

Making Managers in UK Further and Higher
Education

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Abstract:

This PhD thesis is a critical investigation of the formation of managers in the UK further and higher education (FHE) sector. It explores the character and problematics that surround the development of senior FHE post-holders as managers in the first half of the 1990s. The work draws on interviews with more than 70 senior post-holders in four universities and four further education colleges and observation in one university and one college. It analyses the narratives and practices that make up the changing working lives of the respondents. These are discussed in relation to recent social theory, particularly around approaches to 'discourse', 'the body', and 'identity/subjectivity'. This in turn is set against the backdrop of broad political-economic circumstances and conditions. Two key issues are addressed in the thesis: the problematics that surround the development of managers, and the gendered dimensions of this formation. The thesis is in three sections: 'Epistemological Commitments and Ontological Priorities' (this divides into three chapters: 'Managing Discourse and Discoursing Managers', 'Living Bodies and Inscribing Bodies' and 'The Relative Thickness of Human Material, approaching 'Identity' and 'Subjectivity'), 'Speaking Historically, Politically and of Literatures' (this divides into three chapters: 'Making Sense of Making Managers, a review of the critical further and higher education management literature', 'From Methodology to Research Methods' and 'Further and Higher Education's Turbulent Years'), and 'Making Managers in Further and Higher Education' (this divides into three chapters: 'Doing the business, constructing the supervisors of production in further and higher education', 'Just how managed is the New Further and Higher Education?' and 'University and College management; Is it men's work?'). The concluding chapter draws out the key points from the thesis, discusses these in the context of possible futures for further and higher education, and suggests directions for further research work.

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In 1996 I shall be head of department for the first time in my career. The job has become a serious management post. [Michael Power, Professor of Accounting, London School of Economics, (1996) 'I audit therefore I am' in '25 Years', *THES*, October, 18, supplement p.X].

There is a worry if universities become too centralised, employing too many administrators speaking the new management jargon of the age, seeking to overwhelm or isolate wayward professors and heads of department. [John Redwood, MP, (1994) 'Call goes out for more mellow', *THES*, August 4, p.12].

Senior staff [in universities] now have management responsibilities for the equivalent of large companies - hundreds of staff and millions of pounds - and yet, despite the growth in management development for others, many resist the need to train for their new profession.[Ian McNay, Professor and head of Centre for Higher Education Management, Anglia Polytechnic University, 'Amateur Managers', *THES* (letters), 1994, December 9, p. 12].

[Sir Colin] Campbell clearly illustrates, among other entrepreneurial characteristics, that he has strong persuasive powers, risk-taking ability, creativity . . . Campbell's joint credibility as a manager and academic does seem to set him apart.. [Boyett, I (1996) 'The public sector entrepreneur - a definition', *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 9(2):36-51]

Among the old universities, Nottingham has led the field in the new managerialism. It hopes to improve the relationship between administration and academics. It needs to. Sir Colin Campbell describes his critics as a 'malevolent clique of malcontents' and they say privately that he is 'a vindictive bully'. [Beckett, F (1994)'Learning New Tricks', *Education Guardian*, p. 5]

There's far too much complaining that the funding isn't good enough, morale's low. . . let's get on *with managing efficiently the resources* that we now have. FE must become smaller, leaner and fitter. [Roger Ward, chief executive Association of Colleges, *TES*, October 27, 1995:25, italics added]

In college after college it is possible to sense real frustration on the part of senior managers as they struggle to put their ideas and ideals into practice... they are becoming increasingly intolerant of any layer of the college hierarchy that delays or stands in the way of implementation of strategic decisions'. [Mansell, P (1996) 'Changing your perspective', *FE Now!*, October, p.13]

In July the lecturer's union NATFHE published a survey of the view of [Stoke-on-Trent] College academic staff. It said that no other survey had "presented such a picture of arbitrary, bullying and tyrannical behaviour"... "Programme managers and above were frightened of senior management". [Crequer, N (1996) 'Spotlight falls on crisis-hit college', *TES*, December 6, p. 29]

Introduction

Management, as the above quotations show, has become a central feature of the flows of change across further and higher education (FHE) in the UK. The term 'management', as the above quotations show, is 'a multi-accented signifier' (Maile, 1995;86). It can be understood, or made to mean, in a number of different ways. At times management is the colonising source of much bullying and intimidation. At others, it is a largely autonomous, self-perpetuating and 'unreal' sphere separate from, yet challenging of, normalised educational relations and practice. It is also known as an instrumental, necessary, even indispensable, component to sound educational practice in colleges and universities. Yet 'management' is not simply a series of views on itself. It is in the account developed below, understood as forms of knowledge practices which seek to reconstruct the ways in which the educational practices of teaching and learning are done, talked about, thought about, even dreamed about in further and higher education. It is a set of more or less coherent practices and knowledges which seek to re-order the relations between people at work. Particularly, management is the term given to the new knowledge practices or disciplines of audit, planning and budget control instituted across FHE and, in various forms, the public sector generally. It is through these disciplines that the 'manager' is in part articulated and constituted. However this articulation, this constituting of the manager, and at the same time the managed, is by no means unproblematic and linear. While 'management' as a set of knowledge practices can be articulated, the 'managing', the doing of managing, to use Mangham and Pye's phrase (1991), or the transforming of labour into labour power, to use Marx's term, is problematic, precarious and

unstable. Particularly it is at those nodal points among what the discourse describes as 'middle managers' in colleges and universities, that the problematics of 'management's' colonising trajectory are most intensely felt and elaborated.

The central concern of the following thesis is to explore how, why and particularly *the nature of the problematics surrounding the formation of the manager in FHE*. In addressing this the thesis draws together empirical materials from interviews, participant observation and observation in four universities and four further education colleges in the UK, and conceptual material from recent social science literatures.

If, for the moment, I take up a geographical vocabulary, the thesis can be said to plot points where management's discourses and practices meet the flows and contours of the crumbled terrain of sedimented identities and practices. It is at these points that 'management's' efficacy as an ordering practice is tested. At some points it appears to inscribe new spaces and surfaces with ease. A head of department, a section manager, or programme co-ordinator, positioned by the documents of the managed college or university as a business manager responsible for delivering a certain level of activity against certain targets, speaks and enacts the disposition of the empowered educational entrepreneur (Boyett and Finlay, 1993). A head of department responds: 'I don't have the ability to move as fast as the manager of a small business, yet *that is what I am*'. At others, it appears to slide under and around existing inscriptions. A dean declares: 'I've told the executive, that if it comes to a 'punch-up' I'm with the staff'. At others it becomes unhelpful and destructive: A section head recounts:

I'm constantly caught between supporting the staff, thanking them, encouraging them, and then some thoughtless memo comes down from someone in SMT (senior management team), and it's like snakes and ladder - back to square one.

But I have jumped the gun. It is hard to resist the appeal of these narratives. They want to be heard. Here, now, in the introduction and not deep in the text below. These are the voices of those who freely and in friendship gave time and space for my questions and my presence. I thank these people now. Inevitably they have been repositioned, not this time by the discourses of management, but by the discursive practice of the PhD thesis.

I have also jumped the gun in another way. Before I can explore why and how the 'manager' is articulated across this terrain, I need to ask broader, fuzzier questions about how we can or might come to know this 'other' and what is the nature of knowing. These questions form the basis of the first section of the thesis. In this section I discuss competing epistemological priorities and ontological commitments. I discuss dialogues and discourses, embodiments and inscriptions, identities and subjectivity, arriving at a focal framework for this study, which I hope tries to maintain some of the crucial tensions between the positions signified by such terms.

In section two I address the recent critical literature on FHE - thus positioning the approach taken here among others work which addresses the substantive field from a critical perspective. I then discuss, outline and justify the research methods, and form of analysis taken in relation to the empirical material, in the context of the study's methodological commitments. I then discuss the historic, political and economic dimensions of the suffusion of management across the sector particularly recent and current fiscal, regulatory and audit practices which have swept through further and higher education.

Section three is the empirical section of the thesis. It is subdivided into three chapters that address respectively: the making of the manager,

the problematics surrounding this construction and the gendered dimensions of the development. A final chapter concludes and looks ahead. It discusses the directionality of further work and some possible futures which may form from the flows and contours of further and higher education identified here.

However there are three caveats or conditions which inform the thesis, of which the reader should be aware.

Firstly, the discussion in Section One concerning 'language', the 'body' and 'subjectivity' is inevitably restricted. The literatures associated with, for example, language and subjectivity are simply enormous and perhaps inexhaustible as a source of material. My discussion of language below could have focused, for example, on any one of a large number of fields, including socio-linguistics, narratology or deconstruction. It might have dealt with, for example, post-Saussurrean linguistics, Heideggerean hermeneutics or neo-Marxian approaches to ideology. Within each of these fields the work of particular authors might for example have been addressed in detail, e.g. Barthes' semiotics, Ricoeur's narrativity, Habermas' theory of communicative action. Below I touch on some of this work, but within a restricted and limited range. The key reasons are space and the need to address the topic to which the thesis title refers, namely the 'Making of Managers in UK Further and Higher Education'. Thus various choices and limits are required as to the literature appropriate to address this topic.

The same point should be noted in relation to the more substantive literature presented in section two. The thesis here could have been written in innumerable ways in relation to this literature. The last chapter of section two, for instance, discusses the historical, political and economic dimensions of the suffusion of management across the terrain of further and

higher education. The education manager: entrepreneurial, customer-focused, consultative yet decisive, a first among equals (in its more positive gloss), must be understood as co-dependent with an era of cuts, growth, financial deficits, and of intensified auditing of the public sector. Co-dependent also with the attempt by the state to reduce the costs and increase its control of public sector post-compulsory education is the enrolment and reconstruction of FHE as a service industry. There are within this numerous issues which legitimately could have been addressed. I am conscious particularly that a number of relevant chapters could have been written which address for instance links between post-compulsory education, the state and the economy, or chart the professionalisation of academics, administrators and managerial workers. There is however the inevitable problem of length, and the specific issue to address here, namely, the making of managers in further and higher education.

In general terms, however, the conceptual literature in chapters one, two and three should be read as located broadly within the sociologically informed literature in management and organization studies. In terms of the substantive literature found in Chapter four, the approach taken is to discuss, in the main, only explanatory works around 'work, organization and management' in further and higher education management, particularly work informed by critical, or what I have termed 'contra' perspectives.

Secondly, I want to draw readers' attention to the particular approach I take to these literatures. My aim (in relation to 'language', the 'body' and 'subjectivity' literatures for example) has *not been* to simply 'pass through' a literature in a cursory way, providing references as I go for readers to follow up elsewhere, and simply labelling particular authors as, for example, post-structural or interpretativist. My approach is to use the actual work of

particular authors, which *typify* particular approaches bound up in the works. For example in Chapter one I address, in some length, Thompson's critical modernist response to Gergen's postmodernism in organization studies. Here two relatively short publications are used to elaborate important epistemological issues and tensions, in this case between modernist and postmodern approaches to language. Of course the advantage of such an approach is that it provides a more engaged and elaborative discussion of key issues from these fields. A disadvantage is that it inevitably reduces the space available for a more cursory approach to the literature, one that perhaps addresses other issues, contexts and elements that may have a bearing on the issues in a broad context.

Thirdly, the epistemological approach that underpins this thesis has within it a potential paradox. Pushed to its logical extreme, the poststructuralist approach to knowledge advanced below could be said to cancel itself out. There is little basis from which research can be justified or defended as producing knowledge about some entity, if one is at the same time arguing that knowledge inevitably constructs particular entities including the 'researcher'. Given this, one can hardly claim to be outside such conditions. My approach below is thus a 'tempered post-structuralism'. By drawing on Fiske's work particularly, I am signalling that while I am aware of these problems I do not consider that this should simply silence the writer - or knowledge producer. I am thus signalling my belief and commitment to the possibility that knowledge, while constantly constitutive and political, also opens up spaces for reflexivity, distancing and difference. Through such spaces subjects may not simply come to be spoken by dominant knowledges and practices, but construct political and innovative identities other than those defined and constituted by dominant social alliances.

These three issues set out the basis upon which this thesis has been written and, I hope, will be read. With these points in hand, I now turn to section one.

Section 1. Epistemological Commitments and Ontological Priorities

Section Introduction

All studies of human societies or human relations make statements about the nature of (human) being and about the nature of knowledge. They prioritise what it is that we can or ought to know about human beings, and they commit themselves to how this can be known. This section as a whole discusses the various ontological priorities and epistemological commitments the thesis takes up to address the question of the extent and character of the 'development' of managers in further and higher education (FHE). In this section I discuss such commitments and priorities in relation to *language*, *power relations*, *subjectivity*, *embodiment* and *desire*. It may at first seem strange to discuss managers/managing/management in such terms. I want to briefly address each of these terms in turn as a means of introducing the approach to the study of management undertaken here.

Language and power relations

While studies of management and managers approach their objects in numerous ways, conventional accounts tend to assume the existence of individualised actor/s, the manager/s, set within organization hierarchies, and involved in and responsible for planning, controlling and evaluating the work of others (see for example: Hales, 1993; Daft, 1992). This human actor, who may have been either promoted to, or re-positioned as, a 'manager', is assumed to engage in learning processes whereby he or she takes up through various means the required knowledge and skills (Mumford, 1991).

The ontological priority in this kind of approach is to a number of assumed entities: the 'individual', the 'organization' and to networks of 'interpersonal' relations. The epistemological commitment is to a form of knowledge that stands outside of, and can represent or reflect, with varying degrees of success, a particular reality.

Other ontological priorities, however, produce different accounts of managers. If we de-centre the manager, and prioritise *management* as a process, the discussion moves to the organization of work required to produce, distribute and consume goods and services. The manager, as an actor either 'disappears' to some extent or is construed as the embodiment of a regime or strategy for attempting to efficiently achieve the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services in response to changing conditions. While the epistemological commitment is similar to the above, the ontological priority - the nature of (human) being - is toward the 'manager' as constituted by and reproductive of broader systemic forces.

Thus in this reading the 'public' sector education manager of the mid-1990s might be understood less as an actor and more as a node in systems of monitoring, performance management and competitive relations with other decentralised small to medium sized public enterprises (SMPEs) (Hoggett, 1996). For instance output-based funding, audit processes and competitive practices attempt to constitute the process of education management *as if it were* engaged in full-capitalist market relations. Management is thus required to reduce costs, increase efficiency and maintain control over education work. While public sector education management might be understood as forming part of the State's commitment to enhancing and reproducing through various means capitalist relations of production and consumption,

how this is done is through knowledges and practices that mirror the private sector.

While such a systemic understanding of management as a process challenges the ontological priorities of the actor, the epistemological commitment (the discourse on the nature of knowledge) has remained largely intact. The assumption remains that language can produce accurate *representations* of reality.

Recent social theory, labelled poststructural, post-dualist or post-positivist, has, however, challenged the epistemological commitments which produce such dualist accounts of human societies (structure or agency/actors). Giddens for instance has opted for the analytic of the duality where both structure and agency are interdependent (1979). Others in a similar mode have turned to language, or more precisely knowledge, and argue that such dualistic distinctions are constituted through power-invested linguistic systems and practices. This is not linguistics in its traditional sense. It might be understood as the point of intersection where social pragmatics meet social-cultural-economic practices in the midst of psychological processes. This to some extent is 'new', post 1960s, terrain which authors from the humanities, such as linguistics, through the social and human sciences in the Western academic milieu, have sought to excavate. This postdualist or post-positivist social theory adopts a radicalised understanding of the way language operates. Rather than assume an epistemology where language reflects reality like a mirror, language is understood as actively engaged in materialising reality, or alternatively that reality is neither structurally produced nor derived from social action, but is textually constituted. The nature of material reality is radically undecidable, it is assumed, and must be materialised textually or in other words must be

realised in discourse in some way. As Burrell (1993:79) asserts, for instance 'all is representational and there is no real world against which to argue or upon which to base critical commentary'.

A poststructural approach requires that we understand reality as 'realised' through language or knowledge practices. The shift is away from an analysis which suggests that power relations are found for instance in economic relations *per se*, and toward approaches that understand discourse as that mode by which economic relations and individual workers or consumers are mutually produced. Relations of power, identities, even bodies are textually or discursively constituted, in other words, through the ordering and organizing practices of particular discourses. Thus knowledge is socially active. Knowledge about some entity, such as the 'manager', can be said to be involved in actively strengthening the 'presence' or bringing into existence that entity.

There are, however, in the midst of this broad epistemological commitment to the importance or materiality of language, numerous ways of exploring language in relation to management and organization studies (Putnam et al, 1996). These fall very broadly into two approaches which stress differing aspects of this engagement. On the one hand, language is understood as crucial to the performance of managing (eg. storytelling, enactment, narratives, voices), and on the other, language is said to be crucially involved in ordering, organizing and structuring practices. Below I discuss these approaches using the terms *dialogue* and *discourse*.

Managerial work can easily be understood as *dialogical*. The emphasis is placed on the 'conversations', that organise work, rather than on the actors engaged in these interactions (e.g. Boden, 1994; Watson, 1994). Yet such a discussion of dialogue or narrative seems to fall short of

the claims of a postdualist social science (Reed, 1997). Clearly 'dialogue' - no matter how structured it may be by various genres of discursive practice is unable to provide an account that could explain the relative permanence of particular power relations and inequitable distribution of scarce resources in work organizations.

To achieve this, emphasis shifts away from language per se, and toward *discourse* which might be understood as politically active knowledge practices and formations. Discourses are not simply the discursive practices of talk and text, but are, rather, modes of ordering or organizing which realise and constitute the material. To give a 'concrete' example, in one of the four colleges discussed below, one of the first provocative things that the new principal did on arrival was to turn four heads of department out of a room they shared together. He re-positioned them with their colleagues in the departmental staff work-room. Placing of the head of department's desk in the midst of the department teaching staff can be read as a *discursive statement*. But its significance with regard to the organization of work, power relations and the development of the manager, is more productively addressed by seeing it as part of a new *discourse of managing* in the college; that which attempts to increase the control and supervision of teaching work and reduce possible sources of opposition to itself by, in this case, a group of heads of departments.

In summary, this shift from dialogue to discourse reads discourse as having folded within it power relations, discursive or communicational practices and actual embodied effects. The epistemological commitment is away from attempts to define the contours and features of a *real* organizational world, of production and organization, and towards an exploration of the way knowledge practices are constantly engaged moment

by moment in constituting the real. In Game's terms (1991) the commitment is towards putting the power-laden practices of mapping the 'real' *into* the making of such maps (Game, 1991). This is the trajectory of Chapter 1. It discusses under the headings 'dialogue' and 'discourse' competing approaches to the problems of discursivity using material from studies of managers and management and moves broadly from an interpretivist to a poststructural position (from 'meaning' to 'practice').

Embodiment and desire

'Do you take your body to work?' This seemingly playful or ridiculous question (depending on your point of view) is the title of paper recently published in a text on postmodern management and organization theory (Boje et al, 1996). While such a question might be judged by some as the very nadir of ludicrous self-evident-ness to come from the corps of fashion conscious postmodernists, it nevertheless nags a response. Apart from the self-evident 'of course', it asks, on an ontological level, what assumptions are being made about the human being at work, and in my case here managerial work. If managerial work concerns the problematics of organizing labour, including managerial labour, then surely the way bodies are spatially positioned, physically covered and verbally spoken about have important implications for an account of the 'development' of managerial work in a particular sector. Most accounts of managerial work focus on politics, language, roles, rationality, and sometimes power and treat the body as an absent presence (Burrell, 1996). In general, work is shorn of its physical, spatial, emotional and sheer visceral character. A brief example to the contrary will suffice here. Watson, in his account of managerial work in a telecommunications company (1994), recounts that on several occasions

during his research, he had to physically restrain men managers who became so angry with each other in the course of their work that they attempted to 'beat-up' one another. He concludes with some understatement that 'there is a significant emotional element to manager's work' (Watson, 1994:178). This point, on how 'normal' organization studies eschew the emotionality of work organization, has been significantly appraised by a number of influential feminist-inspired organization studies authors (Pringle, 1989; Hearn and Parkin, 1995; Ferguson, 1994).

If the embodied aspects of work are absent from accounts of such work, the question becomes how to conceptualise organizational embodiment. Chapter two discusses the challenge of poststructural or postdualist accounts of the body. It develops a two dimensional analytical device of 'body topography' to explore embodiment in relation to managing FHE. Of course the 'device' is not a substitute for a structuralist or a phenomenological account of the body. It does not represent or describe the real. It is an analytical utensil for marshalling empirical material or constructing a narrative that addresses the reconstruction of managerial embodiment in post-compulsory education management. In other words, the text attempts to reflect on its own textuality. The two axes of this narrative 'device' - surface and depth - provide a means of addressing the body's physical, verbal and spatial placement, and its unstable sensual, desiring and emotional inscription.

Identity and Subjectivity

The above discussion of a postdualist epistemology has important implications for a discussion of managers and managing. Most accounts of managing tend to speak of management as either a role or positioning in a

structure, or of the manager as agentic actor. Of course 'management' tends to be associated within the historical development of paid-work organizations. A structuralist reading of such developments suggests that management either functions in a system of relations, or 'stands in for' the forces of Capital or the State in the commodification and realisation of efficient relations between the potential of labour and actual labour.

In an agentic reading, management is anthropomorphised as the manager or managers who are motivated by various incentives or rewards, and who learn to become and act as managers through interaction with others. Organizations are negotiated orders, more or less, and managers are made responsible for more or less achieving this negotiation between individual actors and groups.

In an agentic reading *identity* or *subjectivity* is assumed to pre-exist and be reconstituted through social interaction with other actors and groups. In a structuralist reading human subjectivity is broadly the canvas upon which structural processes work. A commitment to a poststructural or postdualist epistemological meanwhile 'annoys' both such accounts of identity or subjectivity. In relation to the agentic manager, it suggests that the notion of 'self' and 'self-consciousness' is not an ontological given, but an *effect* of, for instance, management knowledges and practices, among others. For instance, practices of *reflexivity* are understood not as inherent in 'the individual', but as techniques which are engaged in producing and refining a particular individual identity or self through the construction of an internalised relation to that identity or self-derived from particular knowledges. The supposed agency of, say, a manager is understood more as movement between particular selves or identities which have been articulated by or inscribed upon or attached to a particular body by particular political

technologies located within the contested terrains of, for example, colleges, universities, firms or voluntary organizations.

In relation to a structuralist account, where the identity or subjectivity of management is derived from its functional role in a social system, or the structure of capitalist or patriarchal relations, the challenge is toward assumptions of determinism, realism and positivism. Knights and Willmott for example (1989; Willmott, 1994; Knights, 1997) are among authors who have sought to establish such a postdualist position in relation to a structuralist account of management. In relation to determinism, they argue that managerial identities, for example, cannot be derived *directly* from capitalist or patriarchal structures. They argue that modern forms of power simultaneously invest the subject with 'freedom', and problematise, through particular practices, the conditions upon which such 'freedom' can be exercised. For example, in relation to public sector further and higher education the manager is said to be 'free to manage' resources, but this is constructed through the knowledges and practices of inspections, performance management, income targets and budgets. Such practices simultaneously 'worry' a particular person's sense of how one is meant to be/act, and provide solutions to these 'worries'. These knowledges and practices are thus variably embraced precisely because they offer positive ways of articulating and securing a sense of managerial identity.

In relation to realism and positivism, Knights (1992: 530) argues that management knowledges often unreflectively engage representational strategies or an 'episteme of representation'(1997:4), where 'distinctions are transformed from heuristic devices into reified ontological realities'. Thus representations of the manager as functioning in a social system or as masculine hero are actively engaged in not simply representing

management, but actively constituting managerial subjectivity. Thus supposedly scientific accounts of management, are politically engaged in knowledging the manager into place, so to speak.

Such approaches to a postdualist ontology derive in part from Foucault's analysis of modernist forms of power. He argued (1972; 1983; 1991) that contemporary society is premised not so much on relations of exploitation or domination, but *subjectification*. That is, modern power works simultaneously on creating particular 'individuals' with particular relations to their bodies and themselves (conscience). Thus while the 'manager' might be understood from a structuralist position as attempting to cohere productive economic relations of production or patriarchal relations of dominance over women and other men in work organizations, these relations do not in themselves produce the 'manager'. The 'manager' is an effect of particular knowledge practices, which could also be said to simultaneously produce capitalist or patriarchal structures. Another way to put this would be to suggest that contemporary public and private sector corporations are as much interested in producing the right kind of individual worker or consumer as producing the right kind of service or product.

In the case of the manager, modern power works through various devices (e.g. tactics of reflexivity) to attach a particular self to, or inscribe a particular self upon, a particular body - a self that is responsible and accountable for particular areas of activity. Managerial subjectivity or identity is a relation to a self produced, as Knights and Willmott note, through 'disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power-knowledge strategies' (1989:554).

In general terms this outlines the discussion found in Chapter 3. However, following on from discussion in Chapters 1 & 2, I discuss the

problematics of a Foucauldian reading of the constitution of managerial identity drawing on recent debate (Hall, 1996; Rose, 1996). The argument here surrounds the character of agency, in a postdualist reading. Broadly this runs in two directions: from the psychoanalytic to the discursive (Hollway, 1989; Hall, 1996) and from the discursive to the psychoanalytic (Rose, 1996) (In some ways this reflects the inconclusive aspects of Foucault's later work in relation to subjectivity.) In the latter move, the epistemological commitment is to a human being whose 'interior' is formed through the largely discursive processes of subjectification. The earlier meanwhile talks of processes of identification which assume a dynamic desiring interior or unconscious which engages with discursive processes.

In response to this the tension between these two approaches to subjectivity, and so as to develop a means of addressing empirical material, I discuss the promise of Fiske's analytic (1993) of 'stationing' and 'locale', as a methodological configuration upon which to address the problematics of the constitution of managerial identity in further and higher education. This again is not a reconstruction of a dualistic social science but an analytical duality through which empirical material can be read, and which is only useful in the sense that it allows empirical material to be elaborated.

Section 1 Chapter 1 Managing discourse, Discoursing managing

Introduction - On managers, managing and management

It is one of the great modern mysteries that although so much is owed by our times to the organising and production genius of management, the world must constantly be reminded of this fact which it seems so obstinately reluctant to learn and believe'. [Levitt, Theodore (1976) Management and the 'Post-Industrial Society' *Public Interest*, 44 (summer): 73-74]

This palpable ambivalence and doubt, where you pretend to be the commercial business that you cannot be, has led to the present, near fatal crisis where it seems to be thought that the wounds (often self-inflicted) can be stanchied by shuffling about word-processed words about a new 'management culture' . . . Management, management, management, the word sticks in one's interface. Please excuse me if I dare to laugh but I know that every age has its little cant word coiled up inside real discourse like a tiny grub in the middle of an apple. [Potter, Dennis (1993) 'Potter hits at BBC "Darleks", *The Guardian*, August, 28 p.1]

Potter and Levitt in their own ways highlight the effectivity of management in contemporary society. Potter's comment, written as part of a critique of managerial changes at the BBC, points to the way management operates discursively. By comparing 'management' to a worm 'coiled up inside real discourse ', he suggests that 'management' works in powerful ways to map out and conceptualise (and thus make amenable to action) areas of life in particular ways. Also through in(cant)ation, he suggests, management operates to address (often self-inflicted) crises and problems. Potter's comments highlight how management can be understood not just as a set of production techniques which increase the efficiency of labour, as Levitt suggests, but more a set of knowledge practices which reconstruct problems and crises in such a way as to make 'management', in various competing approaches, the necessary response. In other words management does not address problems, but reconstructs them so as to apply itself to them. In the case of the BBC, the need to re-negotiate its broadcasting licence with a hostile neo-liberal Conservative government, prompted attempts to introduce 'management reforms' such as the introduction of an internal market for

services staffed by managers. In the case of further and higher education, the simultaneous decentralisation of responsibility for education 'performance' and the centralisation of control over, and the reduction of, State funding relative to student numbers, has also greatly increased the plausibility and effectivity of managerial knowledges and practices. For instance, poor recruitment of students tends to be identified via management discourse as a marketing or a strategic management problem.

The contrast between Levitt and Potter's comments illustrates concisely, in a number of ways, the concerns of academic work in management and organization studies engaged in the critical investigation of managerial and organizational practices and knowledges. This investigation is *not* concerned with simply being critical of management [even managers themselves, at times, are sceptical and critical of management (Watson, 1994)], but more with the critical investigation of the political character of processes that constitute 'management' or 'managers'. Marsden and Townley (1995;1996) usefully identify the genealogy of such investigation in Marx's critique of capitalist society. They argue that critical or 'contra' organization studies take up Marx's problematising of capitalist social relations of production. In opposition to neo-classical economics which took the abstracted, de-socialised *homo economicus* as a given, Marx sought to explain how economic subjects were constituted as capitalism overwhelmed feudal social relations. The analytical move for 'contra' organization studies is not to ask 'How can capitalist organizations be made to work more efficiently?', but 'How do capitalist organizations come into being and what effect does this have?'. Marsden and Townley (1996:663) suggest that what they term 'normal' organization theory uncritically took up the assumptions of 'homo economicus' and the scientific epistemology of economics, and effectively subcontracted the work of producing knowledges of capitalist organization from economics. Meanwhile the Marx-derived 'contra' organization theory is involved in a constant state of critique of such knowledges

particularly drawing attention to the highly political and exploitative processes that underpin capitalist organization.

