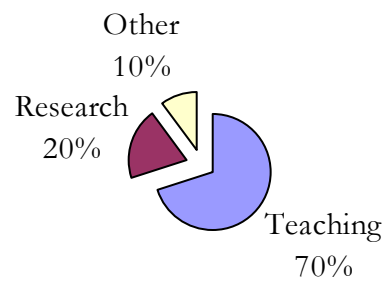
Teaching
70%

☐ Teaching ■ Research ☐ Other

Karen - perception of workload emphasis

Other
20%

Teaching
40%
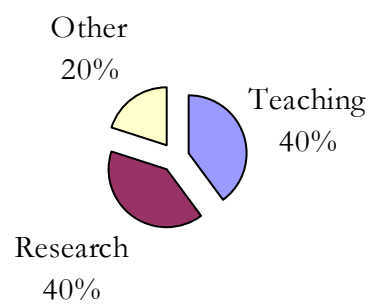
Research
40%

☐ Teaching ■ Research ☐ Other

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