This dualism helpfully situates firstly the critical study of management and managers, and secondly the account of the development of managers in further and higher education presented below. In relation to this second issue it is important to note that much of the recent and current literature that addresses management in the sector is grounded in and derived from this 'normal' organization theory (Warner and Crosthwaite, 1995; Ford et al, 1996; Middlehurst, 1993; Cuthbert, 1996). Its functionalist, anodyne and positivist trajectory aims to both soothe and smooth the problematics of work relations in these sites. Secondly it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that *the manager* did not exist in this sector before 1970 (Baron, 1978; Scott, 1995). Tertiary education prior to 1970s was administered rather than managed, and the shift in terminology to the 'manager' and 'management' is highly evocative of the issues developed below, where conceptual material from discursive sociology/psychology and poststructuralism are brought to bear on the development of 'managers' in the tertiary sector.

In relation to the first issue, the dualism of 'normal' and 'contra' organization theory makes it possible to show how 'normal' organization theory, derived from economics and armed with a scientific epistemology, is not only a theory generally of and for managers, but actively engaged in constituting the 'manager' in capitalist society. The likes of Taylor, Ford, Fayol, Barnard and others have provided much of the early material for the construction of the 'manager' in 'normal' organization theory. Their conceptualisations continue to be circulated and recycled in contemporary managerial discourse e.g. performance management, process re-engineering, quality.

'Contra' organization theory, and *its* investigation of the 'manager', meanwhile brings, not only its Marxist legacy (Knights and Willmott, 1985), but also Weberian sociology (e.g. Silverman, 1970), the phenomenology of Schultz and Goffman (e.g. Mangham, 1986), and more recently feminism (e.g. Cockburn, 1991) and

poststructuralism (e.g. Chia, 1994), to bear on the knowledges and practices of management, managing and managers in particular locations during particular periods. Broadly the assumptions are that 'management' or 'organizations' are historically and socially constituted and organized through power-invested practices. There are inevitable tensions between the various approaches and resources that 'contra' organization studies draws upon. A current key tension is the weight or primacy given to marxist, feminist and poststructural renderings of contemporary organization. As a way of moving into the discussion of the discursivity of management, I want to address this tension particularly between the marxist and poststructural readings of organizational power. This is in no way to suggest that a feminist reading of organizations, or the manager in further and higher education is any less illustrative of the shift to textuality (see Chapter 9 below); only it is at this point in the thesis that the variety and spread of feminist approaches (see Calas and Smircich, 1996) works against drawing out some of the conceptual issues in the space available.

Unravelling traditions in management and organizational studies

Willmott (1984) , in a review of the classical management literature from within 'contra' organization studies, argues that managerial work is 'widely (mis)represented and idealized as a technical, politically neutral activity' (1984:350). He suggests that most of the founding accounts of management drawn from the likes of Taylor, Fayol, and Drucker make little distinction between the *ideal* and *the real*, and disregard the full political-economic dimensions of such work. While more recent accounts of management in this vein, for example Mintzberg (1973) and Kotter (1982) add empirical material which suggests that managerial work *is* inherently political, the definition of political is partial, he argues. These accounts take the political to mean the interpersonal or discursive political skills of managers and fail to address a wider political economic understanding.

[Managerial work] is *also* political in that the way that it is involved in the production and reproduction of *institutions* appeases the conflict between labour and capital (1984, emphasis in original).

From this perspective, managerial work is 'situated in the context of organizing and controlling the labour process in ways that yield a commercially supportable surplus' (1984:362).

Willmott argues for the need to address a 'real' embedded in the political economic relations of the labour process. Accounts of management work which *fail* to address this 'real' (that management is first and foremost engaged in extracting surplus value on behalf of Capital) are labelled 'propaganda' in the service of mystifying these relations.

These *strong* distinctions between real/ideal and real/propaganda can be read as the hallmarks of labour process analysis of managerial work in the UK derived from Marx via Braverman (1974). It claims a strong epistemological hold on knowledge of a 'real' via analysis of relations of production against, in this case, the 'faulty' epistemology of management theory. While this approach remains a fundamental element of social science accounts of work and organizations (see Brown, 1992), and spokespeople for this school (see Thompson and McHugh, 1995; Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995) continue to maintain the core threads of this tradition, in the last ten years or so this kind of analysis has not so much been overthrown as unravelled by sustained challenges on conceptual, empirical and epistemological grounds, in many cases by those who have centrally involved articulating this work in the first instance (e.g. Willmott and Knights, Clegg). The key challenges involve a series of revisions to the original debate.

First, the Braverman thesis has been challenged for its objectification of social relations and its lack of a concept of agency or action. What it failed to offer was a conceptualisation of the human subject engaged in attempting the problematic accomplishment of capitalist relations, for instance the manager, and relatedly explanations of the subject against the backdrop of the frequently complicit and

interdependent relations between capital and labour (e.g. Teulings, 1986). This challenge was articulated as the 'search' for the missing subject of labour process analysis (Thompson, 1989). What was called for was a theorisation of the agency or subjectivity of human beings in work organizations in non-dualist ways (voluntarist actors/ constraining structures) which did not give ground to what is considered to be the bourgeois psychologism prevalent in managerial discourse e.g. human relations. Inevitably perhaps, given the way this 'search' for the 'missing subject' is phrased, what was sought was a subject that could be 'plugged into' a more structuralist analysis. What has broadly occurred is that these foundational positions have themselves been challenged in the revising processes.

Second, revisions have flowed from the realization of 'other' divisions (apart from labour and capital) which work organizations are engaged in reproducing, particularly the axes of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, ability/disability. Work organizations came to be seen as sites which were actively engaged in articulating asymmetric relations between not just socialised capital and labour, but men over women, masculinities over femininities, white over black, able bodied over disabled.

Third, and perhaps most fundamentally, revisions flow from what Curt (1994) usefully terms the 'climate of problematisation' of knowledge or the climate of 'disenchantment' over knowledge. This climate has suffused from what Williams and May (1996) call the radical challenge of the 'post-critiques' (post-modernism, poststructuralism). The epistemological challenge of these is principally against the strong claims to knowledge and truth about a 'real'. This challenge questions the basis of a scientific project which claims that through the application of human reason, truthful knowledge about reality can be acquired. The post-critiques argue that these grandiose claims are unsustainable and that science, including social science, is more a set of privileged language games or language practices. What follows from this is an epistemology which broadly challenges the taken-for-granted relation between the 'knower' and the known; that is the stability of these 'objects'. So, in the case before

us, a realist position would assume there to be such entities as the manager, the management researcher and the education organization. The epistemological challenge of the post-critiques meanwhile insists that such entities be understood as fabricated out of particular discursive practices, orderings and stories. As Cooper and Burrell (1988: 102) note

Discourse is no longer a neutral means of communicating about the world . . . It is no longer an extension of human organs or faculties; it is the latter which are an extension of discourse.

The methodological shift that follows requires that quite fundamental questions be recast. The question 'What is such and such?' for instance becomes 'How is such and such made to mean?'. The first question implies an assumption that a 'some-thing' can exist outside social knowledge of it or that some degree of correspondence can be achieved between that 'some-thing' and what can be said or written about it. The latter implies an examination of the textuality which produces certain effects. Cooper and Burrell note that a postmodern analysis turns the tables on the modernist search for truth. For them, 'the proper understanding of a solution can only be got from how the problem was structured in the first place' (1988:102). So for example the question 'What is managing or management?', becomes 'How is management or managing made to mean?', or, 'How is the discursive practice of managing made achievable?'. The upshot of this is a concern over the politics of textual practices, particularly a heightened reflexivity over the discursive or textual practices which produce social knowledge. This includes an awareness of the disciplinary or power-invested character of textual practices that reproduce particular traditions of claims (e.g. that produces various competing histories of management). In summary, the ontological assertion is that a 'real', which includes the human subject, is not extra-discursive but written or inscribed via various discourses on space, time and human bodies. As Game suggests, the social world does not consist of ready-made objects to be represented (1991),

rather, the social world is made up of contested processes which attempt to *make certain texts real*, that is, gloss them with the effect or burden of truthfulness¹.

Of course this shift into textuality does not mean that capitalist economic relations, particularly employment and consumption relations, are ignored. Rather than understand capitalism as a material system that structures social relations, the emphasis is on the contested and multiple ways this material system is put into discourse (e.g. Donzelot, 1992). The emphasis is not on the monolithic 'system', but on the multiple and power-laden ways in which the material system is reproduced by sedimented discursive practices and contexts.

Hardy and Clegg (1996) note for instance that

The employment relationship of economic domination and subordination is the underlying sediment over which the organization practices are stratified and overlaid, often in quite complex ways. This complexity of organizational locales renders them subject to multi-varient powers rather than monadic sites of total control: contested terrains, rather than total institutions' (1996:633).

In general terms then the shift is from *monadic subjects* to *multiple subjectivities*, and from *monolithic organizations* to *multiple modes of organizing*. In Cooper and Burrell's terms the shift in analysis is to show how the formal and informal organization are interdependent.

The task of postmodern analysis is to expose the censoring function of formalisation and to show that the informal actually constitutes the 'formal' . . . formal systems of power are centred on such formalised units as 'individuals', 'organization' and one is led to think of power as a kind of property that is owned and manipulated by such social units. . . the informal perspective [e.g. the here and the now, the immediate, how I am working on myself now] makes us see power as an autonomous system of compulsion which works through formal organization system of discipline and organization. (1988:109)

Of course this emphasis on the localised, the multiple and the plural is politically problematic, particularly for a 'contra' organization theory which has relied on strong claims to knowledge of exploitation and oppression (see Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 for a

¹ Game's own work from the Labour Process Analysis in Game and Pringle (1983) to the highly post-structuralist theorising about sociology in Game (1991) and Pringle's discursive account of secretarial work (1988) is illustrative of the shifts produced through the 'post-critiques'.

discussion of this in relation to democratic politics). Thus some see political cravenness and bourgeois subjectivism in such a move. While postmodern analysis might suggest that the formal's organizational other - the informal - constantly threatens to transgress and re-order the formal, the shift to an analysis of these 'small' or multiple orderings can seem politically timid for a form of organizational analysis which has attempted to challenge 'normal' organization science on the grounds of political complicity.

The challenge posed by a postmodern organizational analysis is to attend to the identities and bodies that populate organizational spaces, but also, however uncomfortably, to local, national and global economic and political processes, which seek to author such locales. The tension surrounds the extent to which such processes are read as authoring such locales. Politically then postmodern 'contra' organization studies would likely be concerned with an ethics of the locale. Such an ethics would not be paralysed by postmodern sensibilities for otherness or difference, but would be prepared to act to develop or maintain non-oppressive processes and identities.

As Harvey (1992:64) suggests, in his discussion of homelessness,

The identity of the homeless person (or the racially oppressed) is vital to their sense of selfhood. Perpetuating that same sense of self and of identity may depend on perpetuation of the process which gave rise to it. A political programme that successfully combats homelessness (or racism) has to face up to the real difficulty of a loss of identity on the part of those who have been victims of such forms of oppression.

The study of managing and organizing that follows from the above challenge is concerned with a rather more fragile, heterogeneous and diverse 'world' than that of modernist 'normal' or 'contra' organization studies. To put this another way, it is concerned with the study of the verbs 'to manage' and 'to organize', rather than with the nouns 'Management' and 'Organization'. Yet, as suggested, there is considerable disagreement over this shift of emphasis away from the relative safety of the 'real' to the problematics of discourse.

Representation and realism; illustrating the tension

One particularly illuminating dispute between Marxist and poststructural accounts in 'contra' organization studies is found in Thompson's (1993) response to Gergen (1992). Thompson argues that a preoccupation with the constitutive power of language is a potentially fatal distraction for organization studies. He asserts that

it is one thing to claim that language is an important resource for the way in which power is identified, shaped and fought out

a position that Thompson broadly supports,

and another to say that of necessity [power] is brought into being by, and indissolubly linked to, language (1993:199),

the position, which he claims post-modernists (e.g. Townley, 1993a,b and 1994; Gergen, 1992; Cooper, 1989; Linstead, 1993) embrace. For Thompson this conflation of language and power turns people into simply ciphers, rather than agents, and the world of matter, of actual physical processes, largely disappears. Language, in Thompson's assessment, is more productively considered to be the medium via which struggles are articulated. Thompson is highly suspicious of the apparent connections [also noted by Clarke and Newman (1993), and Willmott, 1992] between those management development consultants, who sell organizational change processes, and management and organisation studies academics who seem largely convinced by the dictum that subjects are constituted in a more or less totalising fashion by discourses, for instance 'excellence' or 'enterprise' (Du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1989; Du Gay and Salaman, 1992). 'Postmodernism has seen fit to endorse the sweeping statements and global prophecies so characteristic of pop management' (1993: 194), Thompson asserts. While he does not address the work of Rose (1989), Miller and Rose (1990), Thompson cites Gergen (1992) and Townley (1993b) as the 'culprits' on this occasion. Generally he argues that

proceeding through the minutiae of language games or the prison house of discourse can be very limited. While it may allow us to spot inconsistencies and metaphors it does not enable us to reveal the interests and power structures that underpin texts . . . priority should be to investigate the gap between rhetoric and substance in areas such as equal opportunities. (1993:196-7)

For Thompson, Gergen's 1992 text entitled '*Organization Theory in the Post-modern Era*', exemplifies directly the problems with post-modernism. It is worth discussing this confrontation as it highlights a number of issues which can be productively brought into the current discussion.

Thompson's disagreement with Gergen (1992) is profound. Put perhaps too simply, they disagree over the existence of a 'reality'. Gergen's text reflects a post-structural, and discursive psychological (Edwards and Potter, 1993) concern over the importance of language. The text can be said to draw on the broad poststructural theme of challenging the Hegelian 'story' of a master-slave relationship between 'language' and 'reality' in modernism, where language is considered 'slave' and 'reality', 'master' (Game, 1991) . Poststructuralism asserts that 'reality' is inherently un-decidable (Cooper, 1990) and therefore can be more productively understood as brought into being by discourse. Real capacities and activities do exist, but the issue is how these are put into and mobilised by discourse; how the real is made to mean or signify. The 'real' then in a poststructural exposition is replaced by 'representation' (language). The 'real' as something that can be known, as a grounding concept, disappears (1990:213). This has profound implications for studies of management and organizations, Gergen argues. It requires that such studies be read not seeking validity or correspondence with something called the real (the 'substance', in Thompson's passage quoted above), but as narratives which take up and repeat particular notions as if they were real. Most studies of organization and management remain, Gergen argues, fatally in the grip of two dominant 'truthful' narratives: modernist progress and romantic individualist. Modernist progress, he suggests, gives us scientific management, systems theory, and the whole edifice of discourse based on laws and rules of economic organization and development. Romantic individualism meanwhile gives us much of traditional

management theory based around predominantly American psychological theories of organizations from Maslow or McGregor through to Japanese management theory and excellence. Such an account of course also begs the question: How can Gergen's own narrative be read?

At one level Gergen's paper might be read as an epistemological and political challenge to what, from this distance (the UK), seems like the deafening modernism of much North American management and organization studies. The paper is then a manifesto for politically engaged post-modernist organization studies (see Hassard, 1994 for support) . Armed with the post-modern notions of difference and heteroglossia, the text is challenging the solidity, rationality and narrowness of (capitalist) organization. The paper is broadly attempting to offer a utopian vision based around post-modern notions. Gergen argues that those organizations that learn from post-modern notions such as 'power is ultimately self-destructive' are more likely to survive in a post-modern society. Once modernist and capitalist organizations embrace postmodern notions then

the tendency to view the organization as an autonomous, self-contained system will recede and instead the organization's outcomes will become inseparable from those of the broader community. . . Ultimately we may be able to see the end of the Hobbesian view of cultural life. (1992:223-224)

Yet Gergen's text is not simply postmodern. It draws heavily for instance, on the narratives of psychological social constructivism. The text suggests a social psychology, now 'gone' post-modern, which retains many of the inflections of this earlier work. For instance it focuses on the constructivist's concern over the importance of meaning in social life and its collaborative, communal and localised character (1992:214). This is underpinned by a social democratic discourse that seeks to open up spaces for 'minority voices, voices of dissensus' (1992: 223). Postmodern notions therefore are engaged to renovate and give extra currency to these earlier concerns. A similar effect occurs in Boje et al's *Postmodern Management and Organization Theory*, where postmodernism is read in a North American context as a

critical emancipatory discourse largely without the criticisms of relativism and conservatism that some European audiences have produced.

The criticisms of 'postmodernism' in Thompson's text meanwhile might be read in part as a gloss on an earlier academic debate which featured confrontation between a Marx-informed industrial sociology, and social psychology. As might have been predicted Thompson's response to Gergen's text is the charge that language has been overburdened with responsibility for reality, and that this represents an idealist infatuation with the surface, rather than the striving for in-depth understanding. For Thompson, Gergen's statements are 'dangerous and absurd' (1993:196). But rather than engage with the notion that certain key repeated narratives make up the 'reality' of organizational analysis, Thompson's approach to Gergen's text is to apply a 'reality test'. At one point Gergen argues that 'without languages the patterns of activity would be transformed or collapse'. He then asks rhetorically, 'abandon all talk of profit and loss and what happens to economic enterprise?' (1992:216). Thompson's laconic response is

nothing necessarily happens. After all, the managerial revolution discourse was built entirely round such 'talk'. Though the ways that managers understand it changed, capitalism carried on regardless (1993:196).

At another point in the text Gergen attempts to show, using Derrida's notion of 'différance', that the meaning of everyday management rationality is largely indeterminate, localised and above all collaborative. 'Différance', as Cooper (1989, 1990) notes, is a concept Derrida composed to describe how the supposed reality or presence of a particular term is a result of its difference from and deferral to an absent supplementary term. Thus 'reality', 'self', 'organization', 'truth' are not 'present' in themselves, but in the movement and subjugation between the particular term and its supplement e.g. reality-illusion, self-other, organization-disorganization. Thus managerial rationality is not found in the terms used by managers (an approach to language that underpins Thompson's comments), but in the social collaboration over

the censorship, or the dispersed social practices of forgetting, which maintains these hierarchies. Gergen suggests that the definition of any piece of managerial rationality such as 'let's be logical about this; the bottom line would be the closing of the Portsmouth division', is found in a social milieu where the listeners supply and censor out the supplements which in their silence make sense of terms like 'logical', 'bottom line' and 'closing'. Thompson meanwhile takes this statement and argues that meanings may be multiple but this has little relevance for organization studies. Multiple meanings there may be but the 'outcome may be the same, as management power to close the plant is not dependent on them' (1993:199). What occurs here then is a clash over the nature of language. Thompson is unwilling to engage with the perhaps more abstract understanding of language as an ordering and framing process, and Gergen is unwilling to take this discussion of language outside of itself and position it within socio-economic discourse.

One response to Thompson's comment, from a post-structural position, would be to challenge the language-substance opposition embedded in Thompson's text. The argument would be that Thompson has drawn a largely artificial line between the actual utterances managers use and the 'substance' of their power. The counter-move would be to adopt a kind of in-between-ness (Bhabha, 1994) where texts are understood as material actions and material action as texts; or to understand them as folded inside each other.

Management's power, to say, close a college, sack staff and replace them with technicians and computer learning packages for instance, is not centred on 'management', but in the maintenance of sedimented relations *between* 'management' and its deferred other - the managed (which would include all those engaged in some way in college activities). 'Management power' from a post-structural position is not found in the privileged term 'management', or in those identified as managers, but dispersed as a 'managerial mode of co-ordination', to use Charlesworth et al's term (1996). This mode relies particularly on representational devices which produce the

authorising centre 'management' but which are not directly present in the term 'management'. 'Management power' then is sedimented and dispersed through multiple discursive devices from contracts of employment, where both workers *and managers* agree to exchange labour for wages, to the rituals of meetings and ultimately to the signatorial practices that link managers to finance facilities. While, as Clegg and Hardy note (1996:633), the employment relation underlies others, it is part of an ensemble of relations which constitute the manager and the managed, but does not determine directly the character of such relations. This is broadly the position I wish to take up below.

Tempered realism and pragmatic representations; Extending the debate

Other writers on managing and organizing, who perhaps could be understood to be 'unfolding' from a realist and marxist tradition, make a number of points which temper the extremes of the debate discussed above. I want to briefly note some of these before discussing two relatively homogeneous approaches to language and the study of managing and organizing.

Clarke (1995; Clarke et al, 1994; Clarke and Newman, 1997) and his collaborators are among authors drawing on critical approaches to address public sector management. He and his collaborators could be said to be broadly supportive of Thompson's criticism; however, they are also engaging in elaborating what they term 'discourse theory' in relation to management. Yet this use of 'discourse theory' is tempered. Clarke argues that Foucault-inspired authors have a tendency to over-play the constitutive power of discourse. Subjects, he argues, are not simply *produced* by new discourse ['enterprising selves' for example² (1995:8)] and discourses are not simply rhetorical. There are, Clarke suggests, problems with a theory and the practice of subjection.

² see Miller and Rose 1990; Rose, 1989; Du Gay and Salaman, 1992; Du Gay, 1996

The first is that older discourses, subject positions and the identities associated with them have not gone away - they linger on not just out of nostalgia, but because the specific practices of welfare provision³ continue to require particular combinations of skills, competences and orientations which outrun the discourses of business, management and enterprise. What has been constructed is a field of tensions within which people manoeuvre -calculatingly, passionately, politically. . . No discourse - even one as apparently engaging and compelling as the new managerialism - is uncontested. (1995: 9-10)

Broadly he argues that analysis needs to be particularly aware of understanding institutions as potentially many 'blocks' of discourses which have historical specificity and due to their applicability to particular practices are able to 'out-run' or repel to some extent colonising practices, languages and identities. Clarke broadly maintains that the colonising ambitions of one is likely to be constrained by points of contest and tensions with others. Behind this is the assumption of a political subject able to navigate discourses tactically. This approach leaves 'room' for political agent/s who, through their reflexivity or positioning in antagonistic discourses, are variably able to subvert, up-end and weaken the suffusion of these practices as they seek to reconstruct their particular locales.

Others meanwhile, whose work might be understood to be Marxist in origin, are less convinced by what might be seen as Clarke's faith in a discursively reflexive reinvigorated political subject. Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), a linguist, suggests in a paper which in part uses his own experiences of seeking academic promotion as data for addressing the reconstruction of universities (1993), that it is too easy and comforting to assume that 'the self stands outside or behind at least some form of discursive practice' (1993:153). Fairclough is thus arguing that the focus should be on those discourses which dominate particular settings (e.g. promotion committees) and which require a translation process. So particular features (in this case collegial relations with other department members) in one discourse are re-composed in another e.g. the social relations of work become individualising activities such as 'leadership' and 'management'. Fairclough argues that accounts which stress that such

3 Here we could include education provision, health provision, police provision or the

processes are simply rhetorical 'underestimate the incorporative capacity of institutional logics and procedures' (1993:153). In sum, he suggests that

Doing one's job entails 'playing the game' (or various connected games), and what may feel like a mere rhetoric to get things done quickly becomes a part of one's professional identity. (1993:153)

Fairclough's approach suggests a reading of subjectivity that stresses both its multiple, and therefore contradictory character, and its differential articulation in response to spatially and temporally located discursive practices (e.g. promotions committee, writing submissions, talking to colleagues about promotion).

Meanwhile, in a discussion of the construction of public services, Stuart Hall (1993) takes a similar line to that of Fairclough in relation to the understanding of the inter-relationship between language, discursive practice and subjectivity. For material he draws on experience of his own university .

One of the key lessons I learned from Thatcherism was that first of all you struggle about conduct, and hearts and minds follow later. I learnt that through the institution in which I work, the Open University. It is filled with good social democrats. Everybody there believes in the redistribution of educational opportunities and seeks to remedy the exclusiveness of British education. And yet, in the past ten years, these good social-democratic souls, without changing for a minute what is in their hearts and minds, have learned to speak a brand of metallic new entrepreneurialism, a new managerialism of a horrendously closed nature. They believe what they always believe, but what they do, how they write their mission statements, how they do appraisal forms, how they talk about students, how they calculate the costs - that's what they are interested in now. The result is that the institution has been transformed. (1993:15)

While a fuller account of Hall's approach is offered below (Chapter 3), Hall argues here that we should be concerned in the first instance with *conduct*; with the 'how' of discursively 'playing the game' and the strikingly limited positions that this allows us to take up. It is in the language practices of the 'game' that transformation or translation takes place, not in the hearts, minds and beliefs. Contra Clarke in this text, Hall takes a somewhat more determined line and suggests that 'older' discourses, such as those that might draw on social democratic discourse in this case, do not so

much offer a place from which to outrun or challenge ascendant discourses. Instead they tend to either slide under, or become subordinate, or are translated, or are perhaps lost as they confront the ascendant. Hall's assumption is that the 'subject' is differentially placed or positioned by different discourses or practices (1996:226). What emerges from the above is an appreciation of the extent to which 'we' become not so much subject to, but increasingly *subjects of* particular discourses.

This brief account of Hall and Fairclough's approach can be read as illustrating the work of two authors engaged in a broad 'materialising' of the notion of ideology, within a Marxist theoretical tradition (Potter and Wetherell, 1992:60). Particularly 'ideology' in its classically Marxist delineation has become materialised as 'a form of practical action' or 'discursive practice'. As Potter and Wetherell note

What becomes apparent in this new formulation is that discourse is active, compelling and a pervasive part of social life. Moreover ideology ceases to be seen as an elegant coherent totality but as fragmented and contradictory, with the very stresses and variations within it being crucial to its operation (1992:60).

Thus discourse is articulated as a central process in constructing and re-constructing social relations and identities. Here the 'individual' is undermined as a metaphysical concept and becomes a discursive tactic that supports and embeds liberal discourse. Yet the hold, reach and dynamic potential is patchy and unreliable. Discourses challenge and undermine one another depending on localised circumstances.

Language, discourse and taking up positions

The above engagement with texts from Gergen, Thompson, Clarke, Fairclough and Hall highlights both the shifts toward a more specific and encompassing understanding of language in the working out of social activities and the tensions involved in this shift. It is worth reiterating, that such a shift in which most of the above scholars are engaged does not disregard a marxist reading of social relations. It does

not disregard the importance of employment relations and people's relative inability to secure an income outside of capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange. However, it highlights a poststructuralist move to a more energetic explanation of how such relations are worked out, resisted and reproduced in multiple sites and circumstances.

Inevitably there are tensions over how such a shift might be articulated.

Illustrated above is the concern that accounts which stress the discursive nature of organizational life tend to over-emphasise the deterministic elements of discourse and down-grade a political account of agentic subjects who instrumentally and tactically use particular discourses. That is, through dialogue and conversation subjects are not simply spoken by discourse but make sense of their circumstances through competing and localised patterns of narratives. In other words, the pattern of consumption of the dominant is variable (Du Gay, 1996). At issue is the tendency to over emphasise the *becoming subject-of* elements of discursivity, rather than simply *subject-to* discourse alongside an understanding that emphasises the importance of, the largely inescapable, discursive practices or 'rules of the game'. These frequently dominate particular locations and have embedded within them certain identities and flows of control. Yet, as Fairclough suggests this should not lead us to assume an agentic subject able to consciously play the game without becoming part of it. The concern generally is that talk of language is too broad and reductive and that the features of language relevant to what Clarke calls 'playing the game' need to be adequately elaborated and contextualised; perhaps conceptualised as 'blocks' of ways of doing or being in particular locations between which subjects manoeuvre. This is a key point and one which informs the remainder of this chapter. The general trajectory of what follows is away from an emphasis on language per se and toward discourse, understood as ways of ordering various materials - particularly language. The move is away from a phenomenological social action approach to management and organization, and toward a post-dualist framework. The general point is that if we reject a realist or positivistic

approach to language, we should not reify language itself, but see language as a broad social practice made up of actual texts, discursive practices and social practices which are organized via particular discourses or modes of ordering (Law, 1994). Given these tensions and issues, I propose a series of sensitising questions to be asked of studies of managing and organizing which move in this direction: How is language understood? What is the relation between language and the real? How is the subject conceptualised? How is working life conceptualised?

My aim is to use these questions to draw out similarities and differences in approach in a selection of works which discuss managing and management as inherently discursive, or language-based practices. My discussion will address, through these questions, the different ontological priorities and epistemological commitments found in these studies. I have selected a series of theoretically-informed yet empirically-grounded works⁴ as a way of avoiding the tendency in academic discussion of addressing theoretical issues at the expense of empirically-based work. This has the effect that discussion appears to be some form of 'external and seemingly authoritative form of analysis' (Willmott, 1993:705), rather than, as with all work, embedded in the conditions of its own production. I consider it important, particularly given that this study is concerned with issues surrounding the managing of tertiary education, that academic debate be read as a social practice (Willmott, 1993). Watson's text discussed below illustrates this well. While he draws resources from various 'postmodern' debates around terms like 'chaos', 'culture' and 'discourse', his actual text is strongly inlaid with the tenets of Weberian interpretivist sociology. Below I suggest that there are inherent conflicts and 'slippage' between such positions. Yet it is important to read this not as the arbitration over truth, but as part of the dynamic intertextuality of academic

⁴ However with this said, I do briefly address the theoretical-orientated texts of Foucault and Lyotard below in order to underline the epistemological and ontological break with modernist social science found in a post-dualist approach. These questions noted above, as the reader will note, have been drawn from the preceding discussion of the differences between Thompson's critical modernist position and Gergen's postmodern approach, and the 'tempered' poststructuralist position of authors such as John Clarke and Janet Newman (Clarke and Newman, 1997), Norman Fairclough (1993) and Stuart Hall (1996).

discourse, which has the effect of constituting not just academic disciplines but academic subjects and their relations as well.

Academic discourse, like political discourse, is often intertextually complex. Authors, themselves constituted through particular power-infused genealogical links and traditions, set out not so much to defend a particular position but to distinguish their work in subtle ways from others, while at the same time drawing support from particular theoretical and conceptual inheritances. Academic debate should be considered a social practice, which does not necessarily solve 'problems' but continually recasts these and thus 'moves on'.

The works discussed below are grouped into two approaches: 'dialogue' which draws work from discursive psychological/sociological, and 'discourse' which draws on post-structurally informed sociological works. The discussion below is by no means exhaustive of the literature (see Putnam, 1996). The studies are exponents and discussed here as broadly illustrative of elements of discursivity that help position the study of the development of management in a particular sector.

Discoursing managing: Dialogue

Managers talk! They tend to talk a lot! In fact research suggests that up to 80 percent of their time is spent in talk, (Mintzberg, 1973; Stewart, 1983). Gowler and Legge (1996) describe managing as an oral tradition. Talk and conversation are the key arenas for discursive psychology/sociology's social constructivist approach. Talk is understood as action.

An example of this approach is found in Mangham and Pye's text entitled *The Doing of Managing* (1991). In this the authors argue that managing and organizing is largely a matter of *explaining*. An organization can be understood as sets of competing explanations which seek to structure people's response. We can see here how the distinction between 'explanation' and 'response' provides the link between language

and a 'real' embodied world, the world of real capacities. The actual practice of managing or organizing, however, as a second order activity (Reed, 1990), involves a dual move of both reading and interpreting events and circumstances, and expressing or embodying a particular explanation.

What is problematic for managers, according to Mangham (1990), is that the particular explanation or text is much less obvious than say the playscript from which the stage or film actor works.

It is not handed to him or her on the first day of rehearsal. He or she has to seek it out (1990:110).

The key features of language for this approach are to be found in social practices of regular conversation or dialogue. It is through these practices that particular patterns of meanings are built up and the need to reiterate these recedes.

As Mangham and Pye explain

Managers (or anyone else for that matter) seek to shape the responses of colleagues and/or supervisors, peers, subordinates, customers, suppliers - whoever - do so primarily through words. Talk talk talk. They talk in order to effect some control over their environment. Control depends upon meanings attributed to these signs. Smooth interaction depends upon each of us reading the signs in a similar fashion; depends upon each of us accepting the fiction that meaning is immanent. But it is not. It is ascribed. Much of the time however many of us sustain the fiction. We collude one with another in pretending that the meaning inheres somewhere outside our good selves; that truth is discoverable rather than is created intersubjectively. It is a nice pretence, it saves face and it reduces the incidence of open conflict, but in the final analysis victory goes not necessarily to the executive with the better explanation, but to the one with the biggest stick. (1991: 58)

One of the problems with Mangham and Pye's symbolic interactionist approach, drawn in part from Schultz and Blumer, is that it tends to take for granted, and therefore rely on, some forms of structuralist account. For instance, the account assumes a hierarchy of managers and executives, and sets of economic relations where the latter group are able to exercise their 'sticks'.

In relation to the 'real' and the 'subject', Mangham and Pye's approach confirms a 'real' found in a material world of embodied behaviours or responses. The human

subject meanwhile is a speaking conversational animal who uses talk as a tool, but who is at the same time shaped by this tool. This dialectical position means that the authors can, on the one hand, suggest that language operates between the human animal and its behaviour, as is suggested by the assertion that: 'human beings initiate, learn and maintain behaviour through the manipulation of signs and symbols' (1991: 54), and also that 'most people are what they communicate' (Mangham, 1990:106).

This dialectic of making and being made by *meaning* grounded in language practices is, according to Shotter (1993), the dominant feature of most social constructivism (1993:34). Shotter shares much the same theoretical lineage with Mangham and Pye. In his 1993 text *Conversational Realities* he draws on the work of Wittgenstein, Vygotsky, Bakhtin and Garfinkel to elaborate the position. Specifically, Shotter argues, drawing on Garfinkel's ethnomethodological discussion of language, that meaning is largely 'made' through the 'strange', subtle and ambiguous back-and-forth processes of conversational engagement between speakers and hearers. What is crucial to understanding social life is precisely this 'strange' process of utterances in dialogue. This he suggests is made up of

what has already been said and what is currently being said, the making use of tests and assumptions, the use of the present context and the waiting for something said later to make clear what was meant earlier, and those many other 'seen but unnoticed' background features of everyday scenes' (1993:27)

Shotter argues for a view of language that stresses its dialogic 'rhetorical-responsive' process (similar to Mangham and Pye's explanation and response elaboration). This is set out as a counter to the dominant realist/representational understanding. The basic unit of language in Shotter's constructivism is the 'utterance'. Here he draws on the work of Bakhtin (1981). The 'utterance' does not represent anything but is part of a series of responses to other utterances. The social value or meaning of particular utterances are found in their relation to a particular genre, that is, the particular ways of speaking which makes up a particular way of life (e.g. interviews, autobiographical narrative, accounting practices). Following Billig (1987) and his

colleagues (Billig et al, 1988), Shotter suggests that utterances are 'living ideology' as they produce 're-sensing' or 're-feeling' of the past, and thus reproduce ways of thinking, speaking, acting and evaluating from which social relations flow.

In terms of an account of the 'real', Shotter offers a 'big picture' made up of two basic kinds of social activity. On the one hand there are 'relatively stable centres of well ordered, self-reproducing activity sustained by those within them being accountable to each other for their actions' (1993:17), and on the other, 'zones of much more disorderly, unaccountable, chaotic activity'(1993:17). His contention is that these more disorderly zones are both more interesting spaces and, as we move from a modern to a post-modern world, likely to become more important. Shotter suggests that ' we [will] begin to realise that our reality is often a much more disorderly, fragmented and heterogeneous affair than we had previously thought" (1993:17).

An optimistic reading of this would be that the increasing speed and complexity, or the compression of time and space in high, late or post modernity, breaks up the previously stabilizing orders. He suggests that we are thus more likely to rely on the fragmentary and seemingly chaotic conversational communications space in our lives. A less optimistic reading is that those practices of mutual accountability for action which previously maintained the relatively orderly stable areas of activity, are now facing a challenge from, and are now turning to seek more intensive and continuous control of, the more chaotic spaces which had previously 'fallen between' those relatively stable centres of activity.

While Shotter's duality is analytically useful, he refrains from a thorough investigation of the tensions between such zones. As with Mangham and Pye's approach it is possible to argue that such accounts rely on some form of structuralist, and perhaps in Shotter's account more functionalist elements, in the conceptualisation.

While Shotter does not make the connection, it is worth noting here, as it will be explored later, that this overlaying of dualities is likely to be more than simply a coincidence. Taking Shotter's oppositions, dialogic and realist understandings of

language, and his chaotic and ordered zones of social activity, and overlaying one with the other, we arrive at a simple framework where relatively ordered zones rely on a realist understanding of language, and the chaotic is permeated by the dialogic and conversational. In broad terms this I think makes Shotter's understanding of the 'real'. In short it amounts to a socially constructed world glued together by differing modes of language use; one representational and the other dialogic which are in some state of tension. This of course is very close to what is said to be the predominant character of the postmodern: the challenging of the dominant metanarratives and their replacement by local or small narratives, as Lyotard for instance suggests (1984). It is also close to the framework suggested by Fiske (1993) and discussed below.

In relation to the human subject, Shotter suggests, in his writing, that this is more a product of ordered zones than of those chaotic, dialogic social spaces. He draws particularly, and in detail, on Vygotskyian developmental psychology for his views. The subject is, it seems, the effect of 'internalization', not of values or norms, but of the actual processes that others use to control the subject. This internalization, which can be said to closely echo Foucault's notion of subjection, is a movement from experiences where we are instructed, to those points where we instruct ourselves through the repetition of instructions. Whereas Vygotsky describes the instructional procedures positively. For example, 'look at it like this' is internalized as a procedure for organizing one's actions (Yet Foucault suggest that this instructional order needs to be understood as part of disciplinary society generally). Shotter outlines these processes as follows:

In learning how *to be* a responsible member of certain social groups, one must learn how *to do* certain things in the right kind of way: how to perceive, think, talk, act and to experience one's surroundings in ways that make sense to the others around one. (1993:46)

What we have in common therefore with other members of our social groups, for example what managers have in common with one another, is 'sets of shared

semiotic procedures'. These provide us with ways of making sense and a certain set of ordered forms of communication or speech genres (1993:47).

Shotter's stress on this somewhat monological Vygotskian instructional understanding of learning I think upsets his *general* position on the subject however. Whereas he wants the reader to be interested in the chaotic, dialogic character of social life, his strongest conceptualisation of the social subject is within what might be understood as those relatively coherent ordering zones. This suggests perhaps a good degree of tension between 'the subject' as an effect of dialogical processes, and as an effect of the more monological realist language practices of the ordered zones.

Nevertheless Shotter goes on to describe managing as a practice of 'repairing' and 'authoring' dialogue within a rhetorical-responsive world. This clearly is almost identical to Mangham and Pye's managing as 'explaining'. Shotter's author/manager does not author written texts as such, but conversational texts. He argues that managers therefore ought to be able to

argue persuasively for a 'landscape' of next possible actions, upon which the 'positions' of all those who must take part are clear (1993:156).

The upshot of this understanding of managing as a rhetorical practice is, Shotter argues, deeply uncomfortable for those wedded to a view of the manager as scientist or technician within a realist understanding of language. A realist approach tends to talk of 'objects' such as the 'market', the 'customer', the 'college' or the 'company' as *already there*. Shotter suggests that deep-seated problems can result from this realism as some groups simply do not 'see' these objects as *there*. Realists, as a result, are likely to understand these groups to be either wrong in their views, or to have misunderstood. If they have 'misunderstood' then the organization suffers from what a realist would understand to be 'communication problems'.

Given this suggested state of affairs, Shotter is unable to resist the impulse to prescribe the necessary skills for the manager. He suggests that managers do not need science, that is rationalism, or realism, but heightened rhetorical skills. The

manager needs an appreciation of the argumentative, negotiative social order.

Management studies as a result ought to be framed as a 'humane study' interested in the conversational realities of social life rather than as a science. What we are dealing with is not the world of things, but a 'flow of continuous communicative activity between human beings' (1993:178).

In summary, we hear in these texts from Shotter (1993) and Mangham and Pye (1991) the outline of what I describe as a discursive psychological/sociological approach to language in management and organization studies. These texts can be understood as exemplars from the field and represent in themselves accumulations of utterances from this field both between authors and between the individual texts of the same author (e.g. Mangham, 1986). What these texts allow is a sketch to be drawn of the approach which can be summarised as follows: the key aspect of language is its 'strange' dialogic processes of rhetoric-response; the 'real' is understood as constructed out of dialogue which builds schemes of meaning redundancy; the social world, in Shotter's case, is a sometimes tense overlapping between zones of relative order formed through representational language (which make up ways of 'playing the game'), and relative chaos formed through the dialogic conversations ; human beings are conversational animals who make and are made up as social beings through dialogue and the internalisation of instructions.

Discursive managers in action; an example

I want now to further illustrate this dialogic approach to the study of managing by drawing on Watson (1994)'s account of managerial work. Watson has produced arguably one of the best book-length discursive psychology/sociology accounts of managing of recent times. He relies on many of the notions addressed above, for instance supporting the approach taken by Mangham and Pye's text. Watson's work is based on a year's participant observation among managers on the Nottingham site of a

telecommunication company, which is part of a well known European-based corporation.

Watson's conception of language is broadly in three parts. Firstly by drawing on Billig (1987) and Bahktin (1981) he privileged its dialogic and conversational character.

At the heart of the process of constructing a sense of order is language and the process of dialogue; not just dialogues between people and their culture, but dialogues between individuals themselves - even dialogues between ideas within our own minds. (1994:23)

Thus human beings come to know themselves through constant conversation with their culture.

To speak is to engage in counter-thoughts and counter arguments. It is part of the process whereby we negotiate reality with others through the cultural medium of discourse and through which we justify and make sense of ourselves, of others and what we do (1994:25).

Watson's text stresses the 'made-up' character of what it means to be a manager. Managers are not stable centres of action, but fragile assemblages of partially worked out texts and actions at times highly charged with emotionality but nevertheless contingent on the contexts in which they are enacted. This is highlighted clearly in comments by a manager in Watson's study.

I like the idea that learning to manage is like . . . learning to speak. You need speaking, speech I mean, to relate to people and to get your way don't you. But you are always developing that skill aren't you? You go from mumbling to speaking in sentences. I'm quite good at joined-up talking. Don't get me wrong. I'm not saying that I manage by bullshitting. I'm not that kind of person. I talk to people all the time I am building relationships, yeah? I'm not just surface charm you know [laughing], you've got to be sincere or they'll rumble you. (1994:159)

Of course Watson is keen to highlight the importance of the contextualisation. In part he suggests this is achieved through the ways in which language is organized into particular patterns or discourses. This is the second aspect of Watson's approach to language. Drawing his understanding from Foucault (1980), Watson understands a discourse to be a

connected set of statements, concepts, terms and expressions which constitute a way of talking or writing about a particular issue, thus framing the way people understand and act (1994:113)

In his case study Watson identifies two competing discourses which managers draw on in dialogue with others and themselves. He helpfully names these the 'guns' and 'roses' discourses, drawing on the words of one of the managers he talked with. The 'roses' discourse is the 'official' company discourse of empowering workers, developing skills and achieving growth. The 'guns' discourse is the 'unofficial' company discourse. It is concerned with control, jobs and costs. The 'guns' discourse is directly concerned with output and costs, and is arguably the organization's 'real' discourse through which decisions over jobs and company survival are made. These separate 'scripts' or languages form the basis around which the managers make sense of themselves and their contexts. They can be understood as enacting the historical and structural circumstances within which the managers were embedded. They reproduce relations between the particular company Watson was involved with and its parent, a multi-national with a notorious reputation for short-termism and tight cost control.

The third aspect of Watson's understanding of language relates to the first two and revolves around an understanding of the tactical use actors make of language. The assumption here is that when we speak or write we are highly conscious of what the strategic implications of what we are saying might be for us as well as for those to whom we are speaking. So as well as drawing on reasonably well established patternings of language in the constant conversations that make up organizations, we also need to be aware of the performative and tactical aspects of this language use. Apart from the banal examples of this which reproduce manager/managed hierarchies, Watson suggests that the differences between what was said inside and outside the interview setting with him illustrated this tactical and performative aspect. Watson highlights how managers spoke during interviews in terms that were 'very close to those underpinning the official company culture' but which they had *translated* in such a

way so that it *did not appear* as though they had 'fallen for fashionable jargon' (1994:128).

It is also possible to see this tactical aspect of language use at work in Watson's discussion of the seeming hypocrisy of managers who might say one thing in one setting - to a management researcher - and a quite different thing in another setting.

To listen to a manager carefully and sincerely explaining to you in the morning the importance of treating every individual as a unique being with their own wants and worries and then, in the afternoon, to witness them storming out of a meeting with a group of supervisors who tell you that the man is an arrogant, insensitive and pig-headed dictator, makes one stop and think. (1994:179)

Watson's response to this seeming hypocrisy or performativity is to stress both the insecurity managers themselves experience and the 'significant emotional dimension of managerial work' (1994:180). I find this somewhat incomplete and that it ignores some of Watson's earlier conceptual points. To argue that wild inconsistency between what managers say or do in one setting and what they say or do in another is down to human insecurity discounts on the one hand the importance of Watson's view of organizations as 'temporary and fraught coalitions of coalitions' and on the other his discussion of the way particular competing discourses inscribe these tensions. More particularly, it disregards Watson's own assertion that the manager is an assemblage of partly worked out texts and performances. It highlights in other words, Watson's adherence to a sociology of social action underpinned by assumptions of a more or less coherent individual.

Also, Watson's own model strategic exchange perspective would seem to militate against the development of critical insights here (for instance Roper, 1996; Jackson, 1996). What Watson does stress is that managing itself 'involves sophisticated linguistic skills to a greater degree than might at first be apparent' (1994:180). Thus being able to respond tactically in different ways in different settings to different audiences is a crucial feature of managerial work. Yet there seems to be a fault-line running through Watson's text. His work understands the organization as a

fragile negotiated assemblage, but seems unable to extend this insight, when dealing with actual empirical material, to the human beings themselves. While at various points in the text Watson begins to explore the manager as positioned by particular discourses, issues that surround the tensions between such discourses are treated from within a broadly Weberian humanist account where wide variations of behaviour are rooted in the subject's fragility or tactical performativity.

In summary, Watson highlights three aspects of language: the conversational, tactical improvisational and the contextual (relatively coherent discourses). Yet there appears to be some tension between these. Furthermore, Watson's strategic exchange theory fails to link adequately with his discussion of language. This, alongside his admirable sympathy with the plight of the managers in his study, allows I feel some slippage in the development of his discussion of the discursivity of managing.

How then does Watson understand the relation between the discursive characteristics of managerial work and what is referred to above as 'playing the game'? He suggests that rules, procedures and techniques are largely incomplete ways of achieving things. Because of the endemic unpredictability of social life, such techniques constantly fall short, he suggests. Other binding forces are needed.

A key binding force Watson highlights is 'culture'. Managing, he argues, is organizational work concerned with

developing and maintaining structural arrangement and *cultural understandings* about appropriate behaviour which are necessary for exchanges to occur. (1994:35, emphasis added).

Thus Watson's stance suggests that human beings are 'rhetorical animals' whose sense of who they are, and whose answers to the existential problems of being, emerge from an ongoing narrative engagement with 'culture', which we come to know primarily through language.

And lastly, how does Watson deal with the question of the relation between language and the 'real'? While not directly addressed, Watson's text assumes the 'real' to be socially constructed and largely emergent. The world is a thoroughly ambiguous

place. In other words its 'reality' is an outcome of our dialogical engagement with 'culture'. Culture, however, is neither singular, solid nor stable, but largely constructed out of the resources of language to form particular combinations of statements or concepts which make up ways of talking. These competing, contingent and temporary ways of articulating attempt to solidify relations and close off the fundamental ambiguity of life.

While Watson's account is clearly repetitious of points made above by Mangham and Pye and Shotter, his study highlights some of the problems of the discursive psychological/sociological approach. Firstly, by assuming and addressing human beings as dialogical, the emphasis is toward explanations of managing as the outcomes of social action by conversing human beings. Despite Watson's engagement with 'discourses', he tends to rely, in ways similar to Mangham and Pye, on a broadly structuralist framework, in his case, 'strategic exchange', and the rather amorphous notion of 'culture', to underpin his account. In the work of all three authors there is then a tendency to focus simply on dialogue without positioning this within relations of power, real physical processes and faculties. This raises questions as to the extent to which it is the discursive practices of dialogue that produce the dialoguing human being. Shotter's two zone framework perhaps addresses this question, but as noted, there is some residual functionalism in his account as he does not develop the issues surrounding power and tensions between these zones. With these points stated I want to turn now to a discussion of a poststructural/postmodern approach to discursivity in management and organization studies.

Discoursing Managing: Discourse

Ontologically, managers from this discursive sociological/psychological stance are uttering, conversing, dialoguing *human beings*. While I mentioned the dialectical position above, where the human being is also made through meaning, the polarity of

discursive psychology/sociology is toward the uttering, conversing human being, as Mangham and Pye's and Watson's and Shotter's (to some extent) texts show. The ontological commitment of a poststructural stance, and the key point of difference with what I've termed a discursive psychological/sociological approach, is the emphasis on the discourses and practices which are said to bring the 'human being' into existence. The commitment is not to human beings as conversational animals, but to the orderings embedded in the conversational practices themselves. More philosophically, the shift is from the *encounters* between human beings, as found in the work of Levinas or Merleau Ponty for instance, to the *code* or codes by which human beings constitute encounters, as found in the work of Lyotard, Foucault and Derrida. The 'manager' is understood as made up through discourses and practices, rather than engaged in dialogic encounters with significant others.

The work of Lyotard, Foucault and Deleuze (discussed in the following chapter) is particularly expressive of this poststructural/postmodern trajectory for organization studies. I want to briefly draw attention to some elements of their work here as a way of contextualising and underlining such a trajectory. I then turn to Law's *Organizing Modernity* (1994) as read it as an exemplary example of a poststructuralist account of managing.

Performativity and 'little' narratives

While Lyotard's methodology in *The Postmodern Condition*, drawn from the pragmatics of Wittgensteinian language games, is close to the position found in Shotter's text there is a subtle but significant difference. Lyotard's emphasis is on *the individual as an effect* of the intersection of various language games brought on by the demise of the dominant modernist metanarratives of science and emancipation. This demise, and the multiplication and heterogeneity, of little narratives which ensues, means that the

social subject itself seems to dissolve in this dissemination of language games. The social bond is linguistic but is not woven with a single thread. It is a fabric formed by the intersection of at least two (and in reality an interminable number) of language games. (1984:37).

The core aspect of the language game for Lyotard is that it is characterised by three moments or positionings: the posts of sender, addressee and referent. Institutions thus can be understood as the sites of particular language games or genres made up of particular positionings or subject positions e.g. orders in the army, prayers in the churches, denotation in the schools, narratives in the family, questioning in philosophy and performativity in business (1984:17). These institutions or organizations are peopled not by conversational animals, but produced by discursive constructions which impose sanctions on the conversational 'moves' that can be made. Through this the postings of sender, addressee and referent are solidified. Put simply, the shift in Lyotard is from conversational human beings to conversational positionings. This illustrates the key difference between a poststructural/postmodern epistemology and the discursive psychology/sociological approach discussed above. A poststructural/postmodern approach asserts that the 'human being' is misrecognised as the source of dialogue, for it is the allowable positionings in discursive practices of such dialogue which is significant and which make up the human being. The key point for Lyotard of a commitment to an epistemology of the language game is not to re-elaborate the importance of pragmatics, but to use this methodology to illustrate what he understands to be the problematics of 'legitimate' knowledge. Broadly, his argument is that the legitimacy or credibility of the great modernist metanarratives, or rationalities, of science and emancipatory struggle has been challenged by events. The events to which Lyotard refers include Auschwitz, the 1968 Paris uprisings and the prolonged recession of the 1970s. Through these the credibility of modernist rationality and democracy together with the Capitalist dream of unending increases in wealth have been exploded.

Such metanarratives simply come to have less narrative force or plausibility.

One effect is that economic relations increasingly colonise and reinvigorate knowledge

practices. If the postmodern condition amounts to an 'incredulity toward metanarratives' (1984:xxiv), it is business as usual for capitalist relations. The effect is that knowledge becomes progressively corralled by the capitalist exchange relations, whose aim is simply the improvement of its performativity. Higher education for instance becomes 'a subsystem and the same performative criteria is applied (1984:84).

The questions asked by the professional, student, the state or the institutions of higher education is no longer 'Is it true?' But 'What use is it?' . . which is the equivalent of saying 'Is it saleable?'. (1984:48)

Working away from this insight Lyotard somewhat hauntingly predicts the rise of the interdisciplinary modular degree, the ideology of course teams, the demise of the educator and the ascendancy of managers in education.

The idea of an interdisciplinary approach is specific to the age of delegitimation . . . the relation of knowledge is not articulated in terms of the realisation of the life of the spirit or the emancipation of humanity, but in terms of the uses of a complex, conceptual and material machinery and those who benefit from its performance capabilities. They have at their disposal no meta-language, or metanarrative in which to formulate the frail goal and correct use of that machinery. But they do have brainstorming to improve its performance. (1984:52)

But one thing that seems certain is that in both cases the process of delegitimization and the predominance of the performance criteria are sounding the knell of the age of the professor. A professor is no more competent than data bank networks in transmitting established knowledge, no more competent than the interdisciplinary team in imagining new moves or new games. (1984:53)

It can be no surprise given Lyotard's argument that 'Management' , that 'ideology of the system, with its pretensions to totality' (1984:65) whose target is simply the most efficient input/output ratio, should come to dominance in this the age of performativity. Yet by returning to narrativity, Lyotard offers an antidote to this bleakness; for alongside this delegitimation of grand narrative is the multiplication of little narratives. According to Lyotard, it is to these and to this form, that 'we' as ethical and political agents should turn. Hope, he suggests, is in the multiplicity of social pragmatics.

It is a monster formed by the interweaving of various networks of heteromorphous classes of utterances (denotative, prescriptive, performative, technical, evaluative etc). (1984:66)

Thus for Lyotard 'management' is a language game with particular positionings of sender, referent and addressee. Particularly, the sender/manager addresses the managed in respect of the organization. The language game of management then could be said to produce hierarchical relations through subject positions of sender/manager and receiver/managed, through which the practices of allocation, inspection and planning are articulated in relation to the performativity of the referent - the organization.

Turning now to Foucault's work, it is this author's form of critique, and particularly his analysis of power, discourse and the construction of the modern human subject, which have direct application to the work here⁵. I want to offer a brief review of Foucault's later work in this regard. I want to stress that this is a selective rather than a thorough review of Foucault's work. It draws particularly on his genealogical period [for a more encompassing investigation in relation to management and organization studies see Townley, 1994; and in relation to education see Usher and Edwards, (1994)].

From discourse to subjection

Like Lyotard's, Foucault's work, generally, can be read as concerned with the materiality of language practices, and de-centring the modern human subject. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), in which Foucault attempts to synthesise his earlier enquiries, he notes in relation to what he calls the 'enunciative function' in discursive formations that

If a proposition, a sentence, a group of signs can be called a statement, it is not therefore because one day someone happened to speak them, or

⁵ Alongside this is a growing, and influential secondary literature which has taken up many of Foucault's concepts and propositions in relation to organizations, managers and management (Burrell, 1988; Townley, 1993,1994; Knights, 1992; Knights and Morgan, 1991; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Du Gay and Salaman, 1992, Du Gay, 1996; Rose, 1989) and education (Grant, 1997; Tavares, 1996; Ball, 1990, 1994; Usher and Edwards, 1994; Meadmore et al, 1995; Blake, 1996).

put them into some concrete form of writing; it is because the position of the subject can be assigned. (1972:95)

Foucault's key point is that we mis-recognise the author of statements when such statements are ascribed to the human subject. Enunciation rather is predetermined by the ascription of a position through which a subject speaks. The effect of this for an account of the 'manager' would be to understand the 'manager' not as *a speaking subject*, but as *a subject position*, articulated within particular discourses and practices. Between the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) and *Discipline and Punish* (1991 originally published in english in 1977), however, there is a significant shift in Foucault's ontological priorities. Perhaps too simply, the shift is from accounts of *discursive* formations to *disciplinary* formations. In essence the move (perhaps as a counter to Derrida's textuality) attempts to *material*-ise discourse; to show discourse as not simply text, but to have the materiality of, say, a prison cell (Fiske, 1996). 'History', according to Foucault, 'is what turns documents into monuments' (1972:7). This work furnishes Foucault with what might be seen as his pivotal concept - power-knowledge. Sketched out in later work (1980, 1990), this conjunction identifies how knowledge does not produce truth, but power through truth-effects. Power and knowledge are interdependent, two sides of the same coin (Fiske, 1993). The hyphen in power-knowledge refers at the same time to disciplines of the body and disciplines of knowledge. This has profound implications for what in European traditions are referred to as the human sciences as it challenges the dualism of 'theory' and 'practice' upon which modernist science is based. It suggests that science is not outside but deeply implicated in the production of power through positive knowledges. Knowledge is not neutral, but productive as it is organised into discourses which inscribe and constitute identities and relations. According to Foucault there can be no strong link between theory and practice, both are implicated in the other. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault elaborates empirically this conceptualisation. He gives an account of how knowledge, in the form of taxonomies, formations and relations between objects and power, in the form of action upon the action of bodies, operates together to discipline human beings.

Foucault's later work, the 'ethics period', turns on and develops what I consider to be a core element in his discussion of micro-physics of power-knowledge in *Discipline and Punish*. In that text Foucault asserts that

A real subjection is born mechanically from a fictitious relation . . . He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relations in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principal of his own subjection. By this very fact the external power may throw off its physical weight; it tends to the non-corporeal; and, the more it approaches this limit, the more constant, profound and permanent are its effects; it is a perpetual victory that avoids any physical confrontation and which is always decided in advance. (1991:202-203)

Through this emphasis on the imaginative and the non-corporeal, Foucault moves to examine how subjection is produced at its limit through language and language practices which seek to produce ways in which we know and work on ourselves. Foucault suggests that it is through our entry into particular knowledge practices that we inscribe ourselves, with particular *relations to the self*. That is, we come to know ourselves in particular power-inscribed ways. This process of subjection becomes the focus of Foucault's later work, particularly in relation to sexuality. It is this trajectory which has become the focus of work by the heirs to the Foucauldian approach in a number of fields, particularly management and organization studies (Grey, 1994; Brewis, 1995; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Rose, 1989, 1996) and education (e.g. Meadmore et al, 1996; Grant, 1997; Ball, 1990, 1994; Tavares, 1996). Some of this work forms what Hall (1996:12) refers to as the 'governmentality school', which is broadly involved in addressing the 'il-liberal' character of liberal society (Dean, 1994) - with its emphasis on 'freedom' for the 'individual'.

For Foucault the 'individual', far from being a necessity of freedom and an observable self-evident reality which possesses a personal identity, is 'already one of the prime effects of power' (Gordon, 1980:93). Modern power is embedded in a chain of power-knowledge practices where one has become both subject to and subject of

particular knowledges. Subjection, as Foucault argued (unfortunately using the male pronoun),

applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others recognise in him. (1982:212)

Management knowledges for instance simultaneously warrant the right of individual managers to manage, and establish such 'individuals' within systems of records, forms of evaluation and objectives which make him or her a case to be assessed against particular norms⁶. For Foucault, subjection is embedded in forms of 'communication'; those seemingly mundane technical devices which act continuously and at a distance to produce new forms of subjection. Foucault addresses this in detail in *Discipline and Punish* and summarises it in the paper *The Subject and Power* (1982). He notes in relation to prisons and education institutions that

[t]he activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole *ensemble of regulated communications* (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the 'value' of each person and of levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of *power processes* (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy). (1983: 218-219, my emphasis)

It is this aspect of Foucault's work which has been widely used by social commentators (e.g. Poster, 1991; Zuboff, 1988; Rose, 1989). Miller and Rose (1990) for instance address this directly in relation to the way modern states seek to govern. They note that language serves as a 'translation mechanism'. For states to attempt to govern

events and phenomena to which government is to be applied must be rendered into information - written reports, drawings, pictures, numbers, charts, graphs, statistics. This information must be of a particular form - stable, mobile, combinable and comparable. This form enables the

⁶ It is these power relations of subjection, or individualising techniques of power, which Foucault argues have become dominant since the sixteenth century. They spread out from religious orders to the whole social body to a point where the individualising tactic comes to characterise relations in families, medicine, education and employment. Of course this tactic is not all that makes up institutional relations. Foucault notes that struggles of domination (ethnic, social and religious) and exploitation (which separate people from what they produce) continue. But he asserts that struggles over *subjection*, produced by individualising tactics, are nowadays more important than those of exploitation and domination.

pertinent features of the domain - types of goods, investments, ages of person, health criminality etc. - to literally be re-presented in the place where decisions are to be made about them (the manager's office, the war room, the case conference and so forth). (1990: 7)

Foucault's approach to language then concerns the informatics of power. This is to be analysed in a three-pronged form which addresses *power relations, relationships of communications* and *objective capacities or activities*. These

three types of relationships which in fact always overlap one another, support one another reciprocally, and use each other mutually as means to an end. (1982:218)

While there is, according to Foucault, no general equilibrium between 'finalised activities, systems of communication and power relations', there are likely to be historically and geographically certain '*blocks*' in which the abilities, communication, and power relations come together into concerted systems.

This notion of 'blocks' will be developed below by drawing on Fiske's development of Foucault and Gramsci's work. I argue that such systems of communications however do not simply act to produce discipline, but work in the interests of broad social alliances or power 'blocs'. Communication 'blocks' can be understood as engaged in a generalised Gramscian 'war' of manoeuvre. They seek to construct particular 'stationings' through which we come to know who we 'are' and how we ought to act. These forms of knowing and acting however, are always in the interests of the broader flows of dominant alliances. Language then from Foucault is addressed as a crucial technology or mechanism for making up the changing assemblage of power in particular historically placed institutions.

By unsettling the taken for granted assumptions of the individual, that is by understanding the 'individual' as implicated in and an effect of power relations, communications and activities, Foucault's work provides a epistemological framing which challenges much of mainstream management and organization studies. His approach suggests an analysis that addresses not how workers and managers are constituted via relations of production, but how they are 'made up' through processes of

subjection. That is, where they become both subjects of and subject to particular relations of power (conduct) through the seemingly minute and mundane organizing knowledges and practices.

Managing, managers and discourse - an example

John Law's *Organizing Modernity* (1994a) is arguably one of the best book-length accounts of managing from a broadly Foucauldian poststructural/postmodern position. Although he notes his debts to symbolic interactionism, and the actor network theory of sociologists of science such as Latour and Woolgar (1979), Law's account of a year-long ethnographic study of a state-funded physics laboratory sited in the North West of England is decidedly poststructural in orientation. What do I mean by this? Firstly, Law's key concept, 'mode of ordering' (1994a: 21), owes much to Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse even though Law wants to 'cut [discourse] down to size' (1994a:95). I would argue that there are strong resonances between Foucault's suggested analytic of 'blocks' (power relations, actual capacities and forms of communication) and Law's mode of ordering concept. Secondly, Law's treatment of the body follows many of the poststructural writers. He notes for instance that it would seem, 'best to talk of ourselves, of agents, as complex embodied networks or economies of skill/desire'(1994: 126). These desires or economies of desires are 'mixtures of orderings embodied within us' (1994a:126). Thirdly, as the book's title suggests, Law wants to make modernity the object of study. By implication this move suggests a postmodern analysis. Perhaps wisely, given the controversy over such a term discussed above, Law does not address postmodernism directly in the text. Instead, following Bauman (1992), he seeks to illustrate how the orderings processes of modernity attempt to produce dualisms (individual/society, men/women, manager/managed) which modernist social science has largely taken as pre-existing rather than as effects of these ordering processes. In challenging the solidity of these

dualisms, Law's approach takes up a poststructural stance. But perhaps fundamental to this is Law's commitment to the postmodern 'bonfire of the certainties', through the decentring of the subject, and the decentring or deconstruction of a rationalist/strategic theory of the organization (1994b: 248). This involves a shift to understanding organizing as a verb rather than a series of nouns. The study concerns instability, heterogeneity and impermanence (Lyotard, 1984) of ordering and organizing, rather than a theory of order and organization.

For my purposes here, Law's text acts as a counterpoint in the poststructural vein to Watson's discursive sociological approach to management (1994) discussed above. For Law, 'management' is an effect which various modes of ordering attempt to secure. Law's 'modes of ordering' are said to be analogous to Foucault's discourse and Weber's ideal type (1994a:109) but not reduced to these. Modes are 'intentional, but (often) non-subjective, self-reflexive strateg[ies]' (1994a:109), which attempt to perform or assemble heterogeneous materials, not just those conventionally understood as making up the social, such as texts, bodies, actions but materials formed into architecture and machinery for example. Modes of ordering are not simply

told, performed and embodied in agents but speak through, act and recursively organize the full range of social materials. (1994a:109)

In this vein Law argues that we should *not* impute voices simply to human beings, but sensitise ourselves to the 'voices' or stories told by the non-human as well,

neither voices nor entities are given in the order of things. They are effects or products. 'We' and other entities are precarious relational effects' (1994a:195)

It might be helpful here to briefly note Law's ontology of the human subject before moving on to describe specifically his conceptualisation of management.

For Law 'people are networks. We are all artful arrangements of bits and pieces' (1994a:33).

If we count as organism at all, this is because we are networks of skin and bones, enzymes, cells a lot of bits and pieces that we don't have

much control over and we don't know much about. . . and if we count as people, rather than organisms, this is because of a lot of other bits and pieces - spectacles, clothes, motor cars and a history of social relations.

We are, Law argues

Composed of or constituted by our props visible and invisible, part and parcel . . . they are ordering processes which keep (or fail to keep) that arrangement on the road. And some of these processes, though precious few, are partially under our control. (1994a:33)

Law then suggests that social agency be conceptualised in these terms.

Agency, say of the manager, is not located in the supposed coherent action of the individual or his or her dialogue or conversation with the world, but is understood as a temporary and precarious effect of the way bits and pieces are assembled by various modes of ordering. Turning his attention to his empirical material, Law discusses for instance how the laboratory's top managers do not so much manage but the orderings of numerous materials *perform the manager*. The manager is performed through the ordering of material space, through streams of paper, telephone lines, inscribed bodies and clothing, together with modes of reflexivity, sets of social relations, memories and preferences (1994a:143; 1996). None of these materials taken separately is particularly crucial but together they attempt to generate the effect of managing or, as Law suggests, they strain to produce the noun 'management'. Law argues therefore that we should not impute to managers self-reflexivity, but talk of reflexivity embedded in modes of ordering and as an effect, a dualistic effect, produced because actual 'managers' are 'at one end of a gradient of materials' (1994a: 158). 'Management' then can be seen as an effect which modes of ordering attempt to produce through the ordering of materials.

Law argues that it is possible to impute several key modes of ordering which work to produce 'managers' in the public sector science laboratory he investigates. He labels these four managerial modes of ordering: enterprise, administration, vision and vocation. Given his understanding of agency, he suggests that the agency of managers is an effect of the precarious and often temporary shifts between these modes of ordering. I want to briefly summarise the four modes of ordering Law identifies.

'Enterprise' is perhaps the most familiar of Law's labels as it tells stories about agency which celebrates opportunism, pragmatism and performance' (1994a:75). As with all the ordering modes, 'enterprise' tells stories about how people/ organizations/ nations are and ought to be. For Law 'enterprise' (the natural home of the 'cowboy') is often set against his second mode of ordering - administration- the natural home of the 'civil servant'. The opposition is clearly part of the production of enterprise itself (Du Gay, 1994). 'Administration' speaks obviously of structures and regularity. 'Vision' is the third managerial mode of ordering. 'Vision', as Law notes (1994a: 80) resonates with Weber's charismatic authority. It seeks to deny structure, is profoundly elitist and engages stories of transcendence, genius and extraordinary abilities. 'Vocation' is a fourth mode, and one which is more obviously linked to the production of professionals. 'Vocation', as a mode of ordering, tells stories, disciplines bodies and organizes materials on the basis of professional skill and a commitment to the 'proper' character of certain kinds of work, in Law's study the vocation of science, in this study's case education.

It is worth taking a couple of examples from the text to illustrate just how Law understands how these various modes of ordering work to produce both the manager and managerial work. Firstly Law argues that two of the most powerful senior managers at the laboratory have come to their positions through their embodiment of two particular modes of ordering. According to Law, Andrew Goldthorpe, the lab's director, was found to be located within stories which characterised him as both 'cowboy' and 'civil servant'. Thus he embodies at different points the counterposed modes of enterprise and administration. The research director, Giovanni Alberti, meanwhile embodies the visionary charismatic and vocational modes. The stories used to make sense of him, and by implication the laboratory itself, are of an heroic scientist engaged in other-worldly transcendental pursuits set apart from the mundane world of money, committees and science politics. Law argues that these stories are produced by

and suggestive of the enterprise and vision modes of ordering which have come to reshape the way the laboratory knows itself and goes about its work.

Obviously, one reason why Law's work is important for this study is the close affinity between changes in public sector science and further and higher education. For instance Law's laboratory was required to be more intensively managed, entrepreneurial and industry-linked. The vocational ethics of professional scientists were thus being challenged, just as the vocational ethics of lecturers in FHE have been challenged, by what Law's imputes as the enterprise mode of ordering. Law's sympathy with the seeming erosion of professional autonomy in part underpins his work. Indeed in the book's postscript one of Law's colleagues, who commented on the text, suggests, in the post-humanist framing proposed by Law, that the book was 'written by Keele University in the 1980s' (1994a:190).

Keele (along with other universities) was rapidly (though incompletely) reordered in terms of enterprise, and it was thus a period in which there were various tensions and conflicts between different modes of ordering.

In these comments it is possible to get a sense of how Law's study itself is not outside its own form of analysis. The text can be said to be an attempt to produce a mode of academic ordering which itself produces the effect of an ethnographic study of dominant modes of ordering in public sector science in the UK in the late 1980 and early 1990s.

Law's text has obvious links with the current study. Yet its importance goes beyond its sector-relevance. The work is illustrative of a poststructural/postmodern approach to the study of managing/management. The term 'mode of ordering' has many advantages over 'discourse' which is often taken to mean simply 'language'. Mode of ordering shows a lack of exclusivity. It gathers together various materials from strategies of reflexivity, through text, action and the non-human materials such as architecture and machines. It challenges approaches which might seek to divide up material say between reflexivity and action, language and practice or warm bodies and machines. Thus language is contextualised and distributed so that all materials can be

understood as textual. In comparison to the sociological/psychological understanding of language discussed above, Law's rendition seems rich and seductive.

A further point, I think, that arises from Law's approach is the confirmation of the need to develop an ascending order of analysis (Townley, 1993). Here rather than suggesting that particular entities exist - the organization for instance - such entities are considered to be a network of relations. The analysis requires that such 'entities' as 'the manager' be understood as effects of the particular modes of ordering of diverse materials. To attempt to talk about language as the key material for ordering, is to collapse into a single term many of the materials which would likely be important for producing the effect - manager. It makes more sense from this perspective, then, to talk of materials that would include the strategies of reflexivity, of speech and of text.

To sum up, how does Law's study discuss language? For Law the materials of the social are multiple: people, texts, machines, architectures. Modes of ordering meanwhile are just ways of imputing coherency and do not privilege language as such. Law is committed, then, in a similar way to Fairclough (1992;1993;1995), to making Foucault's account of discourse more empirically useful; to cutting Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse 'down to size' (1994a:95).

This means: first we should treat [discourse] as a set of patterns that might be imputed to the networks of the social; second, we should look for discourses in the plural, not discourse in the singular, third, we should treat discourses as *ordering* attempts, not orders; fourth, we should explore how they are performed, embodied and told in different materials; and fifth, we should consider the ways in which they interact, change, or indeed face extinction. (1994a:95)

As would be expected, Law is arguing for a treatment of discourse that relates language to modes of ordering. Discourse becomes subsumed into the ordering processes of inscription within his underpinning framework: relational materialism. Here the durability and portability of the various materials in sustaining the recursive processes of ordering is the key issue. All materials capable of discursive inscription have their various merits on axes of durability and portability. Speech clearly has quite low durability compared to text, while books might have better portability properties

than bodies. Roads, waterways and architecture clearly have high levels of durability but low portability. Language in its various forms is just one, albeit a crucial part, of that which goes to make up these relatively coherent, large scale ordering patterns. The point, it seems is, that the ordering is not in the text, the speech, the practices, but in the relations between these and the relative solidity of the effects that these relations have.

It is worth pointing out here that Foucault was also clearly engaged in this cutting 'discourse' down to size if we compare his earlier work of the early 1970s with *Discipline and Punish* and the *History of Sexuality* volumes. For example, in Foucault's 1982 essay, discussed above, he suggests a three pronged understanding of discourse as encompassing 'power relations, relations of communication and objective capacities' (1982:218). Law and others are therefore continuing a trajectory already established in the work.

Summary, Comparisons and weaknesses

This chapter as a whole has sought to traverse a wide ranging debate, in what I have termed 'contra' organization and management studies, which address the textuality of managing and organizing. My movement across this uneven and contested terrain has included recourse to strong debate (Thompson vs. Gergen), discussion of what I have termed a 'dialogue' approach (Mangham and Pye, Shotter, Watson), discussion of the texts of poststructuralists, such as Lyotard and Foucault, and finally Law's account of management to illustrate what I have termed a 'discourse' approach to exploring managing and organizing. As the reader will no doubt note, in broad terms the discussion follows a postmodern agenda. There is the movement away from grand-narratives such as a Marxist analysis toward localised and micro-analysis. There is the materialising of language in 'discourse' and the broadening of 'discourse' to encompass the orderings of not just language but a range of human and

non-human materials. There is the demise of the subject as a coherent and self-present actor. Of course such an agenda is not without its weaknesses and problems. It tends to ignore a number of important issues which below I weave into both the discussion of further conceptual materials and the account of the development of managers in FHE. These can be illustrated again through Watson and Law's work.

While Watson and Law's accounts of management offer rich empirical and conceptual workings, both have similar kinds of weaknesses as well. Firstly their emphasis on the localisms of managing in capitalist and state capitalist enterprises lacks an account of the broader political-economic reconstructions which are crucially important to understanding managing in private sector telecommunications and public sector science. While Watson's managers seem intensely aware of their subordination both within a multi-national corporation and global business, Watson's account of managing fails to offer a convincing analysis of how these managers as workers are embedded in broader capitalist economic relations. Another way to put this is to begin to ask 'why' questions. Why, for instance were Watson's managers exhorted to adopt the 'empowerment , jobs and growth', discourse in these particular circumstances and conditions at that time? What does this say about the capitalist relations? In Watson's case these issues are less than new. They revolve around the relations between Weberian and Marxist accounts of work and organizations, particularly the extent to which social action is determined by capitalist relations of production.

Similarly, in Law's text there are, in the background, issues about how the fortunes of his science laboratory are embedded in the changing conditions of a capitalist state. Yet Law's account lacks an explanation of such a 'macro' perspective. Of course he is rightly highly suspicious of the determinism and 'author-ity' that such accounts can engender, but without them, the text lacks a convincing response again to the 'why' question. Why the 'enterprise' mode of managerial ordering in State sector science at this time? Why was 'enterprise' dominant and 'administration' less so?

One way to express these weaknesses is to suggest that Watson and Law's approaches lack a conceptual framework for addressing the 'verticality' or 'stationing' of managers via particular modes of ordering or discourses (enterprise mode for Law, the 'jobs, costs and growth' discourse for Watson) which also produce capitalist corporations on the one hand and the managerial state (Clarke and Newman, 1997) on the other. And secondly, as Clegg and Hardy note (1996), there is a need to remind ourselves that the multiple sediments of organizing practices are underlayed by the employment relation. As well as being tied to particular identities through the organizing processes, people through a lack of significant alternatives to earning a living in a cash society, are forced to sell their labour for money. This, to varying degrees, conditions, underpins and helps to reproduce what Watson would understand as patterns of negotiated social action, and Law would describe as modes of ordering. This issue will be addressed below using the Gramscian notion of 'power-bloc'.

The second key issue which will also be developed below is the lack of any substantive engagement with the gendered character of the managerial modes of ordering that Watson and Law discuss in their accounts of managerial work. There is little or no reflection on the gendered aspects of the texts Watson and Law present even when words like 'cowboy' are put to work. This will also be developed below.

Turning away from discursivity directly, I now want to address an aspect of the construction of the subject which has been embedded in the preceding text but which has up to now, been set aside. In the move from dialogue to discourse, I have suggested that the focus falls less on language per se and more on discursive practices and forms of communications which constitute or station the subject. Thus it is the embodied aspects of discursive practices which are central to constituting or stationing the subject. The discussion of the embodied aspects of organizational work in the next chapter is followed in Chapter three by a more in-depth discussion of the debate around notions of identity and subjectivity.

Section 1 Chapter 2 : Living Bodies and Inscribing Bodies

Introduction, On taking one's body to work

The following chapter addresses the embodiment of managing and organizing. Its presence here is to a large extent the coincidental juxtaposition of a series of events and pieces of texts that come during research work (something to which a mode of ordering might be imputed perhaps). One of the events was the growing awareness that power relations between lecturers and administrative personnel in the case study higher education institution were to a large extent worked out through tactical bodily relations. While sometimes glossed with the discourse of collegiality and support, male lecturers were engaged in actively policing the administrative workspace in this particular institution. At times they would even stand over or behind the seated female administrative worker while pieces of 'their' work were being typed or worked on. In response, the administrative workers reorganized their desks and office space a number of times in attempts to minimise such bodily relations. These relations heightened my concern over the gendered politics of space and physicality in the managing and organizing of further and higher education.

A number of pieces of text were also important to the following chapter. One was Gilles Deleuze's response to the classical sociological question he poses in a published discussion with Michel Foucault in the early 1970s (Foucault, 1977:214-5):

How is it that people whose interests are not being served can strictly support the existing power structures . . . perhaps this is because in terms of investment, whether economic or unconscious, interest is not the final answer; there are investments of desire that function in a more profound and diffuse manner than our interests dictate. But of course we

never desire against our interests, because interest always follows and find itself where desire has placed it.¹

Talk of investments of desire inevitably leads 'back' to the body. It also suggests a focus on seduction (Calas and Smircich, 1991) and pleasure (Burrell, 1984; Pringle, 1989) as well as fear, stress, anxiety (Jackall, 1988). Particularly, it suggests that the construction of the 'manager' as a particular stationing or positioning involves affective inscriptions, perhaps in the form of what Hoshchild (1993) described as 'emotional labour' or the embodied inscription or enfolding into oneself of an organization's 'emotional map'. The second piece of text, from Foucault himself (Gordon, 1980:57-8) addresses the body directly.

First one must set aside the widely held thesis that power in our bourgeois capitalist society has denied the reality of the body in favour of the soul, conscience, identity. In fact nothing is more material, physical, corporeal than the exercise of power.

While some argue that at points in his earlier work, Foucault's discussion of discourse is abstract, removed and vague, his latter work, like that of Marx, addresses the actual application of power to the surfaces of the human bodies. If, given these propositions, managers take up particular positionings within discursive practices, then it seems important to explore how such positionings do not simply speak the manager (as suggested in the previous chapter), but also inscribe his or her body.

The third piece of text has been discussed in the previous chapter. Watson (1994) suggests, with a good degree of understatement, that 'there is a significant emotional aspect to managerial work' (1994:180). He

¹ No doubt influenced by Althusser's draw on Lacan in his writings of the time, Deleuze and his collaborator Felix Guattari went on after this to develop an anti-Lacanian poststructural reading of capitalist society (1984, 1988) which draw heavily on Foucault (with some necessary 'corrections'). Their approach, to some extent, offers a more politically progressive reading of postmodern society than that offered by Baudrillard.

observed for instance managers who became so agitated with one another that they had to be physically restrained from beating one another up.

All these examples demanded that the body be addressed in the discussion of the development of managers in further and higher education. Yet very few authors in studies of FHE or indeed in management and organization studies are engaged in exploring the corporeality of change, despite an explosion of interest in sociology and social theory generally (see Burrell, 1996 for an exception to this). Mainstream or 'normal' management and organization studies texts are largely silent on the issues surrounding the body (e.g. Mullins, 1994, Stewart, 1989; Hales, 1993 Johnson and Scholes, 1993; Thomas, 1993). Despite the links in the etymology of 'managing' to the physicality of extracting work from horses (Mangham and Pye, 1991), 'managing' in conventional managerial discourse is broadly understood as an activity of mind, rationality, language and politics. Managing or organizing often seems to have passed through the body without touching it. Reference to anything that might require bodies to do organizational work is strangely absent from such texts. Perhaps this is because the body is so irrevocably there, so banal in its presence. Perhaps the body forms an unspoken foundational element in such texts. There are texts that deal with the body. *BodyTalk* (James, 1995), from the Industrial Society's stable of training and management self-help books, describes the negative features of embodied relations in work organisations, for example physical harassment, bullying and intimation and offers techniques for dealing with these through the development of more effective body-talk. Also, the so-called 'fast-capitalist texts' (Gee and Lankshear, 1995) offer detailed prescriptions for body behaviours. In *Thriving on Chaos* for instance, Tom Peters suggests that managers need to opportunistically 'manage' their behaviours to match

their strategic aims. He suggests that the managers' day is marked by thousands of symbolic *acts* and that nowadays these are more important to managers than conventional management systems and structures which are being 'overwhelmed by the pace of change' (1987: 420). In response, Peters suggests that managers

watch your symbols. Perhaps with the help of a friend, assess the degree to which your minute to minute behaviours closely reflect or contradict your strategic themes. Make this assessment daily (1987:420).

Regardless of whether one considers this prescription to be the very nadir of corporate appropriation of human labour, or the high point of managerial efficiency, what is clearly implied is that the body, and particularly its control of itself and symbolically of others, is important to an understanding of how managerial work is attempted. The suggestion here is that particular ways of managing require a different topography of the body. Conventionally this might be termed management styles. While a thorough investigation of this is outside the scope of this paper, there is an overwhelming cognitive bias to this literature.

Other media are however less coy about ascribing managers with bodies and exploring the embodiment of managerial relations. For instance in *Disclosure*, the 1994 movie dealing with the sexual harassment of a computer company manager (Michael Douglas) by his newly installed boss and former lover (Demi Moore), relations between actual bodies in the elaboration of managerial power relations create the key dramatic events and subsequent 'problem' to be resolved during the movie.

The movie highlights the importance of a focus on how the actual physical surfaces of bodies, moving arms, legs, torsos, buttocks, hands, vaginas and penises (on occasion) are actively engaged in producing or attempting to reproduce particular organizings of relations at work.

So while movies, pop-management and self-help guides may be offering descriptions and advice on the topographies of bodies at work, mainstream management texts appear to have forgotten the body. Of course such questioning might easily be dismissed by some as yet another distracting episode in ludicrous self-evident-ness from the corps of fashion conscious postmodernists. After all, if post-modernism's avowed agenda is the demolition of such entities (or 'centricisms') as the transcultural, transhistoric speaking individuals (Fox, 1993) and their organizations (Law, 1994b), then all that can possibly be left as irreconcilably present for analysis is the body or bodies. As Cunningham notes

Challenge, or remove transcendence; discard the old metaphysical idea and idiom of the person, the self (let alone the soul and the spirit) and all you have left to rely on is the body (1996).

As a consequence all theory 'shops at the body shop' (1996), as Cunningham quips. Alternatively we might suggest that such a demolition is entirely necessary as a focus on the body is genealogically linked to the 'discovery' or construction of other 'absences' in management and organizational discourse, for instance gender and sexuality (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993; Collinson and Hearn, 1996). Relatedly a focus on the politics of the body at work, might also be motivated by the need to extend the debate over worker ability/disability.

Equally we might argue, following Bauman, that far from falling prey to academic fashion, attending to the composition of the embodied characteristics of managing and organizing work turns attention on how work organizations are implicated and inflected with the 'fetishisation of the body in contemporary society' (1992:194). One effect of this, some argue, is that a somewhat narcissistic engagement with one's body comes to replace engagement with political or socially responsive activity (Shilling, 1993:182).

Yet perhaps the strongest critique of this and a strong rationale for engaging with the politics of the body is found in Marx's own writings. Marx was particularly concerned with the effect that capitalist factory regimes had on the working class populations, and the way actual physical labouring constructed the body. There are indeed strong parallels here with Foucault's analysis of disciplinary regimes, and the 'contra' organization studies critique of scientific management (Thompson, 1983). As Marx wrote,

The technical subordination of the workman to the uniform motion of the instruments of labour, and the peculiar composition of the body of working people . . . gives rise to a barrack discipline, which is elaborated into a complete system in the factory, and which fully develops the before mentioned labour of overlooking, thereby dividing the work people into operatives and overlookers, into private soldiers and sergeants of an industrial army (from Capital, in Elster, 1986:161).

In summary, a number of key justifications for an exploration of the embodiment in relation to organizing and managing present themselves. Firstly there is lack of serious engagement with embodiment, certainly in the mainstream literature of the field, yet this is somewhat ironic given that that field is ostensibly concerned with labour or work, which surely only follows reproduction as the most embodied terrains of human life. Secondly while a serious attempt to discuss embodiment in academic texts might seem to some like leaping aboard an academic 'catwalk', this is to dismiss many of the promising new areas of work, or absences, which the combined and separate work of feminist and poststructural approaches has produced. Thirdly there is a need, given comments such as those from Shilling, to explore whether this 'fetishisation of the body', is politically progressive or politically anaesthetising. As a counter to Shilling, Youl Yung (1996) suggests that attention to the body opens out a new space for the ethics of contact and caring rather than self-absorption.

The resurrection of body politics whose heart is the carnal ethic of caring may be the 'prelude to a philosophy of the future . . . in preserving and nourishing the earth, including the human species. (1996:18)

Finally there is, beginning with Marx, and developed by Foucault, a strand of work in 'contra' organization studies addressing the constitution of the working body, including the working body of the 'overlooker' or manager. This chapter attempts to lay out the conceptual framework which would allow such an account to be written later in section three. Particularly I address the question of just how we might come to understand the body.

Working with material drawn from recent debates on the body in sociology, cultural studies and social theory I develop what I have termed a two dimensional body topography framework. The key reasons for drawing up this two dimensional analytic (between surface and depth) is that it firstly maintains the tension between an agentic lived body approach, and the more structuralist inscribed body approach. Secondly, it is a way of addressing a problem with body surface - the limits to the sentient reversibility (Crossley, 1995:60). By this I mean that while our bodies can see and be seen, hear and be heard, touch and be touched, there is an affective depth to our embodiment which cannot be easily collapsed into a 'body as surface' approach. Our embodiment is sensuous and emotive, but we cannot experience the sensuality/emotionality of other bodies directly. This, however, is not to suggest that 'depth' is 'nature' and 'surface' culture - far from it. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's 'body without organs' framework, I argue that depth is stratified and organized.

While this approach might appear exotic to some, it is very close to (and has some advantages over) Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, Law's relational materialism and McLaren's concept of enfleshment (1995:64-78). *Habitus* is understood as 'embodied history' (Krais, 1993:169) or as the

'ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting that [make-up] the verbal and practical manifestation of the person'(Krais, 1993:169) . McLaren takes a more poststructural approach arguing that enfleshment be understood as a mutually constitutive aspect of social structure and desire.

Discourses neither sit on the surface of bodies nor float around in the formless ether of the mind, but are enfolded into the very structure of desire. (1995:67)

In relation to Law's work, he argues that it is best to talk of ourselves as agents made up of 'complex embodied networks of economies of skill/desire' (Law, 1994:129). With this discussion in mind I want to now turn to the first axis - surface - of the heuristic device I have termed body topography.

Body Topography: Surface

Many recent accounts of the body in social theory begin with a discussion of how embodiment has been conspicuously absent in much writing and theorising. One of the key reasons offered is its underpinning phallocentricism. Frank asserts (1991) that social theory has a generalised, masculine character which is underpinned by an assumed unproblematic male body. Feminist theorising has highlighted the differential conditions of embodiment (1991:42), and problematised the body as a taken-for-granted presence in debate about social, political and economic issues. At the same time post-structural analysis derived from Nietzsche's work has challenged the dominance of knowledges and explanatory frameworks that rely on the assumption of a substance called 'the mind' for their plausibility. Of course a reliance on 'mind' 'fans out' into discussions of attitudes, opinions, rationality

, the brain, personality etc. and away from discussions of body difference, reproduction, desire, sexuality, food, fluids and flesh. The body is, as a result, quite literally matter out of place in many fields. In organization and management studies a number of feminism-inspired authors are drawing attention to the body in the field. Halford et al (1997) is among a number of recent works which address the body by way of the gendered and sexualised character of organisations (also see for instance Hearn and Parkin 1995; Cockburn, 1991). Halford et al understand the neglect of a specific focus on embodiment as a result of the dominance of a male body as the norm in work organisations. Drawing on the work of Acker (1990) they argue that most work organisations tend to privilege a particular construction of a disciplined male body as the standard body at work. This 'standard body' is assumed to be physically able, disengaged from reproduction, emotionally under-control, lacking desire, isolated in its own performance and disassociated from itself. Against this 'standard body' other bodies, particularly female bodies, tend to be judged and identified as problematic for organizations. Halford et al argue that it is the difference of female bodies from this 'standard body' that forms a key axis around which organising and managing operates. This difference either disqualifies or qualifies women for particular organisational functions. Halford et al's research, in banking, local authorities and health services, shows that the reproductive, menstruating, menopausal female body is a problem for work organisations, while the sexualised female body qualifies it for particular kinds of work or particular stationing in organisations, e.g. as receptionist/secretaries/nurses. As part of their discussion of the gendered embodiment of life in these work environments, Halford et al seek to operationalise the notion of the 'lived body'. Their discussion of the politics

of this 'lived body' (Cockburn, 1991) has three dimensions - the spatial, verbal and physical.

A spatial dimension refers to the actual and symbolic location of men and women's bodies in the same or different sites within work organisations, particularly the spatial aspects of interaction. This can include for instance unwanted touching or close proximity between bodies. For the nurses in the study this included occasions when male doctors would slip their arms round female nurses' waists or shoulders, or stand close behind them. It also includes how the bodies of male nurses and male medical staff interrelate. In the Halford et al study the authors note how the physical politics of relations between female nurses and male medical staff often took on traditional heterosexual patterns of dominance and subordination. For male nurses, however, this was quite different. A male nurse told the authors that while a particular male doctor treated female nurses badly he was less secure with the male nurse. 'He's smaller than me, so I use that. I stand over him and look down on him' (1997:241).

This spatial dimension obviously includes physical sexual harassment as graphically described by Collinson and Collinson (1996) in their recent study of women in non-traditional management jobs. This offers some horrific examples of the harassment of women managers in the case study organisation. Collinson and Collinson report how at a 'works do'

Dick put his arm around Sheila and began 'pawing' her. Sheila described how she tried unsuccessfully to move away in her seat. Dick proceeded to take his shoes off and then run his foot up and down her leg. (1996:37)

This spatial dimension also includes the way managers mix men and women's bodies in offices and other work sites 'as a way of curbing the excesses of unruly single-sex groups' (Halford et al, 1997:244). While this was broadly understood in the study as a successful tactic in moderating

what was seen as the unruly and less desirable aspects of single sex work sites, the more intimate mixing of men's and women's bodies was often tightly controlled. Bodies which actually engaged in affairs at work were often later segregated, particularly in banking where the liaison was seen as potentially a security risk. For instance Halford et al record how

one of the managers at Christmas was having an affair with one of his staff and he was sent packing for a couple of weeks, and when he comes back, the girl is moved and everything is smoothed over (Halford et al, 1997:247).

Likewise in Watson's study of managers in a UK telecommunications company (1994) the author describes how the spatial arrangement of bodies in meeting rooms has a significant impact on the way control is exercised (see McNay, 1996 for relevant example from higher education). At one point in the text Watson describes how at a meeting of a company's senior post-holders, the manager who normally chaired the event entered the room late (1994: 189-190) and found that the other attendees were occupying seats at the head of the table and that he had been left a seat 'out on a limb'.

His physical position appeared to make it difficult for him to maintain his usual domination of the meeting and a fairly heated argument about some issue developed between two individuals, which Jonathan (the manager) found difficult to manage (1994:190).

Later in the meeting Jonathan was called out to a telephone call. On his return he found that further 'musical chairs' had occurred and a vacant seat had opened up between the two arguing managers. Watson goes on,

one could almost read on his face when he returned his debating whether or not to show recognition of the game that was being played. He took the seat, however with a rather tensely spoken quip, 'Ah I might as well be the rose between two thorns'. 'Between two pricks more like,' added someone else (1994:190).

Watson reports that the group decided while Jonathan was absent that the 'prank' had 'done him good'. ' "We got much less of the Jonathan monologue after that little prank" as one of them said' (1994:190). This example suggests that normalised managerial relations rely in part on normalised spatial topographies of bodies for their efficacy. One way to challenge these relations is to alter the topography itself. This is not an issue that Watson addresses. He discusses the verbal and humorous aspects of this event. However, the event exposes inter-linkages between the spatial arrangements of bodies and managerial power relations.

The verbal dimension of this politics of the body surface refers to the 'calling up' or the 'speaking about' embodiment at work and how this is used to constitute relations. This dimension includes the way women's bodies or the eroticised parts of women's bodies or women's clothing are often drawn into discourse for instance as part of general heterosexual banter, or as a means of positioning women as subordinate to men. The verbal dimension of a politics of the body also includes how the body is evoked to encourage pleasurable and playful experiences. Work sites are often permeated with heterosexualised banter between men and women, women and women and men and men (Pringle, 1989). This evokes a body that is the site of pleasure and desire. Of course there are often indefinite 'lines' between pleasurable talk and that which can seem dangerous and potentially abusive.

The physical dimension of this politics of the lived body refers to the politics of the presentation of the body; how it is dressed, how it moves and what this signifies (1997:259). This includes, of course, the overt use of physical features of men's bodies to harass women. Two explicit example of this can be drawn from the Collinson and Collinson study. On one occasion

Dick (his actual first name), the senior manager, approached Jenny, a subordinate manager, who was alone in his office. Dick had his flies open.

She immediately stood up and moved away, at which point he laughed and without looking down zipped up his trousers, thus confirming the intentional nature of his actions (1996:34).

On another occasion Dick, together with other male managers present,

took his penis out to show Sheila (the junior sales manager), adding that 'if she was lucky she would get some of it'. (1996:36).

The physical dimension also refers to the use of clothing in the politics of the lived body. The Halford et al study highlights how differing dress codes heighten the awareness of woman managers of being 'strangers' in a male world. The study also points out how women managers often engaged in conscious efforts to exploit or conceal this difference in clothing. For instance one women manager, one of just five in a 'sea of suits' at a banking event said:

We are going to stand out aren't we? But you see I try to take advantage of that so I wore a red suit on the basis that all the men would be in grey and dark. So I did stand out and , yes the speaker did come out and speak to me at the end . . . that is part of playing the game isn't it? (1997:252-253)

What this framework details are three core elements around which the politics of the body surface are played out. By exploring how the body is organised spatially, physically and called up verbally/discursively it is possible, as Halford et al have done, to highlight some of the recursive practices (or discourses or modes of ordering) which order social life in work organizations. The discussion in this study highlights how managing and organising work is built around and through the sometimes problematic politics of body surfaces.

However, there are limits to the extent to which a politics of body surface might provide a means for discussing embodiment, and particularly the changing body topography of education management. What is missing is an engagement with depth, with the dynamic processes by which the social subject becomes the body-subject (Crossley, 1995), or in conventional dualistic terms the 'owner' responsible for 'its' body. What is missing from a 'body as surface', is a more direct engagement with the flows and codes of perception, emotionality, sensuality and desire through which bodies come to know themselves. This next section discusses the basis of such a framework of body as depth in the work of Connell (1995) and Deleuze and Guattari (1988).

Body topography: depth

Foucault's work on the body (1980, 1991) has helped to broaden and extend social scientific interest in embodiment. As critical attention is given to Foucault's texts his approach has been widely contested. Yol Yung for instance notes that no one more than Foucault has challenged the pretension of the 'enlightenment age' by 'unearthing the clinical and incarcerated body' (1996: 6). However, '[Foucault] never came to grips with the body as flesh, the body as subject' (1996:6). Thus there has been a swing back to recover a phenomenology of the body concerned to show the body as active in its construction of the social world. Yet there is an inherent danger in this move, in that slippage will re-introduce a kind of soft-dualism of social self- and body. Shilling's review (1993) of 'the body' in sociology

demonstrates this adequately. While he chastises Foucault, claiming the body 'vanishes as a biological entity and becomes instead a socially constructed product which is infinitely malleable and highly unstable (1993: 74)', and repeats Turner's point (1984) of the lack of a phenomenology of the body in Foucault's work, there is in his text the danger of losing the analytical purchase provided by Foucault's inscribed body, and reasserting the primacy of the 'individual' as analytically distinct from bodies.

Furthermore, the emphasis that modern individuals place on the body as constitutive of the self can be seen in many respects as a *retreat* from world-building activity (1993:182, emphasis in original).

While Shillings' political point is well made, there is a need to re-think the conceptualisation of body politics here and question the return to the dualism of 'modern' individuals and bodies. Shilling turns to Connell (among others) for support in his argument. However, I want to argue that Connell's work on embodiment which surrounds his texts on masculinities, sex and power can be read as an attempt to produce an interdependence between a phenomenology of the body and its inscription. It represents a mid-point in a gradient between an active and acted upon body. In Connell's 1995 book *Masculinities* he makes a concerted effort to centre his exploration of men and masculinities on what he calls 'body reflexive practice'. As a way of grounding this conceptualisation he notes that

bodies went missing a long time ago in social theory . . . theories of discourse have not overcome this split. They have made bodies the object of symbolic practice and power but not the participants.(1995:59-60)

As a counter point to this discursive imperialism, he asserts that bodies both limit and act to challenge social relations. He notes for instance how in some cases men's bodies are 'virtually assaulted in the name of masculinity and achievement' (1995:58). After prolonged 'assault' a crisis

point is reached when social relations must change. In relation to the body's challenges to social relations he notes how the sexual arousal of bodies can alter and challenge dominant discourses on 'normalised' sexual relations. He suggests that bodily arousal (particularly sexual contact between bodies) is actively engaged in transforming social processes. Using a number of accounts of early sexual experiences drawn from his research he suggests that men's experiments with and experience of their bodies significantly shape their social relations. Thus he argues for the concept of 'bodily reflexive practice' in social theory as an antidote to the dominance of a 'social semiotics of gender' (1995:65). Connell argues that the social-ness of physical performance is a 'more intimate connection' than simply a matter of meaning attached to a physiological event. He goes as far as to ascribe agency to particular tissues, glands and cavities (1995:61). The position he argues for amounts to a 'body as depth' conceptualisation. Connell's notion of 'body reflexive practice' and his understanding of the way particular languages produce particular kinds of subjects (for instance the medicalization of transexuality), suggests a Foucauldian position. This is one that seeks to re-dress the lack of engagement in Foucault with the actual sensuous physicality of bodies caught in the midst of social formations.

This conceptualisation of the body highlights, in one direction, how flows of effort/excitement, produced by and through the body as organism, are centrally involved in 'taking up', challenging, or perhaps re-creating social knowledges and practices. From this perspective a 'self', which might be assumed to control these flows, is a *construct* or *effect* of such flows. Social processes and formations, such as education or the family or waged work, are engaged in attempting to make the linkages between the flows of effort and excitement, and particular knowledges, *in very intimate ways*. This

is of course close to Foucault's 'materialism' (1980:58). It is the hyphen in his concept power-knowledge (Foucault, 1980). A line (a series of points or events perhaps seen from a distance) that makes networks or links between the body (flows of effort and excitement) and disciplines of knowledge (whose effect is selves, relations and discursive formations). Connell's critique of Foucault's 'determinism' is that bodies are simply servants of discourse. He highlights the need for a less slavish and determined understanding of the links between real bodily desire and the form of knowledge. Connell's discussion of these issues highlights his closeness to a broadly Deleuzian perspective.

Deleuze and Guattari's twinned texts (1984, 1988) offer a conceptualisation of the body which both borrows heavily from Foucault, and offers the necessary corrections to the problems highlighted by the likes of Connell, Shilling, Turner and Yung. Deleuze and Guattari's 'body' is not simply a servant of discourse, but the site of potentially creative and revolutionary alternatives. Their 'body' is highly sensuous and physical. Yet its experience of the sensuousness of life is not a result of some natural biological organization, but is a response to how the body is 'made-up' in the interplay and battle between social inscriptions and desire which is understood in a Nietzschean sense as the 'energy of bodies'. Deleuze and Guattari's 'body' is a 'Body without Organs'. They use this term, as Lash notes (1984:9), to highlight how 'we do not experience our bodies in terms of their biological organisation, or more precisely, that we should not so perceive our bodies' (1984:9). What we do experience are patterns of intensities/sensations. These are real but have been organ-ised in the interplay between social practices, knowledges and the desiring body. The Body-without-Organs (BwO) is a conception of a body which attempts to

combine these features without resorting to a dualism between mind and body. BwO in an original state 'is non-strata-fied, uniformed intensive matter' (1988:153). It is conceived as a hollow egg-like form whose surface becomes inscribed by patterns or figures.

We treat the BwO as the full egg before the extension of the organism and the organisation of the organs, before the formation of the strata' (1988:153).

Strata are the sedimented figures that are socially inscribed upon the BwO. They are patterns which provide lines through which sensation/intensities can flow. According to Deleuze and Guattari there are three strata which form figures on the BwO: organism, significance and subjectification. Organism is the social organisation of the organs into an organism. Humorously they highlight this as follows: 'It is in the BwO that the organs enter into the relations of composition called the organism. The BwO howls: "They've made me an organism! They've wrongfully folded me! They've stolen my body" ' (1988:159). It is worth bearing in mind that Deleuze and Guattari here are talking about how the body is organised in socio-cultural-historical relations - not how physical organs interrelate. Significance, the next strata on the BwO, is the strata of discourse and language, of signifiers and signifieds. 'Significance clings to the soul just as the organism clings to the body' (1988:160). Subjectification is that stratum or series of folds which produce the effect of self or selves. The social practices of discipline, surveillance and technologies of the self, highlighted in Foucault's work, are those mimetic practices which produce these inscriptions or foldings upon Deleuze and Guattari's BwO. These seek to govern thoughts and practices, and to produce our subjectivity by 'channelling desire into prescribed pathways' (Fox, 1993:78).

Of course it is worth mentioning here that Deleuze and Guattari's BwO is not just an analytical device, but overtly a political project which is significantly at odds with that suggested by Shilling above (Jordan, 1995). To aid this project Deleuze and Guattari engage a sense of poetry and drama in their texts. For instance in their discussion of the strata in *A Thousand Plateaus* they take up an imperative voice as a way of highlighting how the social (particularly the family) directs the BwO about.

You will be organised, you will be organism, you will articulate your body -otherwise you're just depraved. You will be signifier and signified, interpreter and interpreted - otherwise you're just deviant. You will be subject, nailed down as one, a subject of the enunciation recoiled into a subject of the statement - otherwise you're just a tramp. (1988:159)

Through this they are attempting to engage the reader in the form of political action they recommend: to begin to slowly 'destratify' our BwOs. This involves a 'dismantling' of the organism, the un-hooking from points of subjectification and significance, and the attainment of what they call the plane of consistency. Their writing in this quest draws upon the Carlos Castaneda's Don Juan series as well as from Eastern 'religions' such as Zen and Taoism. It has much in common with West Coast American 'new age' writing from the 1980s and 90s. The aim is a state of becoming, a state of deterritorialisation on the BwO. Here

flows of intensity, their fluids, their fibres, their continuums and conjunctions of affects, the wind, fine segmentation, microperceptions, have replaced the world of the subject. Becomings, becomings-animal, becoming-molecular, have replaced history, individual or general (1988:162).

In this they have developed then a political agenda that was largely missing in the work of Foucault but borrows significantly from this work.

A major difference between Connell and Deleuze and Guattari is the latter's rejection of a Lacanian view of the role of the imaginary in the taking

up of discourse (Lash, 1984). As noted above, Connell understands the imaginary as a kind of hinge between the body and the social. Deleuze and Guattari however are among philosophers who seek to question and dispose of splits between mind and body. Thus they understand desire as a largely biological 'will to power' which is material, real and not just imaginary. This also acts as a counter to Foucault's somewhat subordinated view of desire. As Lash notes,

To argue as Foucault does that 'desire' is a servant of power, is . . . to endorse a cipher-like delibidinised vision of agency that would be incapable of constructing resistances, incapable of mobilising resources' (1984:3).

To be fair, Foucault did not just understand desire as a servant of power. But he does privilege power as the first effort to which the body's desire responds in a seemingly endless battle.

Power, after investing itself in the body, finds itself exposed to a counterattack in that same body. (1980:56)

In other words he sees no autonomy from power of bodily desire - it is an effect of power. Power's response to the body's counterattack, according to Foucault, is not repression but heightened stimulation through the capitalist exploitation of eroticism,

from sun-tan products to pornographic films. Responding precisely to the revolt of the body, we find a new mode of investment . . . 'Get dressed - but be slim, good-looking, tanned' (1980:57).

Deleuze and Guattari oppose this closure of desire. They oppose Foucault's collapse of bodily desire into power's tracings and knowledges. They argue that while power seeks to inscribe pathways along which bodily desire can flow - for example through capitalist stimulation or oedipal family relations - it is possible that desire will challenge these inscriptions and move in other directions. Bodily desire for Deleuze and Guattari is a fundamentally

creative movement. It moves for instance more like the root system of grass - rhizome-like. 'It is always by rhizome that desire moves and produces' (1988:14). True to their political aims, Deleuze and Guattari's body as depth can also make 'maps' of its own - deterritorialising that which has been inscribed upon it.

Body topography: Summary

In the above I have suggested that a study of body could be taken up as an analytical or heuristic device with two interlocking and interdependent axis. One axis of body surface involves the mapping of the spatial, verbal and physical materiality of embodiment. Body depth, meanwhile, drawn from the work of Deleuze and Guattari, understands the body as political matter which is inscribed, folded and reworked through the dynamic interplay of desire (physical energy), signification and practices. The strength of this approach is its insistence that social activities and processes are flows of desire (real bodily material force) invested in signification and forms of reflexivity which then channel and pattern this investment. These patterned flows of desire *are* subjectivity and might be understood as various social selves. Yet desire, in this framework, does not indelibly pattern these strata. Desire is mobile and capable of creating new patterns, new topographies. Re-mappings are both creative flourishes of autonomy and enforced reconstructions. To take an example, being sacked from one's job often leads to strong emotions and grief as well as abrupt changes to health and fitness. By relying on a conventional self-body dualism we might say that a sacking challenges and threatens a particular self. From a Deleuzian, or body depth perspective, the loss of a job severs many of the routinised mappings

(or assemblages) through which desire flows. One of the key mappings for men is how work organizations overlay familial patternings of desire. For instance a manager's desire might be invested (projected) positively in trusting his/her boss/manager/company (Roper, 1996). This overlays a mapping of boss/manager/company as father/family. To be sacked by the boss, or not to have one's contract renewed, is to cut up and sever these inscriptions which tap deeper mappings of rejection by father and family. Just to demonstrate the interrelatedness of the body as surface perspective, the severing of these markings or foldings (in a sacking) might 'present' as a loss of 'health' and 'fitness', the removal of the body from particular spaces, its recovering in different fabrics and the calling up or speaking about the body in new ways - as an unemployed body.

How then might this analytic of body topography furnish a way of describing and explaining managing and managerial work?

The approach suggests that managers and managing be understood as the spatial, verbal and physical ordering of bodies as surface, but more importantly as the investment of bodily desire. Bodily desire is invested in forms of discourse, in other bodies, in sets of reflexive practices, but is also unstable and multiple in its directionality. It is worth pointing out here, following Law (1994), that organizations are not solid, overarching constructions of reliability and domination, but are made up of, and the effect of, multiple micro-organizings which are constantly under attack. Changes in the flux of desire on the part of the bodies engaged in these organizings may challenge and reconstruct existing foldings in the strata of the body as depth (BwO). The manager is positioned in particular discourses as responsible for reducing these fluxes, even if the manager him/herself is also the site of these fluctuations and counter investments. The manager's work ostensibly is

concerned with narrating and enforcing particular discourses and practices whose aim is to maintain the particular repetitions of movements of desire across the inscriptions on the BwO.

Yet given the instability of desire (bodily energy) and its potential to invest itself in other forms of discourse other bodies, in other forms of reflexivity, resist dominant orderings. These small organizations, or the counter-investments of desire, are constantly starting up afresh, constantly under way and are potentially always likely to challenge managerial attempts to take control of practices and events.

Lastly, it seems that this Deleuzian framework, interdependent with a Body as surface dimension, provides a platform upon which discussion of managerial discourse and the construction of managerial subjectivity can take place. As noted above, the position suggests that we understand human subjectivity as the unstable patternings of flows of desire (real bodily energy). While this accords with the general assumption about the moment by moment openness of human subjectivity and how it is invested in sets of often contradictory and conflicting meanings and practices (Knights, 1992; Knights and Willmott, 1989), a notion of subjectivity as patterned yet creative bodily desire, allows an understanding of subjectivity not found in other accounts.

What the above discussion of embodiment suggests is that we understand subjectivity as embodied or enfolded or more precisely as the unstable flows of real material physical energy across and through the patternings of signification and bodily reflexive practices. These are some of the points I take up in the following chapter, which attempts to frame and clarify issues surrounding a conceptualisation of the construction of managerial subjectivity.

Section 1 Chapter 3. The relative thickness of human material; approaching 'identity' and 'subjectivity'¹

The politics of identity and identity representation may be the deepest and most suppressed struggle in the work place and hence the 'site' where domination and responsive agency are most difficult to unravel. (Deetz, 1992:59)

Introduction - that nagging sense of having to be some-one at work

Recent critical discussion of the character of work organizations addresses closely the processes of identity formation (Deetz, 1992; Casey, 1995; Kondo, 1990; Miller and Rose, 1990 & 1995; Knights and Willmott, 1989; Townley, 1994; du Gay, 1996 and du Gay et al, 1996). Miller and Rose argue that 'the workplace is a principal site for the formation of identity' and a 'pre-eminent site for the contestation about the nature of human identity' (1995:427-428).

The underpinning claim is, as Deetz notes above, that the problematics, tensions and struggles that reproduce work organisations involve processes of identification with or constitution of various identities. An organization's most significant 'product', in other words, is not its goods or services, but is found in the learned identities and related self-disciplinary practices. In this sense compliance, commitment and effort in paid work organizations is not forced from 'us' through domination, or collected from 'us' through a simple exchange relation (e.g. work effort or skill for money). It

¹ The title of this chapter simultaneously refers backwards to the discussion of 'depth' in body topography and forward to the analytical device developed below which assumes that 'human materials' or orderings to be relatively dense, and provide the

is, to a large and constantly varying extent, 'extracted' through practices which produce 'us' and progressively tie 'us' to particular identities - that is, particular ways of being a 'self' or selves. For example organizational governance, as du Gay et al assert, is 'premised upon the mobilisation of the subjectivity of managers' (1996:278).

In this approach the 'manager' is a particular organizational identity institutionally ascribed with some discretion over resources and regulation of work of others. Yet the 'manager' is not simply a controller but is as controlled as any other organizational subject. Control here is predominantly exercised through technical practices and systems of judgement and measurement. As Knights and Willmott (1989) argue, these work to separate individual managers off from one another and render them more directly and intensely responsible as persons for their own actions and those of others. This intensifies the 'managers' attachment and identification with identities which reproduce particular configurations of organizational power. The solidity of a particular manager's sense of who they are is then made dependent upon the evaluations of significant others via various systems of measurement and judgement. Knights and Willmott argue that this heightens the already present ontological problem of individual identity found in modern societies and leads to a 'pre-occupation with solidifying meaning through the objectification of self in fetishised identities' (1989: 554), such as those pedalled by management gurus (see Jackson, 1996).

Managers are understood then as 'made-up' through their insertion into, and variable identification with, particular ways of relating to oneself at work. The claim that managers are 'free to manage' is then an unwarranted privilege as it conceals the process of construction and draws attention away

recursive processes that produce the tensions surrounding attempts to produce new identities, such as the 'manager' in further and higher education.

from the multiple systems of control which constitute what 'managing' involves (Deetz, 1992: 34-35). The agency of the manager, therefore, must be read in the context of the particular relations to the identities available in particular organizational settings. Furthermore, as Miller and Rose among authors (Brewis; 1996; Grey, 1994; Ezzy, 1997) argue, managing involves not simply the processes of individuation in organizational techniques and programmes, and the intensified problematisation of who one is meant to be, but also the progressive tying of personal ethics that is personal aspirations and desires, to managerial practices of judgement and measurement. Through this, who one desires to be, is tied to economic objectives and systems of organizational judgement. In Miller and Rose's argument

There is no opposition between the modes of self-presentation required of managers and the ethics of the personal self, indeed becoming a better manager is to become a better self (1990:26)

The argument just presented broadly outlines that which informs the discussion of the development of managers in further and higher education - with some caveats. In this chapter my aim is to position this approach within the broader social science literature on identity. As a means of marshalling these resources, I discuss identity as : entities, as roles and scripts, as subject positions, as id-entities (psychic defence forces), as ID. -entities (disciplinary selves), and identities as 'pleats' in the social terrain. The movement of the chapter is thus from a discussion of 'identity' to 'subjectivity' and from a modernist to poststructural account of identity. In order to highlight the contentious and highly 'unfinished' character of the debate around a poststructural account of identity, I address the recent debate between Nicholas Rose and Stuart Hall. The chapter ends with a description of the conceptual or sensitising device through which an account

of the development of managers in further and higher education will be addressing in the following sections.

Identity as entity

The mainstream agenda in the academic field of organizational behaviour tends to approach its topic through a 'staircase' of entities moving from 'individual' to 'group' to 'organization' and on to the broader political economic 'environment' (Mullins, 1996; Huczynski and Buchanan, 1991). Each 'level' is described through various typologies of characteristics which are assumed to have been scientifically verified. Accounts at the first level, the individual at work, tend to draw initially on the 'subject' developed in psychology. Such a subject tends to be ascribed with processes such as perception, categorisation, reflexivity, interpretation, self-awareness and motivation drawn from the range of phenomenological, cognitive and behavioural approaches. The broad aim is to explore self-hood as locatable in sets of individual processes. For example, a biological approach suggests that human consciousness is a biochemical capacity formed through evolutionary selection. Cognitive approaches understand self-hood as 'hardwired' into human beings through the ability to categorise, remember, think and feel. Phenomenological writings tend toward an understanding of self-hood as the sum of human biological and cognitive capabilities put to work to produce interpretations of conscious experience. Social identity theory views self-hood as an extension of cognitive science, maintaining that identities are the result of individuals engaged in classifying themselves and others (Tajfel, 1982). Yet as Nkomo and Cox (1996) note, there is some ambiguity over whether the evaluations and classifications used by others are relevant in this theory to one's identity at all. A number of problems exist

with such approaches. They tend to overemphasise a pre-social human(e) being thus making the 'individual' the agent in identity construction, reproducing perhaps an ethnocentric bias. The approaches tend to be 'form', rather than 'content' based. There is therefore little suggestion that the actual content of identity construction might have a differential impact on the production of human beings. Relatedly, such approaches are also largely blind to reflections on how they themselves are engaged in broad political and economic processes. Identity construction tends to be read as natural. Likewise psychological discourse on identity construction is presented as a seemingly neutral scientific discourse which is unreflective as to its political embeddedness.

Such approaches, while not without their merits, do not form the basis of the approach below. My emphasis is broadly on the relational basis of identity or self-hood.

Identity as roles and scripts

While some of the criticisms noted above can also be directed at interactionalism, the move away from locating identity or self or personality 'in' the individual and toward a view that sees the individual as emerging out of or as constituted by the social, challenges the inherent assumption of the pre-social individual found in scientific psychology. George Herbert Mead's formulations which derived from earlier work by Cooley, but also from the sociologists Durkheim and Simmel, forms a key resource for recent relational discussion of identity and self-hood.

For Mead the self does not categorise, interpret or evaluate the social, but such processes, which form the basis of self-hood, are social in

character and learned through interaction with significant others. The self is relational in a dual sense; it is born out of social relations, and made up of relations between an acting mobile 'I' and a generalised other - 'me'. This 'me' is understood as the combined symbolic memory of roles that others have performed. As Mead wrote,

What goes to make up the organized self is the organization of the attitudes which are common to the group. A person is a personality because he [sic] belongs to a community . . . he take its language as a medium by which he gets his personality, and then through a process of taking the different roles that all the others furnish he comes to get the attitude of the members of the community (quoted in Clark et al, 1994:105)

This represents the refined Mead. Elsewhere Mead wrote that a self is a

fusion of the remembered actor and his accompanying chorus [which] is somewhat loosely organized and very clearly social. (1913:377)

For Mead then the self is created and sustained through social activities. Self consciousness is formed from the particular kinds of relations between the actor found in social activities and the symbolic memory of past social interactions. Particularly Mead, argued that social self consciousness appears when

we find ourselves acting in the same way with reference to ourselves as we do to others (1913:375)

Mead's self consciousness then is an internal gaze which coheres individual and group relations . It is a monitoring, evaluating, scrutinising component which is constantly judging and realigning the acting 'I' interaction on the basis of dialogue, rules, practices found etched across its socialised memory.

This analysis does reveal then in a memory process an attitude of observing oneself in which both the observer and the observed appear. To be concrete, one remembers asking himself how he could undertake to do this, that or the other, chiding himself for his shortcomings or pluming himself upon his achievements. . . . At the back of our heads we are a large part of the time more or less conscious of our own replies to the remarks made to others, or innovations which would lead to attitudes and gestures answering our gestures and attitudes towards others. (1913:375-376)

For Mead, self consciousness then can be read as the techniques and practices by which the 'me' (of language, practices, rules etc.) act on or relate to the acting 'I'. Of course there are problems with a broader reading of Mead's approach, particularly given its bias toward small group relations, and its broad conservative functionalism. Burkitt (1991) in attempting to 'rescue' Meadian interactionalism from this conservatism and from the onslaught of poststructural analysis suggests that Mead's work be complemented by reading it alongside a Marxist account of social production. Yet this would seem to reproduce and heighten the problems of a dualistic analysis whose effect is to set the individual apart from the social and assume such entities to be agents.

Mead's work typifies and underpins much theorising of identity in contemporary social psychology and sociology. It leads particularly to symbolic interactionists, represented in management by, for instance, Ian Mangham (discussed in Chapter 1), but also it links, through Mead's interest in language to the constructivism of Harre, Shotter and Gergen (the latter two also discussed in Chapter 2 above). It also links to Law's work discussed above and resonates with Foucault's discussion of subjection as the form of contemporary political formations.

In mainstream organization studies the functionalist and conservative assumptions of Mead's work are frequently drawn in along with the conceptual framework. Huczynski and Buchanan suggest (1991:133), for

instance, that people's selves be understood as based on shared definitions of reality. Organizations meanwhile are understood to be made up of particular roles against which human personalities are 'matched' and human material inserted. A role, as Berger asserted, might be defined as a 'typified response to a typified expectation' which 'provides the pattern according to which the individual is to act in the particular situation' (1966:112-113). The manager's job then, as Mintzberg (1978) outlined, comprises roles such as leader, monitor and resource allocator. Mintzberg categorised a list of ten roles into three broad types: interpersonal, informational and decisional. These vary between managerial jobs. Middle managers' jobs for instance involve more administrating and informational roles than do senior managers' jobs. Note here how the discussion begins with the 'organizational', expressed as the manager's job, and then moves on to categorise and produce a taxonomy of roles relevant to that job. The approach to knowledge then is one that begins with a particular entity - the job/organization - and then engages in exploring how the 'individual' person acts this out.

The notion of roles tends also to be interchangeably expressed as scripts which individuals perform. As noted above, Mangham and Pye (1991) suggest that managers, unlike actors who are given their scripts, need to seek out the scripts/roles which codify and provide the basis for enacting their jobs. Note how Mangham and Pye rely on the agency of the 'individual' to find and enact the social script. They suggest that 'seeking out' might require people to produce a particular reading of the circumstances and conditions in which they find themselves. Yet this strong division between the agentic actor and the organizational script tends to obscure the relationality of the production, and the possible agency of the latter.

One problem, as many authors note, is that enforcement of these 'scripts' or 'roles' is relatively time consuming, and therefore expensive. The aim, as Thompson and McHugh suggest, 'is to produce workers who will *themselves* initiate and enact the correct scripts rather than having to be directed to do so' (1990:321, my emphasis). These authors argue, along with others involved in the revisions to the labour process debate noted above (Thompson, 1990; Knights and Willmott, 1989), that such *worker initiated enactment* of scripts is as '*essential*' to the labour process as the working practices, labour and machinery through which they are played out' (1990:320-321, my emphasis). Yet how this might be explored presents a major problem for dualistically inclined modernist social science relying as it does on entities such as the 'individual' and the 'organization' to read organizational life.

***Identity - individual possession or organizational prerogative ?
the confusion of modernist approaches to identity***

I want to illustrate the 'problem' of discussing 'identity' by addressing Thompson and McHugh's text *Work Organizations* (1990;1995), which is a core undergraduate text in management and organization studies in the UK. It is also one of the few texts in the field which attempt to integrate mainstream psychological discourse on the individual, and labour process analysis of organization. The authors attempt this through the notion of *identity*. They suggest that individuals and work organizations are engaged in precariously negotiated transactions between 'organizational strategies of control and individual strategies for securing *identity*' (1990:315). Yet as can be heard in this quotation, their approach is ultimately compromised by the

inherent dualisms in their analysis. Throughout (1990; 1995), their text tends to conceptualise identity as a possession which 'clothes' the 'individual' defensively in relation to the organization. This begins at the very point where they introduce the notion of identity and subjectivity.

They begin their approach by drawing on Henriques et al's discussion of subjectivity (1984). They suggest that Henriques et al provide a dual reading of subjectivity. Here subjectivity is both the condition of *being subject to*, that is acted upon by structural and interpersonal processes, and the condition of being *a subject*, 'possessing individuality and self-awareness' (1990:286). This unfortunately is a mis-reading of the original text. Henriques et al *do not* include a dual reading of subjectivity.

We use subjectivity to refer to individuality and self-awareness - the condition of being a subject - but understand in this usage that subjects are dynamic and always positioned in relation to particular discourses and practices and produced by these - the condition of being subject (1984:3)

As Henriques et al note, part of the problem is translating into a single English word the double meaning of the French term 'asujettir', (their principal theoretical sources are Foucault and Lacan) which 'at the same time means "to produce subjectivity" and to "make subject" (1984:3). Thompson and McHugh, it seems, have overlaid a conventional psychological 'individual' on the first of these meanings. Henriques et al are adamant that self-awareness is not outside discourses and indeed is produced by these. Indeed the whole text is committed to overthrowing the broad individual-society dualism through a critical reading of both psychology's 'individual' from a broadly Foucauldian and Lacanian perspective and to a lesser extent the social. Their repeated point throughout is that psychology's self-aware subject which possesses individuality is not an ontological given, but 'a particular product of historically specific practices of

social regulation' (1984:12). They argue, in concert with the broadly postdualist or poststructural agenda, that 'self-awareness' is not given, but constructed out of social resources including the knowledge and practices of psychological knowledge. Ultimately textbook writers in management and organization studies, including Thompson and McHugh, (whose text is perhaps the most radical in approach) seem to take self-awareness to be an ontological given and not constructed.

Going back to Thompson and McHugh's discussion of self-awareness shows how closely it follows a broadly cognitive social psychology approach to the 'individual' (Sampson, 1989). They posit for instance an 'individual' who creates its own mental representations which it uses to organise its subjectivity.

Our perceptions are ordered to extend and construct meaning out of our environment which helps us to engender our individuality . . . by placing perceptual stimuli, people and events into categories we take shortcuts in our comprehension of the world. This does however mean that we treat things and people that we interact with through their relation to the apparently objective categories into which we place them. Thus to some extent we reify everything and everyone we come across. *We produce them as mental representations which are our own creation*, yet we treat them as if these images are in fact real. (1995:231, emphasis added)

Thompson and McHugh accept that this supposed ability to create our own mental representations does make us vulnerable to 'those who seek to limit or channel the kind of information we receive' (1995:231). But this is passed over. They have already committed themselves to drawing on psychology's 'self-aware' and 'agentic' subject along with a misreading of Henriques et al's approach, to an account of identity.

In general the authors understand identity in two ways. It is an internal seemingly narcissistic 'minimal self' which subjects attempt to maintain against an 'unpredictability of the external world' (1990:286). Yet

later in the text, the self is also deeply incorporated by the 'organization'.

The authors suggest that

the strategies and identity work of management groups are incorporated into organizational processes through ideological legitimation which can supply positive self-attributes (1995:347).

Particularly, they suggest, the ideologies of structuralism, psychologism, consensualism, welfarism and legalism (Salaman, 1979) 'play a crucial role in underpinning identities, particularly those of management' (1995:348). In other words the identities of managers are assumed to be understood as embedded in organizational processes - and not defending themselves from such incorporating processes.

Later, Thompson and McHugh discuss behavioural technologies derived from organizational psychology which organize activities such as profiling, time-management and staff development practices. They suggest that

instead of appeals to ideologies of rationality, neutrality, objectivity and efficiency, [staff development] appeals to the subjective ideologies which support individual identities (1990:353).

By introducing the term 'subjective ideologies' into their discussion of identity, which already understands identity as both a minimal self and embedded in organization ideologies (particularly among managers) a good deal of confusion is inevitable. How the reader could usefully distinguish between 'subjective ideologies' and 'individual identities' for instance is not addressed. What seems to have occurred is that the tendency to locate identity with the individual, 'forces' the authors to use another concept, 'subjective ideologies' to address the organizational elements of identity construction. They then conclude the more than 100 pages of their 1990 text assigned to 'the subjective factor' in organizations by unconvincingly

claiming, without recourse to research on staff development, that 'such [behavioural technologies] will probably never work as intended' (1994:353).

In summary, what has occurred in this text is that the authors have continued to read the strong presence of such entities as 'worker' and 'organization' or 'labour' and 'capital' into their text. Yet this comes into conflict with the relational character of such 'entities' which might be said to 'emerge' in close analysis. From one direction workers are read as agents who through their 'subjective experience' variably work at and defend identities from organization. Then, as the analytical gaze moves to 'organization', which is said to have an objective external reality, this entity is said to be engaged in inserting ideologies into identities. I am not here challenging Thompson and McHugh's claim that resistance to management does not take place, only that *their* development of 'identity' is unable to deal adequately with the complex relationality of such processes. This is not however the case in other recent psychology-informed but empirically-based approaches to identity at work (e.g. Casey, 1995; Kondo, 1992). In these the relational aspects of identity are addressed much more adequately through a discussion of discursive practices, so carefully elaborated by Henriques et al (1984), but misread by Thompson and McHugh and ignored largely in mainstream organizational behaviour texts.

Identities as subject positions

Despite repeated use of the terms 'script' and 'ideologies' to describe the materials through which individuals interact with organizations, and references to Mead's work, which forms a key source for the development of a discursive psychology and sociology, Thompson and McHugh's adherence

to the dualism of psychology's self-aware 'subject' and industrial sociology's 'organization' puts severe limits on the ways in which to address directly the discursive aspect of organizational experience. They do discuss communication, but it is through conventional communication theory's concern with senders and receivers and not from the position of critical approaches to organizational communication developed in recent years (Mumby and Stol, 1991; Deetz, 1992a and 1992b, see Putnam et al, 1996). Yet it is this broad trajectory that positions identities within discourses, understood here as particular configurations of practices and statements, which informs both the re-construction of social psychology, of which Henriques et al's work is a key text, and recent developments in management and organization theory.

Take for example the discussion of role, as found in Mintzberg's discussion above. Various authors argue that role on the one hand over-emphasises the static, formal and ritualistic aspects of encounters (and not their dynamic aspects) (Davies and Harre, 1990). Also role is criticised for assuming that actors play roles in the way that they might clothe themselves in differing outfits. The dramaturgical metaphor, in other words, suggests that people play out particular scripts rather than *inhabiting* such scripts with all the emotional, visceral, sensuous engagement with which life is lived. Authors such as Potter and Wetherell (1987; Wetherell and Potter, 1992) , Harre and his collaborators, meanwhile have turned to the term 'discursive positionings' to avoid the ritualistic and formalised, to distance themselves from dramaturgical assumptions and to distance themselves from psychology's cognitive and behavioural individual (Sampson, 1989).

Yet at the same time these authors have not rejected the notion of choice or agency. Davies and Harre (1990) for example argue that the notion of positioning and subject position, in contrast to the notion of role,

permits us to think of ourselves as a choosing subject, locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories(1990:54).

While this might seem a somewhat limited notion of choice from that claimed by liberalism, it nevertheless offers space upon which to build an understanding of agency that is not disengaged from history. Here the emphasis is on the narrativisation of living which, according to Davies and Harre, we 'collaboratively unfold' (1990:54). Particular narratives, for instance of romantic love, are lived out by people. These position us in complementary subject positions, e.g. male hero and female victim in need of saving from fate's malicious embrace. Of course such narratives have certain effects, e.g. paternalism and discrimination.

A further issue is the problematics of being positioned in a number of different narratives. These are likely to be multiple, changing and variably contradictory both internally and between ourselves and others (1990:58-59). Davies and Harre argue that this 'we', our multiplicity, struggles with the problem of producing a coherent self as it meets the 'social/gramatical construction of the person as a unitary knowable identity' (1990:59). Embodiment, spatio-temporal continuity and shared interpretations of subject positions and storylines help this, but they argue finally that 'being a particular non-contradictory person within a consistent storyline is learned through textual and lived narratives' (1990:59).

While other authors in discursive psychology broadly accept the positioning taken up by Harre and his collaborators, they have moved variously away from a commitment to the ontology of speech-acts and

conversational analysis toward what Edley and Wetherell (1997) describe as a more Foucauldian 'top-down' approach. This *includes* a stronger emphasis on a largely missing power dimension which locates discourse in the midst of economic and political problematics.

Potter and Wetherell (1992), for instance, in their account of racism, suggest that racist discourse is not simply produced through discursive positionings available in particular narratives, but more importantly is reproductive of oppressive political and economic relations. They stress the need to combine a broadly Foucauldian understanding of discourse (which understands discourse as constitutive of particular identities which we take to be our own constructions) and a Marxist analysis of the reproduction of unequal economic relations. Broadly, they suggest that in a Foucauldian point of view

too much seems to be lost when the subjects of history are replaced with the rituals of power. One kind of essentialism seems to have been replaced by another. (1992:86)

Particularly, they argue that any satisfactory account of discourse must *move between* what they call the 'established' and 'constitutive' aspects of discourse. By the latter they mean exploring how social subjects are formed via discourse, and by the former how these discourses gain their plausibility 'in terms of what is already there' (1992:86) - particularly the historical configuration of the social landscape which always already contains material interests, alliances and directions of domination. This is broadly the trajectory that I seek to present for this study below.

Yet perhaps there is a third element in this exploration of accounts of identity which 'fits' between the 'established' and the 'constitutive'. A number of authors, drawing variably from a Freudian and Marxist tradition, address identity as in part produced and a consequence of ontological or

psychodynamic 'lack' or anxiety - whose flip side can be read as desire. A number of authors argue that anxiety/desire infuses our positioning in particular discursive orders.

Identity as id-entity - ontological defence forces

Knights and Willmott (1989) write that this predicament of anxiety or lack is a dominant human experience in contemporary western society and that this is fundamental to the reproduction of organizations. The broad question they ask relates to their positioning within debates surrounding the reproduction of capitalist work organizations. Broadly they explore how and why asymmetric power relations at work are reproduced.

In relation to anxiety, Knights and Willmott draw on, at different points in their writings, a number of differing conceptual notions to address this. Their earlier work (1985) understands anxiety as the result of the existential problem of 'world-openness' linked to Berger and Luckman's phenomenology (1967). They argue that our ontological precariousness forces subjects to act defensively to reduce the anxiety by pursuing 'identity-securing strategies of control' (1985:27). These have the unintended consequence of reproducing power relations. Knights and Willmott argue however that individualised and instrumental 'identity work' heightens rather than diminishes the experience of anxiety. Identities offer illusions of independence and lead away from what Knights and Willmott call 'fully interdependent social relations' (1985:27). This is broadly an emancipatory project which commends people's full engagement in political processes and not in politically neutralising 'alternative' meaning systems (1985:40).

Their later work (Willmott, 1989; Knights, 1989) combined some of these insights with the discussion of Foucault's genealogical works.

Particularly these authors are seeking to explain how identity is centrally implicated in the reproduction of exploitative organizations. They argue that disciplinary practices of work organizations provide ways of constituting one's self, which are broadly in the interests of managerial objectives. Through such practices

Individuals have been split off (through disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power knowledge strategies) from one another. This is experienced as a vulnerability to the judgements of 'significant others' and as a recurrent anxiety about whether external social evaluations will continue in a favourable direction (Knights and Willmott, 1989:549).

Thus anxiety, individuating practices and particular constructed identities are mutually implicated in the construction of both the 'individual' and the individual subject at work.

Moving back to a political agenda they add that in order to escape from the double bind of the contradictory desire for individual independence against a background of a fear of social isolation or rejection what is needed is a 'deconstructing of the solidity of self' (1989: 554). They have thus moved away from an emphasis on ontological insecurity per se to locating anxiety as produced in part by the technologies of modern power regimes. They argue that this draws on Foucault's analysis of such regimes which revises and elaborates more fully the missing 'subjective' aspects of work relations.

The problem of ontological insecurity, however, is also grounded to some extent in the conceptualisation of anxiety drawn from 'Contra' organization studies' Marxist roots, as theorised forcefully in the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School e.g. Fromm and Marcuse. Willmott

particularly (1989;1994) notes how capitalist social relations 'under-determine' the identity of the typical modern worker (1994:102). He or she is socially constituted as 'free' and sovereign and is 'subjugated by individualising pressures to 'make' something of him/herself' (1994:102); something that proves problematic given the erratic nature of business cycles. Our constitution by capitalism as 'free' sovereign workers extracts a heavy burden, Willmott argues, for it forces us to engage in a sometimes fruitless, largely conservative, search for security in the consumption of fetishised identities, rather than to explore the relational basis of identities. Thus, the argument is grounded on the assumption that 'identity' is historically and politically produced in part by capitalist relations the effect of which is enhanced by disciplinary processes. Identity in all respect then is historically and politically constituted and not an ontological given.

Identity as id-entity - psychic defence forces

I want to turn now to examine anxiety and identity from a psychodynamic perspective as exemplified in Hollway's work (1984;1989;1996; Hollway and Jefferson, 1996). The discussion here revolves not around the construction of worker identity, but gendered identity. Hollway's work offers a uniquely current approach to a psychodynamic reading of identity. It draws productively on Klein and Lacan's work yet positions this socially and politically through a Foucauldian understanding of discourse.

For Hollway anxiety is constituted psychodynamically, rather than through disciplinary mechanisms or the conditions of a capitalist labour market. While her approach draws various elements together to address the

construction of the subject, its underpinning argument is that it is our unconscious' history of desire/anxiety which pre-figures and conditions our insertion into particular discursive positionings. Particularly, anxiety is produced through our earliest learning about the world.

The absence or vulnerability of the infant's boundaries, the dependence on the breast (the first object from which the infant must attempt to separate) and the imperative to reduce anxiety, lead to defences which operate across the boundaries of self and other, notably projection, introjection, projective identification and idealization . . these defences all involve splitting, that is the splitting up of parts of the self, based on primitive experiences of what is good and bad in order to separate them from each other and protect the good on which the infant depends - or so it feels - for its survival (Hollway, 1996:29).

These early learning processes, particularly splitting and object identification propel, but do not determine, our insertion into, for instance, gendered discursive positionings. Hollway argues that these processes, which in their earliest manifestations are involved in constituting gender identity, provide the basis upon which an individual's biographical insertion into discourse is organised. Hollway argues that men, particularly, in attempting to distance themselves from vulnerable gendered identities, routinely and unconsciously split off unwanted aspects of themselves and project them through discourse onto an inferiorized 'other' - in most cases women. This provides the basis for Hollway's explanations of gendered divisions of labour and power relations.

Hollway's work employs Lacanian and Kleinian explanations of anxiety/ desire. For Lacan desire/anxiety is formed out of the separation in infancy from the mother and the simultaneous insertion into the 'imaginary' or symbolic world of language. It is through language that the anxiety and constant search for satisfaction from and desire for the m/other is articulated and language, infused with this history of desire, which constitutes the

unconscious. Conceptually, the crucial aspect in Hollway's work is the rejection of the essentialism of the Lacanian and Kleinian approaches and the reading of the psycho-dynamic through a Foucauldian understanding of discourse as historically and politically implicated in force relations. She argues that discourses provide historical and political sites through which sometimes repressed uncomfortable feelings of insecurity, weakness, powerlessness, are split off and located within the objectified 'Other' in discourse. However, it is a mark of the precariousness of such formations, and the precariousness of such identities, that they require this 'Other', to solidify such an identity. This object of a discourse, women or the managed, for instance, is not always complicit. The other, for instance, does not necessarily position itself as in need of security, strength, power as in paternalist management discourse. This potentially produces further anxiety and defensiveness.

Hollway also shows how our insertion into gendered positions, and I would suggest all discursive positionings, is mobile and changeable. Foucault argued for example that 'we must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable' (1990:100).

The resulting understanding of subjectivity, however, while drawn from these approaches, is not reducible to them. Hollway shows from research into heterosexual gender relations that men in their attempt to distance themselves from contradictory and unwanted feelings of vulnerability, particularly in close intimate relations with women, often split off and project these feelings through discourse onto women. Yet for this to 'work' it requires complementary positionings. Hollway argues that the

reproduction of gender difference and gendered power relations requires two people

whose historical positioning, and investments and powers this has inserted into subjectivity, complementing each other (1984:259).

Broadly the argument runs that subjectivity is a complex outcome of individual histories of insertion into discourse, and their engagement with currently available discourses. Such positionings are engaged by our attempts to defer and defend ourselves against potential anxiety and insecurity in the midst of the problematics of attempting to maintain, through discourse particular positionings, 'complicity' or favourable evaluations of ourselves by others, which stabilise particular identities (Jefferson, 1994). This is not then a conception of a choosing self-aware individual, but nevertheless some sense of choice is involved, albeit complex and unconscious (Hollway, 1984:23). Nor is this a conception that relies on a notion of the subject that has disappeared into discourse. It is an approach that attempts to put power-infused public discourses with embedded subject positions, such as that of the manager (which are variably socially and historically available), in the midst of the unique biographies of investments in other discourses found in sedimented individual subjectivity. The subject is then 'caught' between sedimented and current relations of power, and processes of splitting and projection which are engaged in the attempt to reduce unwanted anxiety and insecurity.

In sum, subjectivity is fundamentally relational and organised through stratified collections of inscribed (i.e. embodied) discursive positions which nevertheless require, to a variable extent, 'complementary' positionings by others, and thus are variably unstable and precarious. These 'identities/discursive positionings' are defended through psychic processes.

Political change in Hollway's account is read as produced by this instability. Feminism's challenge to male sex-drive and have/hold discourses, for instance, is understood as produced by the weakening of the investment in gender identities in these discourses. Two further points need to be put, firstly in relation to desire, and secondly in relation to patriarchal society.

There is perhaps some disagreement between Hollway and the collective author, Henriques et al (1984), of which she was a part, in relation to desire. While Hollway tends to read anxiety and desire as engaged in negatively protecting identities, Henriques et al (1984) stress that anxiety/desire is interdependent with and produced by discursive positionings.

Desire is not an energising process onto which specific content is grafted. . . cultural practices, forms and positions are not simply overlaid upon a pre-existing desire but actually help to produce the fixing and channelling of desires by virtue of their production of power-knowledge relations (1984:222-223).

They suggest then a three term correction to Foucault's power-knowledge couplet of power-desire-knowledge. Here desire is read not as some kind of motive force, but as unstable and productive in the way that Deleuze and Guattari suggest (in opposition to Lacan) above. While Henriques et al do not go as far as to privilege desire as a political force, they do move in this direction. 'We need to explore how discursive relations enter into the very production of desire in the first place' (1984:222). Thus desire is *produced* by discursive relations, and interdependent, rather than simply fuelling their reproduction.

In relation to the second point, Jefferson (1994) suggests that it is difficult in the midst of the framework presented above to get a sense of how the systemic reproduction of dominance of men over women generally, and in the case discussed below, of the gendered division of labour in

further and higher education institutions, is maintained. There is, he suggests, a tendency to read the investment of desire as the 'idiosyncratic personal histories of anxiety' (1994:24). Hollway's analysis needs to be placed within particular institutional and society contexts. Jefferson thus suggest that Connell's notion of 'gender regime' in relation to organizational/institutional setting and 'gender order', in relation to societal practices, be taken up.

In her most recent work Hollway has moved to link her writing on the development of 20th century management discourses (1991) - scientific management and human relations - with work on the psychodynamics of masculinities (1984, 1989). She argues (1996) that a psychodynamic approach is crucial to understanding the dynamics of managerial power, authority and socialisation. Particularly, Hollway argues that relations between men in organizations are not directly about power and control, but about the ability to rehearse and reproduce particular defensive masculinities.

Men to a greater or lesser extent project parts of themselves onto others of different categories in order to experience living a masculine ideal. (1996:29)

For Hollway these processes of defending particular masculine identities are deeply embedded in masculine attempts at mastery over nature, others and, particularly over self. Science, technology and management discourses are thus implicated in and productive of gender identity. In relation to technology, Hollway argues that

technology and masculinity derive their status from each other in a mutual process which depends on the feminine other, who stand as the antithesis of science and technology. She stands for nature (1996:31).

In relation to management discourses, Hollway argues that these are infused with gendered investments. Thus the relative salience of particular

discourses (scientific or human relations) depend upon their relations with masculine identities. Yet she also shows how conflicts between masculinities come to be articulated in management discourse. The masculine investment in management's control of labour processes through a scientific rationality, of the 'mind', inevitably conflicts with masculinities grounded in men's bodies that seek control over their own labour (see Collinson, 1992). Furthermore, Hollway argues that the strong interlinkages between a rational unemotional masculinity and scientific management means that human relations discourse, where managers are required to see themselves as sentimental beings, has been relatively unsuccessful as a means of reorienting forms of work regulation. Despite more than 50 years of investment, such discourse remains marginal to the dominant rationalisms of accounting and scientific management.

Identity as Id-entity - summary

As is apparent, Hollway's gendered-subject, whose subjectivity is bound up in the interlinkages between unconscious object relations and historically located discourses, is at odds with Knights' and Willmott's worker-subject for whom subjectivity is premised upon the 'under-determination' of the self in the midst of subjugating and subjectifying capitalist societies. While both might argue that subjectivity is culturally produced, Knights and Willmott prefer an ontological insecurity of social being, to one based on the introjections of infant relations. Recently Knights with co-author Kerfoot (1993, 1996) have suggested that tracing the origin of anxiety/desire is less important than how it is reinforced by management and other practices in organizations and workplaces (1996:81). They seem to suggest that the

search for origins draws attention away from analysis of the construction of gendered managerial subjectivity in actual organizational settings. Hollway's work and that of others who look to psychodynamics to found a critique of gendered social relations, needs to be read more as symbolically informing actual social relations. Hollway agrees with this to a significant extent, arguing that

it is important to theorise the difference between women doing actual jobs and 'woman' as other; that is as a series of defensive projections of masculine psyches (1996:40).

The issue is how relatively insecure masculine identities attempt to reproduce themselves through particular knowledges and practices. Yet despite this assertion, Hollway's psychodynamic analysis of management and masculinity (1996) has yet to receive the empirical 'treatment' found in her earlier work. While it opens up numerous potential lines of analysis, and its initial proposition - that power relations between men at work are based on protecting particular masculine identities - is potentially a productive way of addressing forms of organizational self-regulation, its exclusive adherence to an understanding of subjectivity as defensive investment against anxiety, downplays perhaps the seductive and desirous elements involved in the reproduction of power relations.

Yet it is not necessary to choose between these explanations (ontological insecurity, capitalist under-determination, psychodynamic insecurity). The broad argument is that each of these processes is engaged in forming human subjectivity as a dynamic, multi-layered biographically infused depth from which various 'I's can be spoken. Also subjectivity is not simply produced by new discourses. It is formed through the interdependence of discourses as they connect and overlap with biographically located gendered subjectivity. This forms a kind of grid upon

which the plausibility of new discourses depend. Broadly the argument here is, as Hall suggests, that 'identity is formed at the unstable point where the 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history' (quoted in Potter and Wetherell, 1992:78). These 'unspeakable' stories are in this approach the dynamics of biographically infused psychodynamic, ontological and individuated anxiety and the defences against it. This dynamic forms the grid through which social identities are variably taken up and articulated or challenged and rejected.

As might be expected there is much disagreement over the approach to subjectivity discussed above particularly in relation to the relative importance to be attributed to the psychic interior. The next part of this chapter addresses this, drawing on materials from the blossoming debate over identity in sociology and politics. I then outline an approach drawn from both these strands of debate which forms the conceptual framework for this study.

Identity as thick or thin pleats in the social terrain?

There has been, in the wider field of recent sociology, cultural and political studies, a veritable explosion of debate around the concept of identity brought on in part by postmodernism critique of the self-aware subject and the shift from mass-movement to nomadic 'identity politics' (e.g. Hall and du Gay, 1996; Rutherford, 1990; Lash and Friedman, 1992; Giddens, 1991). It is not my intention to review that literature here; more to illustrate a particular crucial element of the debate relevant to the topic at hand with reference to authors whose work illustrates the tension around this element.

At the core of social science theorising is the debate over how to address human agency in the context of structuring processes. Discussion of identity is constantly returning to this issue (Giddens, 1979, 1984) . I want to illustrate this with reference to recent papers by Stuart Hall and Nikolas Rose whom I see as exemplars of the tensions between a post-marxist and Foucauldian reading of identity/ subjectivity which is at the centre of debates on agency. A few quick pointers to the debate to begin with, however. Firstly, as a rule of thumb, conceptual discussion which takes up the term 'identity', have a tendency to assume an agentic subject. Discussion that draws on the term 'subjectivity' tends to understand the subject as inscribed by historical and political processes. Secondly, theorists in this field are less interested in directly challenging the approaches of others, and more in distinguishing their work from others through the development of questions that draw attention away from other approaches. For example, Rose's genealogical approach seeks to address processes of subjectification which he argues 'requires only a minimal, weak or thin conception of the human material on which history writes' (1996:142). Following Foucault he thus rejects any approach that might assume some 'interiority'.

The human being, here, is not an entity with a history, but the target of a multiplicity of types of work, more like a latitude and longitude at which different vectors of different speeds intersect. The interiority which some may feel compelled to diagnose is not that of a psychological system, but of a discontinuous surface, a kind of infolding of exteriority. (1996:143)

The fundamental point for Rose and other Governmentalists² is that the way in which human beings give meaning to experience has its own history. For Deleuze 'thought thinks its own history' (1988:119). More

² This term (used by Hall, 1996) refers to a number of authors who draw Foucault's term 'Governmentality' in their work (Rose, Miller, Burchell, Gordon, Owen, Dean). It also

specifically, as Rose argues, giving meaning to experience involves practical, technical devices of meaning production. This include grids of visualisation, vocabularies, norms and systems of judgement. For Rose these produce experience; experience does not produce them (1996:130). Such devices, with their embedded power relations, can be described as making up the means by which 'human beings come to relate to themselves and others as subjects of a certain type' (1996:130-131). Rose argues that if a history of these heterogeneous processes and practices were to be written, then it might focus on four areas:

- problematisations (the mundane practices that make problems intelligible and manageable),
- technologies (those hybrid assemblages of knowledge, institutions, persons and systems of judgement, buildings and spaces which allow the 'individual to conduct their own conduct'),
- authorities (those that claim authority in particular areas), teleologies (what forms of life are the aims of particular practices) and
- strategies (how these areas are combined to produce particular kinds of populations). (1996)

This, for Rose, forms the analytical device by which subjectivity might be addressed. The key point is that subjectivity is understood as made up of ensembles of practices that produce particular relations to 'the self'. The 'self' is understood as a 'regulatory ideal' (1996:129). There are of course, as there has been throughout, obvious links with Mead's construction of the acting 'I' and its relation to the socially inscribed 'me'.

Stuart Hall meanwhile opposes such an approach, arguing that it fails to address processes of identification and resistance. He admits that Foucault's work had gone further than any other in showing how power operates through discursive practices, self regulation and technologies of the self but suggests that what transpires is an account of the subject as

refers to the moderated computer-based discussion list formerly known as the 'governmentality list and now entitled the 'History of the Present list'.

'entirely self-policing whose smooth insertion into the subject positions of discourses is largely untroubled' (1996:11). What is required, he argues, is a

theory of what the mechanisms are by which individuals as subjects identify (or do not identify) with the 'positions' to which they are summoned; as well as how they fashion, style, produce and 'perform' these positionings (1996:14)

Such a theory requires an account of the processes of articulation, understood as the contingent and non-intentional suturing of the unconscious and discursive positionings, an approach that mirrors Hollway's discussed above. Hall asserts that Foucault's 'flat' or 'thin' ontology, his rejection of interiority or the unconscious, leaves little space upon which to address this relation without recourse to some notion of intentionality. He further suggests that Foucault's latter works, dealing with the relations we have with ourselves, were moving toward a theorisation of psychic mechanisms. In short, Hall assumes human materials to be relatively 'thick' (as opposed to Rose's reading of human material as 'thin'). His argument concerning identity constructs a space for the extra-discursive. His approach is aimed at exploring how, as noted above, subjects identify (or do not identify) with the various subject positions (1996:14).

As will be apparent, Rose's trajectory is rather different. Again he is concerned not with the person, self-identity or individuality but with the 'diversity of strategies and tactics of subjectification'. In other words he distinguishes his work from that concerned with identity or processes of identification (e.g. Hall, 1996; Stevens, 1996; Casey, 1995; Burkitt, 1991). He rejects the assumption of some form of interiority whether that be psychic or ontological. Subjective interiority, who we think, feel, imagine and say we are, is imagined as a discontinuous surface made up of numerous folds or 'pleats'. Rose here draws on the Deleuzian metaphor of subjectivity

[developed from his research into the Baroque (1992), and account of Foucault's work (1988)] . Deleuze argued that

The subject is the individual who through practice and discipline has become the site of the bent force, that is the folding inside of the outside. (Deleuze, 1992:115)

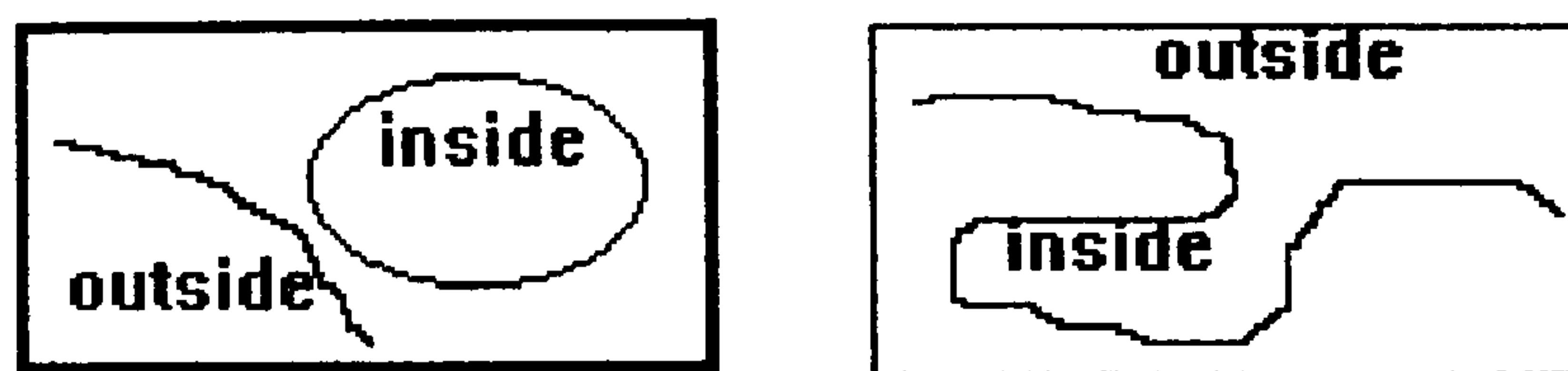


Figure 1 [adapted from Curt, 1994]

The analytic of the fold provides a way of visualising the construction of a self as the development of a relation to self using material previously of the outside. For Rose

folds incorporate without totalizing, internalize without unifying, collect together discontinuously in the form of pleats making surfaces, spaces, flows and relations. (1996:143)

Rose asserts that the discontinuity and multiplicity of such infoldings are partially stabilised through the practices and vocabularies of biographical story-telling and associated 'arts of memory'. Yet there are limits to this metaphor of the fold. Rose argues, in ways that mimic actor network theory discussed above, that it is important to go beyond the 'body'. Human being is dispersed. It is 'emplaced, enacted through a regime of devices, gazes, techniques which extend beyond the limits of the flesh and into spaces, assemblages' (1996:143). For example, Rose suggests that regimes of passion,

are not merely affective folds in the soul, but enacted in certain secluded and valorized spaces, through sensualised equipment of beds, drapes and silks, routines of dressing and undressing, aestheticized devices for providing music and light, regimes of partitioning of time and so forth. (1996:143)

However in this paper (unlike some of his earlier work, 1989) Rose's argument seems to admit some formation of agency (although I sense some irritation in the text at having to address this). Certain phrasings in the piece, while working to shake off suggestions of determinism, at the same time allow a formulation of resistance, intentionality and agency (It is this form which is crucial to the analytical framework outlined below). Again subjectivity for Rose, drawing on Foucault, is found in the multiplicity of discontinuous folds that form particular relations to the self. Rose argues that from this stand point it is 'no longer surprising that human beings often find themselves resisting the forms of personhood that they are enjoined to adopt' (1996:140). This requires no theory of agency, he claims, as we simply 'live lives in a constant movement across different practices that address us in different ways' (1996:140). He offers a pertinent organizational example here. Techniques of relating to oneself as a subject of unique capacities runs up against the practices of relating to oneself as a target of discipline, duty and docility (1996:141). It is conflict between these ways of being oneself that produce contestation and opposition and political struggle. However Rose then claims, in a sharp shift in sentence forms which make the human being the subject of an active rather than passive phrase (which dominate the piece), that

in any one site or locale, *humans turn programmes* intended for one end to the service of others. (1996:141, my emphasis)

With this Rose suggests a 'theory' of agency that assumes human beings have the *ability* to translate the practices or part practices of one locale/site and apply these to others. This, it seems to me, is more than a 'theory' of conflict between regimes of practices. The emphasis on the ability to turn programmes from one set of interests to another also allows some sense of the existential world-openness as suggested by Knights and

Willmott. There are multiple points of ontological insecurity in the gaps between the techniques of being one-self, in other words. It might also be possible to read Hollway's non-reductionist psychodynamic object relations as 'firmly starched pleats' or folds of practices of relating to oneself. Yet most important for the discussion below is the assumption that conflict, resistance and opposition, and their resultant alliances, is heterogeneous and ubiquitous. One reading of this might be that this site of conflict opens up the possibilities and problematics of creativity and innovation where one set of discursive practices migrates to fields where such practices were absent. In general Rose's statements suggest that 'resistance' is pervasive, and that there is a constant interplay of tactical and strategic practices and knowledges which form variable alliances with each other. This interplay in turn produces and reproduces dominating and subordinating forms of subjectification (of relating to oneself). This approach to subjectivity, and Rose's reference to the sites and locales where humans turn programmes from one set of interests to another, links with the work of Fiske (1993). Fiske's approach forms the basis of the analytical framework taken up below to address the problematics of the development of the manager in further and higher education. But before addressing this I want to briefly summarise the above.

Summary: Agency, resistance and ways of living

Governmentalists (e.g. Rose, Miller, Burchell, Owen, Dean), according to post-marxist scholars such as Hall and Clarke, largely fail to address the problems of agency and resistance. By reading human material as 'thin', human subjects appear to slide across the complex texture of social

life briefly moving in and out of the tiny folds and markings that allow 'I's' to become 'me's'. This resonates with assumptions of periodic postmodernism where we have supposedly entered a sign-saturated postmodern world. Post-marxists, however, read human material as endowed with greater sedimented depth. Human material is living history and might also be said to have psychodynamic depth. Human material is assumed to be rather more immobile and recalcitrant. Taking up a new relation to the self, constructing identities or learning to be a particular kind of subject, requires time [Deleuze suggested that time is subjectivity (1992)] and is a relatively slow and expensive process. In other words, forming a new 'me', that is giving 'depth' to the socially situated and spoken 'I' made from discursive 'blocks', requires effort, repetition and 'care' before its enfleshment, to use McLaren's term (1994), can be assumed, if at all. According to the post-marxists (e.g. Hall, Harvey, Clarke) governmentalist overstate the ease by which we become 'subjects-of ' a particular discourse. For the most part the relative 'depth' (i.e. the stratified patterning of previous ways of being/doing) more often than not positions us as 'subject-to' discourse and therefore relatively resistant.

The Governmentalists (e.g. Rose, Miller, Burchell, Gordon and Owen) meanwhile reject part of this. They might suggest that the post-marxist hankers after a unified subject that is just not available. 'Human beings are not the unified subjects of some coherent regime of domination that produces persons in the form in which it dreams,' Rose fires back at his critics (1996:140).

On the contrary they live their lives in constant movement across different practices that address them in different ways. . . contestation, conflict and opposition in practices which conduct the conduct of persons is no surprise and requires no appeal to the particular qualities of human agency (1996:141)

But Rose does assume some minimal 'theory' of agency where actual 'human being' exceeds systems of thought. Rose's work admits, perhaps reluctantly, that 'human being' involves turning programmes intended for one end to the service of others. It involves inventing, refining and stabilising particular practices. It involves occupying spaces, challenging dominant practices, and potentially founding new alliances and power-blocs. While Rose rejects romantic agency, the agency he accepts is more technical and pragmatic. When 'forced', as Hall predicted, he takes up a limited explanation of human intentionality.

For his part, Hall accepts that 'selves' are potentially regulatory ideals, but that this does not diminish the potency of political and psychodynamic struggle over our insertion into particular subject positions.

***Identities and subjectivities in organizational contexts -
Reading the tensions vertically and horizontally as locales and
stations***

Fiske's work is intertextually linked to the approach to subjectivity suggested by both Rose and Hall. His concepts of 'stations' and 'locales' could be said to mirror Rose's discussion of technologies. However, for Fiske, these terms provide a means of retaining elements of Hall's debate over resistance and the 'vertical' relation of power alongside Rose's discussion of a 'flat' ontology of the subject. Fiske's form of analysis thus provides a powerful means of using the insights of the debate above concerning the construction of the subject, and at the same time maintaining

some of the tensions between the approaches discussed and represented by Rose and Hall.

For example, in relation to Hall's approach, Fiske agrees that

the people versus the power-bloc: this rather than class against class, is the central line of contradiction around which the terrain of culture is polarised (Hall, 1981 cited in Fiske, 1993 : 9).

For Fiske the 'power bloc' is not a class or a state but a precarious alliance of dominant interests articulated through various imperialising knowledges and practices. The 'people' meanwhile maintain localised and tactical forms of knowledge practices which themselves provide particular valued identities and dispositions. These sets of dispositions, identities and relations carry within them various social interests. Thus while dominant social alliances could be said to exist in what Potter and Wetherell describe as established economic and social resources, the social interests themselves are dispersed through mobile forms of knowledges and practices which have the effect of attempting to extend or maintain such strategic interests.

A crucial element in Fiske's conceptualisation, and what further distinguishes his work from that of Rose, is the qualitative distinction he makes between the ordering practices/forms of subjectification produced by the 'power bloc' and the 'people'. Broadly he overlays a Gramscian or de Certeauian understanding of tactical politics (1986), on a Foucauldian understanding of how modern power operates, thus taking up the wide criticism of Foucault's work that it fails to effectively deal with resistance. The result is an understanding of identity as a tension between *individuated* identities produced by top-down processes of assessment, evaluation and control, and 'horizontal' or 'bottom-up' *individualised* identities, embedded in localised relations and practices. To provide some analytical purchase on

power bloc - people relationality, Fiske introduces the terms 'station' and 'locale'. Locales are established and maintained at the 'grass roots' by those concerned about their immediate conditions of life. They are made up of 'hard-won' individualised identities. Stations, in contrast, are imposed from above in an effort to incorporate or colonise 'the people' into a system designed by the power bloc. These exhibit individuated identities. As Fiske puts it

Constructing a locale involves confronting, resisting or evading imperialization, for imperializing power wishes to control the members of its own society as strongly as it wishes to control the physical world (1993: 12).

Those who seek to establish and maintain stations, Fiske continues,

must control the places where its people live, the behaviours by which they live and the consciousness by which they make sense of their identities and experiences. It attempts to stop people producing their own locales by providing them with stations (1993:12).

In opposition to the top-down power of 'power-blocs', the subordinated formations of 'the people' comprise and articulate localised knowledges and practices, as contrasted with the imperialising ambitions of the power bloc. A *station*, is then for Fiske,

both a physical place where the *social order is imposed upon the individual* and the social positioning of that individual in the system of social relations (1993:12, my emphasis).

For example the position of *the manager*, in work organizations, has been established through a succession of expert knowledges underpinned by a separation of ownership of property and control of resources. These knowledges position managers as experts at controlling organizations and, in particular, the profitable organization of human labour. In UK colleges and universities, the presence and legitimacy of managerial knowledges have

been boosted by the introduction of particular funding formulas, performance measures and auditing practices. Such practices (e.g. the research assessment exercise) seek to station academics, by individuating them in relation to their work. The strategic aim is to enjoin them to constantly assess and evaluate themselves, using particular norms and measurements, as productive individual researchers responsible for their own productivity. These measures simultaneously evaluate the productive organization of academic labour within departments and across institutions. They thereby increase pressures upon senior post-holders to assess and improve performance according to the criteria established by these measures and their associated league tables of performance. In this way, institutions, departments and individuals are stationed as objects of power-bloc knowledges (e.g. measures of research output and assessment of teaching quality) that increasingly become a major focus of interaction and mutual surveillance within and between institutions (Thomas, 1994; Willmott, 1995).

However, each 'individuated subject', each stationed department and its 'manager', is also crucially embedded in localised cultures of practices which produce other relations to the self, that is individualised identities, which variably resist and subvert managerially individuated identities - stationings.

From a Fiskean perspective, those who 'lubricate the mechanisms' of subordination - such as top-down performance measures - are understood to be participants in the reproduction of a 'power-bloc'. 'The people', in contrast, are distinguished by 'their comparative lack of privilege, [and] their comparative deprivation of economic and political resources' (Fiske, 1993 : 11). That said, the conflict between such formations means that the imperialising ambitions of a particular power bloc are constantly falling short

of their objectives as they are variably resisted and challenged by the ubiquitous micro-organizing of locales. Also the same 'individuals', on different occasions, act to support or challenge a power-bloc's legitimacy and extension. There are then multiple dimensions of polarization between 'the people' and 'the power-bloc'. Fiske offers the following example.

A blue-collar white man may form a social allegiance with Black men who share his skills and conditions of subordination at work, but may, in his leisure, ally himself with other white men in relations of social dominance. The first allegiance would be with the social force of the people, the second with that of the power-bloc. (1993:11)

Thus, the recurrent struggles between 'power-blocs' and 'the people' occur within groups but *particularly* 'within' people whose allegiances shift depending upon their positioning within diverse sets of discursive social relations. In other words, we all move in and out of relations which maintain and extend the power bloc into and across our lives and the lives of others. For example, an analysis of the construction of 'my' academic identity would explore the constant movement between strategic technologies which position one as a research student/academic worker, and the tactical localised practices of academic collegiality.

The upshot of shifting allegiances is that there is no guarantee that the imperialising knowledges and techniques will overturn existing localised practices and identities. In the case of performance measures within universities and colleges, there is no certainty that the *spirit* of procedures will be observed, although there may be a dramaturgical management of appearances to simulate conformity. For example, in one of the universities, discussed in a later section of this paper, the common 'story' about top-down appraisal processes was that it became a chat between colleagues over a cup of coffee. The practices of the locale filled the space made available by the imposition of appraisal. In this, we can see the crucial difference between

imperialising and localising knowledges and practices. The *station* and the *locale* are different ways of representing and enacting the same physical and social space (see fig. 2). Whereas the imperializing knowledges and practices of the power bloc are strategic in their colonising intent, the concern of localizing power is not to expand its terrain but, rather, to strengthen its (tactical) control and defences over the immediate conditions of life. The locale might appear in these descriptions as essentially defensive in orientation. Yet it seems likely that during particular periods and moments the practices and discourses of the locale could be taken up to serve the imperialising processes of an ascending power bloc. It may be that the practices of a locale replace those of the stations of the older power bloc. As Fiske notes

Localising power is not fixed in its relations with imperialising, top-down power: indeed, it is impossible to specify in advance what forms these relations will take. (1993:81)

Fiske's conceptual framework which puts identity at the centre of links between broad socio-economic alliance, and the micro-politics of locales, forms the basis of my exploration of approach to the constitution of the manager in further and higher education (see fig. 2, appendix 3, for graphical presentation of framework).

It is worth stressing here that the 'station' and 'locale' *do not* ontologically exist. What exists are various imperialising and localising knowledges and practices which produce variably individuated or individualised identities and relations. The notion of station and locale are sensitising devices, or an analytic (Curt, 1994), which allow particular readings of empirical material. Ontologically the priority is, as with Law's work, to address the effectivity of qualitatively different ordering practices, within the broad epistemological commitment to a postdualist social science.

Where Fiske's approach differs from Law's, is that by drawing in Gramsci's notion of the power-bloc, as a precarious alliance of socially dominant interests, a sense of a broader picture of advantage and disadvantage can be drawn. More importantly there is a political commitment embedded in Fiske's approach. The tensions between stations and locales, produced by historically contingent socially dominant imperialising practices and socially marginalised, defensive or subordinate localising practices restores to a postdualist approach a sense of what Harvey described as the ability to distinguish between 'significant and insignificant differences' (1993:63). However, this aside, the key point is that the approach is not attempting to reintroduce dualistic entities, e.g. the individual and the organization, but to create an analytical device that maintains the tensions between differing modes of ordering. The aim is to maintain a commitment to the potentiality of the tension of dualistic analysis without recourse to dualisms. The critical difference is not to be party to the transformation of heuristic devices (stations/locales) into ontological realities. As Knights argues,

what has come to be defined as the problem of dualism occurs when polarised distinctions are combined with an episteme of representation, where in what is distinguished as 'this' and 'that' is reified as an ontological reality. (1997:4)

While the ontological reality is comprised of differing ordering practices each with a different *strategic intent*, the analytics of station and locale are simply ways of reading these knowledges and practices empirically. Yet while the contention is that imperialising practices, such as those of management, seek to continuously extend control over space and time, and localised practices are concerned primarily with control which provides a relatively secure and pleasurable existence (1993:78), Fiske is *not* assuming that these forms of power are in strict opposition or that they maintain their control. Fiske suggests that

workers are constantly developing practices which enlarge their terrain of control within the work place. These are not always resistant or disruptive, but may at times be complicit with the aims of the corporation, and may make its operations more efficient. Localising power is not fixed in its relations with imperialising power (1993:81).

Equally, Fiske is not assuming opposition between actual people and actual corporations or organizations. While he suggests that 'people are agents' (1993:82), the emphasis is on the variable histories of identities, competencies and interests that are brought to disciplinary systems. These histories provide, for Fiske, the tactics by which disciplinary practices are sometimes inverted, disrupted, opposed and evaded. They provide the 'sand that [people] put into the gearbox (of disciplinary practices) from outside' (1993:82). In common with Rose, Fiske assumes no centred conscious human being, but politically potent ways of being and relating to oneself and others, with differing strategic objectives (see figure 2).

Embodying stations and locales - some additions

The analytical framework just presented provides, in my view, the best possible vehicle for elaborating the problematic terrain of the 'development' of the postcompulsory education manager, given the ontological priorities and epistemological commitments taken up so far. I now want to briefly draw it together with the body topography analytic discussed in Chapter 2. This then forms the conceptual framework upon which to engage the empirical material in the next two sections.

Fiske argues that these two concepts, 'locale' and 'station' provide a way of incorporating aspects of social experience which are frequently separated: the interior elements of consciousness, physical dimensions of bodies and socio-political relations (1993:17). For Fiske the body

fundamental to the reproduction of both imperialising and localising forms of power.

Social agency, both of the power-bloc and the people, is put to work on the body, for the body is the primary site of social experience. It is where social life is turned into lived experience. (1993:57)

And for Fiske,

the change in the regime of power must occur at all levels, and finally, must occur at the most micro level, that of the body (1993:57)

Yet Fiske's account of the body lacks a means of discussing this 'micro level', this affective, sensuous, desirous dimension. For this reason I want to draw in the 'surface' and 'depth' dimensions developed in Chapter 2.

To reiterate, such terms as station and locale, and depth and surface do not describe the ontological reality, but are terms through which empirical material can be organised. Similarly, the spatial, physical and verbal aspects (Halford et al, 1997) of 'surface' outlined in the previous chapter are ways of discussing those knowledges and practices which construct and reconstruct the body in social relations. Similarly the notion of desire is a way of discussing unstable bodily energy and its relation to knowledges and practices. The two dimensions of body topography are used here to complement and extend Fiske's notions of 'station' and 'locale'. I shall therefore, at various points in the narrative below, draw on 'surface' and 'depth' as dimensions of 'locales' and 'stations'. The addition to Fiske's approach is to read body depth as dynamic and capable of creating new patternings, not simply as inscribed and ordered by the patternings of locales and stations. 'Desire', as the previous chapter argues is mobile and capable of creating new patternings which make up subjectivity - ways of being a self. Again there is no determined relation between localising and imperialising

forms, and 'desire' is engaged in maintaining both locales and extending stations. As noted, the difference between these is that the locale is a product of the subordinate social formation which is typically held defensively and tactically against the stationing power of the dominant which is applied strategically. Thus the managerial body is likely to move through and embody various locales and stations. The spatiality of the desk, the physicality of the suit and the team briefing can be read as stations, for example. Likewise the physicality of the lunchtime 'pint' (Watson, 1994), the different spatiality of the pre and post meeting discussions, even the training event (see chapter eight below), are sites where potential new orderings, different ways of embodying the manager, and the investment in other bodies and knowledges can be produced. The managerial station may give way as the other practices and knowledges challenge the spatial, physical, verbal and desiring aspects of the managerial station. To take one example discussed below, the new female, and feminist, Pro-Vice Chancellor at University 'A' brought 'sticky buns' to university committee meetings when she started work. The dominant knowledges and practices of the university's senior post-holder meetings, which produce the 'station', had, prior to this, tended to operate through a series of differences or separations: between men and women, between food work and knowledge work, and between clean and dirty (Lander, 1996). The 'sticky buns' challenged these oppositions and forced the introduction of different body practices into the meeting space - the desiring, eating and consuming body. This challenged, in a seemingly small but potent way, the practices of the existing stations of the university, which were understood by the Pro Vice-Chancellor and other senior women post-holders to work against women. The 'sticky buns' came to symbolise among a group of senior women administrators the beginning of

a concerted challenge to the established station. This involved attempts to introduce more 'women-friendly' practices into the masculine orderings of university meetings (discussed below: Chapter 9). As one of the Pro Vice-Chancellor's supporters said later:

She has a very open way of chairing meetings and a very different kind of way. The first meeting she had she ordered sticky buns and things like that, you know ha ha, like people were just taken aback, didn't know what to do with it.

The 'sticky buns' are part of a challenge to the way the university is/was managed and as Fiske notes any change to the regime of power requires ultimately the reconstruction of the intimate micro practices of the body in these sites. 'Sticky buns' introduce different spatial, physical, verbal and desiring micro-practices into these managerial sites, and thus challenge the existing embodied practices and knowledges of the managerial station.

Section 2. Speaking Politically, historically and of literatures

Section Introduction

The previous section as a whole marks out the ontological priorities and epistemological assumptions that underpin this study. The previous chapter argues that the analytical framework suggested by Fiske (1993) provides an invigorating means of marshalling elements into a form through which the discussion around the construction of the manager in further and higher education might be addressed. This section now turns to both the literature and substantive area of further and higher education, and to more pragmatic methodological issues - that is, how such a broad methodology framework might be translated into actual methods for investigating and analysing the working lives of 'managers' in FHE. In brief, Chapter 4 discusses the critical literatures of further and higher education. Chapter 5 discusses research methods and mode of analysis given this methodological approach. Chapter 6, as part of the closer move to the 'field' of further and higher education, outlines some of the key changes to the regulatory, legislative, financial aspects of further and higher education using the analytical framework advanced here.

Chapter 4. Making Sense of Making Managers; a Review of the Critical Further and Higher Education Management literature

Introduction

The previous chapter argues for a conceptual framework based on broadly post-structural analysis as an explanatory vehicle for analysis of the construction of the manager in further and higher education. This chapter discusses and reviews the major conceptual frameworks adopted by recent authors in their accounts of the reconstruction of FHE. It concludes by arguing that the framework suggested above both develops and maintains critical aspects of these approaches.

In broad terms, there is a significant divide in the further and higher education literature between works that seek to 'help' FHE managers better manage difficult problems and situations, and those studies that seek to either explain, challenge or critically illuminate the problems, situations and managerial/administrative response to these. As with organization studies, these two literatures can be read as 'normal' and 'contra' approaches. The 'normal' literature relating to the work and organization tends to be engaged in detailing and providing prescriptive accounts for the 'development' of managers in further and higher education. It tends to draw conceptually from contingency or systems theories of organization, or economic theories of organizational behaviour (Davies, 1989; Middlehurst, 1993, 1995, 1997; Gray and Hoy, 1989; Thody, 1989; Warner and Crosthwaite, 1995; Schuller, 1995; Brodie and Partington, 1992; Burton, 1994; Gorringer et al, 1994). The 'contra' literature is engaged in a broad process of exploration and critique of the social processes that constitute the problematics of the changing

conditions of further and higher education. As is clear from the previous chapters, it is this literature that this thesis addresses. In this review, I want to dissect the critical literature on further and higher education, particularly that relating to managerial work and organizational issues, but also drawing examples from the former 'normal' literature to highlight the contested nature of the debate over the changing character of work in further and higher education. Following this review, I draw out the strengths of the Fiskean framework suggested in the previous chapter in relation to approaches taken by other writers in the critical tradition discussed here. I want to begin with an account of the small critical literature on work, organization and management in further education and then move to a review of the critical higher education literature.

Approaching Further Education - critically

Hughes et al in a review of the FE literature suggests that

there has been relatively little critical analysis of policy and practices within further education, in the sense of trying to explain and understand these experiences from outside (1996:13).

They suggest that the mainstream or 'insider' literature tends to be involved in either describing, or arguing in favour of particular policies or practices. These works tend to adopt open system theory assumptions in their account of the sector. Canter and Roberts' (1986; Canter et al, 1995) series of texts on further education are perhaps the best examples here (others include Whyte, 1994; Fook, 1994; Hall, 1994; Lawrence, 1994; Drodge and Neville, 1996; Todd, 1995; Smith et al, 1995; Gorringer and Togood, 1994; Burton, 1994). Despite the subtitle to Canter and Roberts' 1986 edition '*Further Education Today - A Critical Review*', the book is more

a chronicle of events related to further education. It positions colleges in a changing system funded by the state but administered by local authorities. Such assumptions of a 'system' obscure, however, other forms of analysis. Ainley and Bailey (1997) suggest that Canter and his co-authors give

a misleading impression that the system is in fact systematic. This is certainly not how it is experienced by many of the students, teachers and managers working within it' (1997:6)

There is little attempt in the Canter and Roberts publications to explore, as Hughes et al suggest, the events and relationships that surround FE in a broader explanatory framework. For example, in the final chapter of their 1986 text the authors seem unwilling to ask why a 'more stringent climate' was currently being applied to further education, and why 'national planning has increasingly become the order of the day' - in the form of the National Advisory Body (NAB) (1986:254). Equally they are unwilling to address some of the gendered assumptions present in their discussion. They point out that there had been at the time of writing 'a small flood of new appointments at director and deputy director level (of polytechnics)'. They suggest that 'this new generation of *relatively young men* will undoubtedly make an impact during the next decade' (1986:255, my emphasis). On the last page of the text they note the 'very slow progress being made to . . . entice more women and girls into further education' (1986:258). They then applaud the former Further Education Unit's initiative to examine the role of women at all levels in FE (1986:258-259). Far from being a critical review, the text is simply a reportage of events that fit a broadly functionalist and systems-based understanding of further education. There is little sense, for example, that the text might be reproducing unreflectively the gendered character of FE, or that FE is more than simply an administrative system, but a social terrain where relations of power that reproduce social effects

such as gender are worked out. The 1995 text continues this tradition, but seems even less willing to address the profound changes in the sector from within an adequate explanatory framework, to the point where the authors unreflectively draw on the commercial vocabulary which has swept through the sector to introduce their account of the management of the further education colleges.

Further education colleges have become increasingly complex institutions to manage. In terms of 'product lines', the largest of them resemble the variety offered by a medium-sized supermarket, but one which produces, markets, finances and tests its own products. Among the smallest, however, are sixth-form colleges which may run a relatively narrow range of courses for mainly full-time students and would probably reject any such comparison with commercial or industrial management models. (1995:96)

There is, however, a small critical further education literature which in the last few years has attempted to explain and critically investigate issues surrounding the reconstruction of the sector. It addresses the conflict between managerial and professional cultures in further education colleges, the gender, ethnicity and class axes embedded in FE colleges and the increased commodification and control of the sector by the 'managerial' or 'contract' State. Some of this can be linked to work undertaken either by the major FE academic staff union, National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE), or by academics with strong union affiliations. Of course it is no surprise that the expanding 'normal' science literature tends to be written or published by Government Departments and Agencies, particularly the Further Education Development Agency (Brownlow, 1997; McNay, 1988), or by senior college post-holders (Frain, 1992; Burton, 1994; Gorringe and Toogood, 1994, Clark, 1996,). This literature generally aims to provide examples of management practice and advice on critical issues across the sector. For example, it addresses the application of

strategic management, marketing, quality, cost saving and human resource management practices in further education colleges.

The critical literature meanwhile aims to position such practices within a broad account of the changing nature of the FE sector and also to support resistance to particular practices. The key issue, however, has been to draw up accounts of the shift from a further education imbued with the ethos of an educational public service to one engaged in market-orientated business operations. In general terms the texts are informed by conceptual frameworks drawn mainly from sociology, particularly labour process theory. But also a small number of works draw on feminist and poststructuralist literatures. In this review I shall identify each study's conceptual basis, its analysis of the changing character of work in further education and its understanding of the construction of the manager across the sector.

Producing further education as commodified and controlled

At odds with the dominant managerialist literature produced by senior post-holders in further education (Gorringe and Toogood, 1994; Bradley, 1996; Flink and Austin, 1994; Drodge and Cooper, 1997; Todd 1995; Burton, 1994; Lawrence, 1994; Harper, 1996) Frank Reeves, deputy principal at Bilston Community College in Wolverhampton , offers a broadly Marxist critique of the reconstruction of FE (1995). While he locates this as an outcome of the processes of modernity (using Giddens' discussion (1990) as a guide), he also draws on elements of Labour Process Theory (Thompson, 1983), particularly, Braverman's account of Taylorism and elements of the fordist/post-fordist debate. Through these conceptual devices Reeves

provides a spirited attack on the changed legislative, funding, regulatory, curriculum and auditing process reorganizing further education.

While Reeves leaves open the question of whether these changes should be attributed to a more general 'pattern of modernity' or are the 'practical manifestations of the ideological quirks of a right-of-centre party in power for 15 years' (1995:94), he nevertheless challenges the reconstruction on three main grounds. Firstly, the narrow, nationalised utilitarianism of the new FE which he sees as being at the expense of a broad educational programme relevant to the specifics of the local communities in which colleges operate. Secondly, and relatedly, the intensified commodification and degradation of teaching and learning in further education induced by new organizational practices, funding structures and qualification frameworks. In relation to this Reeves argues that colleges have been subject to both fordist and post-fordist processes. They have been forced to become 'knowledge factories' where 'student carcasses have to be kept moving along the line' (1995:79), but also post-fordist knowledge retail outfits (1995:.83-91). Teachers, in this reading come to be either knowledge process workers or knowledge 'shop assistants'. In relation to the knowledge factory Reeves notes that

the individual senior professional lecturer with an exclusive curriculum expertise, will disappear to be replaced by a depersonalised system for curriculum delivery (1995:40).

Thirdly, and again relatedly, the rationalization of the college as an organization - through the adoption of what Giddens calls 'expert' systems' - leads to the reconstruction of the senior professional as a 'manager'.

The model of the business organization replaces collegiate ideals and transforms former professionals into managers and workers. (1995:34)

These three aspects, Reeves argues, lead to an increased alienation of teachers and students from their labours and colleges and from their communities as the traditional community based further education is consumed by rationalising and modernising processes.

Further education has chosen to draw its inspiration from the tedium of the work routine. It is easier to explain this economically motivated, industrially driven aberration than it is to forgive its educationally destructive consequences, particularly its obliviousness to all aspects of creative teaching and instruction. With greater professional and community control of education, such a costly exercise might have been avoided. (1995:103)

In a similar, but much more explicit Labour Process vein, is the work of Randle and Brady (1997) and Longhurst (1996). The core thesis of the latter is that the introduction of the unitised learning activity based funding methodology, introduced by the State via the FEFCE, and the simultaneous 'independence' of colleges on April 1 1993 has transformed further education into a commodity. This Longhurst argues means that

a complete inversion of the aim of colleges has occurred . . . the new system means that the dominant preoccupation of college senior management must be to maximise income and minimise costs. (1996:55)

The funding methodology, which directly links teaching work to college income, means that its exchange value comes to dominate its use value which, according to Longhurst, is the historical basis of funding further education. While these claims are difficult to support empirically given the diversity of the sector's provision and the funding formulas used by local authorities, particularly after the 1988 Education Reform Act (which required LEA's to devolve greater financial decision making to colleges), the argument nevertheless provides a useful basis for Longhurst's broader analysis of the changing nature of work in further education. Particularly, he argues that commodification has the inevitable effect of producing the new

'breed' of further education managers who have had to become agents of the monopoly purchaser of educational labour (FEFCE). As a result antagonism is inevitable between these managers and the educational labour force - the teachers in this case. Longhurst then moves on to outline how commodification of further education and 'independence' inevitably leads to moves to intensify, substitute or deskill teachers' work. This is attempted:

- through new teaching contracts that increase teaching time,
- through increased class sizes,
- through reduced class contact time,
- through the substitution of teaching labour with 'cheaper' part-time teachers and 'instructor' grades who supervise workshop projects
- or resource and computer based learning programmes for classroom sessions.

Technological substitution, Longhurst argues, is unlikely to significantly increase the 'amount of surplus value [managers] extract from teaching staff' (1996:61). Managerial interest will, as a result he predicts, be largely confined to the intensification of teaching labour or its substitution with cheaper forms (1996:61). This will be particularly important, Longhurst argues, if senior management go on increasing the level of their own salaries and the number of non-teaching administrative workers both of which rely on 'the surplus value obtained from paying teachers less than the value of the educational commodity that they produce' (1996:62).

Thus for Longhurst the managerialisation of FE has its material basis in the commodification of FE as units of activity now 'produced' for a managed market and 'sold' to a monopolistic purchaser. For Longhurst, senior postholders are positioned in these new relations as the agents of the purchaser. While they 'do not want to see themselves as exploiters', Longhurst notes,

to be able to carry out their oppressive and exploitative role adequately then their ideological outlook has to undergo some transformation. (1996:63)

Like most other authors who address this issue of the transformation of FE 'managers', the actual mechanisms and extent of this 'ideological' transformation is left unclear. Senior managers are for Longhurst simply 'under pressure to oppress and exploit their staff' (1996:65) and are motivated by their own survival. If they do not oppress and exploit they risk bankrupting the college and/or their own dismissal. The extent to which teaching staff will be oppressed and exploited will be decided, however, through industrial and political struggle. A struggle whose lines, according to Longhurst, must be drawn between staff and senior management because of the commodification of further education.

There are three key problems for me with such an account: These are: (1) An over-reliance on a structuralist ontology, (2) The problematics of a realist epistemology, (3) A lack of empirical elaboration.

As noted above, such a strongly labour process analysis has been 'unravelling' in recent times but challenged on grounds of empirical validation, realism and structuralism. A reliance on the 'reality' of this strong division between teachers and managers has the effect of failing to address struggles between managers themselves, between men and women across the college or, for that matter, between senior and junior staff or between core full-time and peripheral part-time teaching staff. In Longhurst's account managers are simply positioned as working in the interests of the monopolistic purchaser of labour. The problematics of actually doing managing, and the contradictory ways in which the 'manager' is constructed in further education cannot be adequately addressed within this framework.

Three further studies (Randle and Brady, 1997; Ainley and Bailey, 1997; Elliott, 1996), all in a critical vein drawing to varying degrees on Neo-

Marxist literatures also do not, in my view, adequately address this issue of the construction of the manager. While all these works are admirable and much needed for various reasons, in themselves their narratives all rely to varying extents on the assumption that the sector's reconstruction unproblematically positions some staff as managers, and others as teachers. And yet, trade journalism on this topic (Mansell, 1996) and the accounts given by the respondents below, suggest this is of major concern. Writing in the sector's trade management magazine *FE Now!*, former FE college principal, turned writer, Phil Mansell suggests that

In college after college it is possible to sense real frustration on the part of senior managers as they struggle to put their ideas and ideals into practice . . . they are becoming increasingly intolerant of any layer of the college hierarchy that either delays or stands in the way of the implementation of strategic decisions by those who really matter - the members of staff who are in contact with the college's clients (1996:13).

While both the Ainley and Bailey's (1997) and Randle and Brady's (1997) studies note this issue it is left largely undeveloped. Ainley and Bailey draw attention to the problematics of being a manager with their mention of the term 'schizophrenic manager' who 'gets carried along in two tracks'; one being a financial survival 'track' where senior post-holder come to 'live and breath the funding methodology', as one of the respondents below suggested, and the educationalist's 'track'. Randle and Brady meanwhile in their survey and interview based study of 'Cityshire' college (1997), address the issue, but leave it to one side as they move to discuss the proletarianisation of further education teachers. They note that across the FE sector

The ertswhile 'administrative manager' from head of department upwards is now being replaced by a new type of manager primarily concerned with resource management, particularly financial resources. (1997:232)

Yet this 'replacement' has been less than smooth. Senior managers put this down to 'teething problems' which they claimed were the result of 'too deep, too fast' reforms, and a lack of expertise among academics now occupying management positions. Randle and Brady, however, argue that this

pays too little attention to the fundamental causes of resistance, which are associated we argue with the impact of the new management upon professional autonomy (1997:231).

The paper then leaves this issue aside and goes on to discuss the conflict between managerial and professional 'paradigms'. Randle and Brady, like Longhurst, argue that this conflict is induced by the proletarianization of academic labour across further education through the 'imposition of market relations by the bureaucracy of the FEFCE' (1997:235). This proletarianization involves deskilling, substitution and intensification of teaching labour. These processes, and the bitter struggle of lecturers against these changes have served, Randle and Brady argue, to underline the limitations of traditional professional practices, and the 'degree to which lecturers are coming to terms with their changing position' (1997:239) - proletarianised labour and not professional artisan, in other words.

Ainley and Bailey's work¹, based on research at two colleges ('Inner City' and 'Home Counties'), gives an account of 'the experience' of FE in the 1990 from the perspective of managers, staff and students. However, the conceptual framework in this text relies, as does Elliott's work discussed below, on the frameworks embedded in the accounts given by the college respondents themselves. The study might be said to rely on a grounded theory approach, where themes and issues discussed by the respondents are

¹ I am grateful to Patrick Ainley for allowing me access to pre-publication drafts of parts of this text for the above review.

compiled, elaborated and theorised. Nevertheless some theoretical elements that elaborate the changing nature of the welfare state and the commodification of FE, are woven into the text. This is a deliberate approach that arises out of the author's concern that research on FE be written for FE and not 'by [higher education] academics for academics' (1997:3). Ainley and Bailey hope, through this approach, to both contribute to the political debate surrounding further education, and to provide material through which FE can be theorised in its own right.

In relation to the construction of the manager, Ainley and Bailey broadly underline the tension between the new manager and the teaching staff, induced by the funding methodology. In general terms they suggest that incorporation and the changing funding practices have *modernised* what were considered to be the largely feudal processes of FE management. According to their account, further education pre-incorporation was managed by a small collection of 'baron' heads of department who relied on face to face, hierarchical semi-feudal relations (what one of the respondents below described as a 'drawbridge and defences' management style). This is contrasted with the new centralised, finance-driven, spreadsheet to spreadsheet, memo to memo, managerial regime composed of hierarchically ordered teams.

One of the problems, however, with Ainley and Bailey's approach is a lack of distance from the accounts of some of the managers they interviewed. For example, they discuss changing managerial regimes in terms of the changing 'organizational structures' or changing 'chain of command'. The account unproblematically reproduces the system based functionalism of the managerial approach, discussing for instance 'matrix' organizational structures. Yet the account fails to ask why such stories and accounts of the

'organization' are being told, and what such narratives reveal. There are two interrelated issues here: In an effort to tell a story of 'what it is like' (1997:6) in contemporary FE the authors have been unable to give sufficient space to developing their conceptual analysis around terms like 'experience' 'language and practice' and the agency of the actors involved. For example, organizational structure charts and accounts of changing structure are, it could be argued, important symbolic resources for the construction of managerial identities in sectors where corporate business discourse is new and unfamiliar. Such devices, at the same time as constructing the State demanded 'corporate college', are also ways of dealing with the uncertainty of the new managerial positionings. This is induced by the new funding and auditing processes as they work to increase the sense of exposure and possibility of failure that can be attributed to particular post holders. One of the FE college principals quoted below highlighted the extent to which fear and uncertainty pervaded the sector, induced by the funding methodology:

at every level there is a climate of fear in the sector at the moment because of the exposure and accountability at every level. It is through the inspection process, the audit process, the accountabilities to the public accounts process. It is extremely exposed (College B Principal)

Whitehead's analysis, discussed below suggests that such insecurities also underwrite a re-masculinization of FE management, as new managers search for control and foundations upon which to cohere and reproduce a managerial identity. This search for control is also found in the use of organizational charts, the introduction of business language and the development of 'managerial' physical and social spaces. 'Origin' and 'structure' stories and artefacts (such as 'matrix' organizational charts), framed in the dominant functionalist language, can be considered as ways of dealing with the fear and uncertainty. They also help to reinscribe oneself

with the position of manager and seductively suggest the possibility of control. However, Ainley and Bailey, I would suggest, miss the opportunity to address these issues through their commitment to foregrounding the 'experience' of 'what it is like' (1997:6) currently in Further Education.

Lecturers strike back - two cultures in FE?

Geoffrey Elliott's work (1996a,1996b, Elliott and Crossley, 1994,1997; Elliott and Hall, 1994), I think, can also be accused of lacking a clear conceptual approach able to illuminate both the reconstruction of further education and the development of managers. Elliott's study is based on a participant observation study among lecturers in one department in a case study college and takes up a 'grounded theory' approach to knowledge (1996:37). Here the views of staff are assembled along with secondary material into an account of themes, issues and practices through which lecturers make sense of their circumstances. His approach is constructivist and humanist in orientation which, Elliott admits, causes problems as the account moves from what the lecturers told him, to making broader linkages (1996:50). In making this move, Elliott draws on a number of potentially conflicting frameworks and concepts. At one point he discusses ideology and the state (1996:11), later there is a discussion of open and closed systems theory (1996:22-23). There are also discussions of values and managerial and pedagogical cultures, and in the conclusion the author introduces the term 'discourse' to describe the various orientations to the topic. Throughout, however, the texts maintain a commitment to the pedagogical values of the occupational group he studied. In essence it appears as if the 'grounded theory' approach used in the account, which largely eschews a discussion of

issues of the status of practitioner knowledge, agency and the subject, induces an eclecticism in conceptual materials and a lack of sufficient conceptual distance between the researcher and the research.

Broadly, however, and in line with the above authors, Elliott argues that the Government's FE 'reforms' have created contradictory and oppositional forces in FE, particularly between a managerialist culture embraced by senior postholders and a democratic ideology based around pedagogic practices. However, Elliott's difference from the above authors is that while market and inspection mechanisms have been imposed by an 'ill-prepared and compliant college management' (1996:9) lecturers, he argues, draw on a 'repertoire of strategies to thwart attempts to impose external systemic and specific changes that [lecturers] perceived to be at variance from their core [educational] values' (1996:7).

There were a large number of management decisions that impacted upon the day to day working practices of staff in an irksome and unpleasant manner. Resentment built resistance, which served to feed a counter-culture, sustained and supported by the activity of undermining initiatives which were designed to build a unified corporate culture. (1997:87)

In an earlier paper (1994), Elliott argues that one of these responses was the creative *re-naming of practices* in FE without substantial change to actual teaching and managing practices themselves. While in the later publications (1996) Elliott drops the suggestion that new management ideas and practices had not changed actual college management practices, the text continues to argue that teachers maintain a critical, tactical and broadly resistive approach to managerial demands.

In the study one of the major battlegrounds between lecturers and managers was the college's 'quality' programmes (in this case the introduction of BS 5750). Resistance to such programmes took a number of

forms, particularly the removal of co-operation e.g. not responding to information requests and form-filling exercises. As well as non-cooperation

lecturers engaged in what one called 'subversive, rather than overt confrontation'; creative timetabling and post hoc completion of registers are common practices of this kind (1996:73).

Elliott asserts that such resistance was grounded in the 'firm belief in the lecturer's responsibility to meet the needs of the student, rather than institutional or systemic needs' (1996:74). He goes on to argue that the lecturers offered, through their own practices, a 'viable, alternative model of management derived from the lecturers' perspective and grounded in pedagogical culture' (1996:96). Here the emphasis would be back on educational rather than business values which the lecturers considered had become for the managers an 'end in themselves' (1996:96). In essence Elliott's argument is that the lecturers' tactical response to the managerialism which senior postholders have had little option but to implement (1996:106), can be seen as a pragmatic strategy of working within the conditions.

By asserting the centrality of a pedagogical orientation which centres upon students' needs, lecturers present a powerful alliance for managing change. Educational policy and managerialist strategies which are regarded by them as subversive of critical pedagogy are resisted. On the other hand opportunities to underline their pedagogical orientation, through adoption of other strategies are seldom missed in order to buttress their position within the institution and safeguard the arena of their expertise. (1996:105)

While largely undeveloped Elliott does discuss at turns the development of managers across the sector. His first point is to suggest that while incorporation has come to symbolise the imposition of managerial relations, their introduction was a more subtle and consensual process than the authors above suggest (Longhurst, 1996, Randle and Brady, 1997).

For practitioners at least the development of a market-led conception of FE was evolutionary, and its antecedents can be found in the broad collectivity of reforms across all educational sectors brought about by government legislation, associated government-sponsored reports and the increasing inclination within the sector itself to provide a responsive service to a wide range of customers and clients. (1996:7)

However, viewed from the perspective of the lecturer, senior post-holders have been largely complicit in articulating a 'hard', uncompromising top-down managerialism that has invariably turned colleges into a battleground. Elliott's second point, in relation to the making of managers, is that 'middle managers' were largely 'caught' in the midst of this.

There was a clear undertone to the effect that middle managers were under scrutiny, were perceived to be failing in their duty, and that increasing pressure would be exerted upon them to include formal disciplinary procedures to deal with instances of non-compliance (Elliott and Crossley, 1997:83)

However, rather than discuss through this the contradictory and problematic position of 'middle managers', Elliott and Crossley in this paper go on to discuss the 'rise and rise of managerialist culture' in further education. They conclude by suggesting that managers should take the 'needs and orientations of practitioners into account' (1997:90) and adopt a more 'adaptive and consensual approach' between differing 'work cultures' (1997:90). While some might see this as a naive statement given the kind of approach taken above it nevertheless flows, I would argue, from the 'grounded theory' approach, a lack of discussion of power, knowledge and disposition/identity, the use of a contradictory array of conceptual resources to illuminate the 'forces' at work in further education colleges and lastly a humanist and perhaps managerial response to the question 'what is to be done'.

Perhaps two major issues have been missing in the texts so far discussed: the gendered character of the reconstruction of both further

education and management in further education, and the inclusion of conceptual approaches that challenge the strongly dualistic theorising embedded in the above texts.

Gendering management in Further Education

Steve Whitehead's exploration of gender in further education management, and his explicit use of a poststructural account of knowledge, represents a major break from the above works (1996, 1997a,b,c; Kerfoot and Whitehead, 1995). Three key elements are found in Whitehead's papers and thesis. Firstly, drawing on feminist literature, the work aims to 'break the silence' surrounding the interrelations between becoming managers and being men in further education. Secondly, drawing on Foucault's notion of discourse and feminist reworking of this, (Butler, 1990; McNay, 1992) the aim is to read gender identity and management as constitutive of particular subjects but neither subject specific nor subjective. A discourse is understood as a privileged network of statements, knowledges and practices - particularly discursive practices of the self - which constitute the subject. For Whitehead, social power is embedded in particular discourses e.g. managerial formations and particular discursive practices of being a man or men. 'Any power that men or women may exert is only made possible through the taking up of , and being in, dominant discourses' (1997a:10). He argues that it is the interrelations between new management discourses and the discourse of a competitive masculinity which underscores and produces the new manager in further education. Thirdly, Whitehead argues that this is dependent on a new work culture in further education induced by both post-industrial/post-fordist economic

changes, and a New-Right Government agenda aimed at increasing further education's contribution to the training of a better qualified workforce, but at the same time reducing the relative cost of that contribution. Thus prior to incorporation Whitehead argues FE, unlike the private sector, was

undisturbed by the consequences of post industrialism and its attendant associate post-fordism. The chaotic consequences of, for example globalisation, new technology, international competition and rapid, unpredictable flows of capital (1997:7).

He suggests that the period between 1987-1992 was a twilight period. The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act made the reconstruction of FE explicit.

Whitehead's central argument concerns the interdependence of the practices and vocabularies of being a man, and becoming a manager in the reconstructed quasi-business environment of further education. Generally Whitehead suggests that being a manager in further education 'fits comfortably with the dominant discourses of masculinity; competition, control, rationality; task orientation, leadership and instrumentality' (Whitehead, 1997b). In general terms the managerialisation of further education has reconstituted the sector from one based on a sleepy paternalistic masculinity to one based around an aggressive, competitive masculinity (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

The paternalistic, gentlemanly amateur of yesteryear has made way for the more hurried, aggressive, detached and functional individual, a person who acquires the label 'professional' through their ability to be competitive and to measure up externally dictated, normative consequences. Their reward is to be located in an environment which privileges their 'natural masculine traits' and within which they, as men, can make explicit statements about their (gendered) potency and power. (Whitehead, 1997)

Whitehead is a former manager in a Yorkshire college. The study is based around interviews with 22 FE managers in 13 colleges between 1994

and 1995. In his PhD thesis, and in a recent paper, he also draws on his own experience of work to discuss the suffusion of managerial discourse [what he terms the discourse of performativity, from Lyotard (1984)] and how this changed the gendered structure of the college.

For Whitehead this new discourse of performativity 'materialised' in a number of ways (1997:18): staff appraisal, new job descriptions and contracts, targets for an increasing number of staff, encouragement of income generating work, reduction in class contact time by 50 percent over two years, increased class sizes, cost-centred management, audit processes, the redesignation of students as customers and increased emphasis on marketing. In the midst of this managers were 'required to provide two, three and five years plans for their departments, informed by statements of objectives and action and performance targets for every individual and programme area' (1997:18). Underlying this was the increasing fragile financial situation.

As FE institutions felt for the first time, real insecurity, financial fragility and the wider effects of market forces, management's response was to present itself as ambitious, competent and with a vision. (1997:156)

Whitehead argues that this discourse of performativity is 'particularly seductive for most men/managers' as it privileges instrumental achievement, competition and aggression and the functionality of performance measurement. Whitehead's case is that these measures induce a new work identity embedded in practices of the self which have developed a 'symbiotic relation to the new masculinisation' (1997:16).

However, this relation is not always unproblematic. Whitehead also suggests that the existence of unique histories and subjectivities of particular managers, as well as particular practices and histories embedded in the locales of colleges, means that at various points and times disruption

and subversion of the dominant discourses occur. The strength of a poststructuralist approach is that rather than seeing the construction of two blocks of activity embedded in two groups of people, disruptions are understood as largely ubiquitous and on-going. As Whitehead notes

the aspects of the subject's resistance to dominant discourses, described in this paper, is not undertaken as a strategic, rational act, but in the moments wherein subjects reconstitute and become reconstituted in discourse, a process reinforced by the very fragility and unpredictability of being (1997:22).

Of course, Fiske's approach is to give the name 'locale' to the ubiquity of the spaces between dominant stationing. Whitehead's approach suggests that disruption is induced on the one hand by the historically unique and changing subjectivities of those engaged in the terrain. On the other it is the outcome of the sheer ambivalence, unpredictability and fragility of being which dominant stationing, such as that of the 'manager, ' who is required to be constantly ambitious, competent and competitive, would displace.

One issue left open by Whitehead is the position of women in the arguably remasculinised further education. Of course there is a tension around this as masculinities in Whitehead's reading are not located with biological sex , and thus the new work culture and discourses of performativity require women, perhaps more than men, to relate to it in a masculine fashion. Yet this is, as Whitehead suggests, likely to be variably problematic. Whitehead suggests that research among women/managers in FE would, given his claims to a re-masculinisation, of management seem interesting and topical (1997:20). This is precisely the issue I shall return to in Chapter 9. In summary then Whitehead's work presents an engaging and thorough account of the gendered aspects of the development of managers in further education. The poststructural and feminist approaches are a direct challenge to other works in the critical FE literature which, as I suggested

above, suffer from debilitating dualisms and determinism and a lack of engagement with issues of power and knowledge and agency. The work below, which focuses on the construction of the managerial station, the resistances (including the gendered resistance to this) can be read then as complementary to Whitehead's work - elaborating and filling in elements not addressed in Whitehead, and Whitehead and Kerfoot's, texts. From the further education literature I now want to turn to the critical literature on work in higher education. Unsurprisingly, this literature is both enormous and diverse by comparison to the critical FE literature. However, many of the same approaches and concerns are voiced. Following this review I then return to position, in the light of this review, the Fiskean framework suggested above.

Approaching higher education - critically

Recent critical studies of the changing character of work in higher education approach the topic from a number of differing but at times overlapping orientations. Broadly these can be described as Marxist, Weberian/Foucauldian, Functionalist, Poststructuralist and Feminist. In this section I overview these particular 'orientations', note the characteristics of each through the work of particular authors and also address briefly how each addresses the question of the construction of the manager.

We're all labouring for Capital now?

A Marxist-derived analysis of the changing character of work in higher education (Smyth, 1995; Willmott, 1995; Miller, 1995a,b; 1996, Miller and Edwards, 1995; Miller and Higson 1996; Wilson, 1991; Winter, 1995; Ainley, 1994, Shumar 1997) is embedded in a broad political economic analysis. The key feature is addressing and linking the changing conditions of work in higher education to the changing conditions of capitalist accumulation, and the changing responses of the State, as the main public sector employer of labour, to these conditions [e.g. by reducing the 'load' that public sector legitimization and reproduction processes place on private accumulation (see for example Salter and Tapper, 1994)]. As Willmott argues in relation to academic work

the key to understanding change in the organization and control of academic work lies in an analysis of the trajectory of the distinctive organization and dynamics of the capitalist society in which it is embedded and not in the impersonal force of rationalization or the capacity of individuals to collaborate in, or resist, its seemingly relentless advance (1995:12).

The core line of argument is that pressures applied by the state in response to the current conditions of capitalist accumulation are engaged in attempts to either reduce the costs of labour in higher education or maintain or enhance its contribution to processes of accumulation and legitimization (e.g. intensifying the state education's contribution to the production of a skilled workforce, the costs of which the capitalist enterprises are unwilling to bear themselves). This is manifest in pressure and control from the state in attempts to force down wages and salaries, to replace relatively expensive labour with cheaper forms or to substitute labour with

less labour intensive or technological-based processes. This can be illustrated in the introduction of, for example, early retirement schemes, the replacement of lecturers and professors with cheaper graduate teaching assistants, and computer-aided learning. Alongside this, efforts are made to intensify the contribution of that labour, particularly by increasing the numbers of students enrolling and being taught for the same cost, or for institutions to attempt to generate surplus through entering fully capitalist market relations e.g. industrial research, conferences, fees from consultancy and full-cost programmes.

Yet these multiple processes, or potential processes, do not occur mechanically of themselves. They require the development of a managerial, or a second order, labour process across the sector which proves in varying degrees to be both complicit and resistant to the full elaboration of such strategic directionalities. Thus as higher education becomes increasingly commodified through its engagement with quasi or managed market processes, (and thus treats itself as if it were a capitalist enterprise) the head of department/service or the dean or director of university services becomes increasingly enrolled as a representative of capitalist production and consumption relations, rather than as a representative of academic faculty (Shumar, 1997) or administrative professionals.

Ideal types, and panoptical gazes

A Weberian/Foucauldian analysis of work in higher education meanwhile (e.g. Parker and Jary, 1995; Ritzer, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Ezzamel, 1994; Grant, 1997; Shore and Roberts, 1995) is concerned less with political economy and more with *how* these dynamics are played out. In

general the processes are labelled and characterised as 'rationalization' or 'modernizations'. The core line of argument, for instance in Scott's work (1995:10), is that universities are both producers of and subject to the 'restless synergies of plural modernisations - of the academy, polity, economy, society and culture' (1995:10). As can be appreciated, Marxist-informed political economic analysis tends to be broadly suspicious of such pluralism, arguing that such an approach fails to grasp the key dynamic - how work in higher education is conditioned by the priorities of the capitalist economy and the state, particularly the pressure to commodify higher education activities and increase the exchange value of such work within conditions of full capitalist production. Parker and Jary (1995), in defence of a Weberian approach, accept that the analysis of work should be concerned with a political economic analysis at a broad level and agree that 'the driving principal would seem to be ensuring that HE played its part in state capitalism', but they suggest that Ritzer's neo-Weberian 'McDonaliation' thesis², and Foucault's analysis of changes to the regime of power relations, are required to explore *how* the elaboration of such changes at the levels of the organization of work and subjectivity are more or less successfully carried out. For example, in relation to academic work, and drawing on Weber and Ritzer, they argue that

The NHE (new higher education) is in danger of becoming a fast-food outlet that sells only those ideas that its managers believe will sell, that treats its employees as if they were too devious or stupid to be trusted, and that values the formal rationality of the process over the substantive rationality of the ends (1995:335-6).

² Parker and Jary use the term 'McUniversity' which is derived from Ritzer's discussion of 'McDonaliation' (1993), a process where fordist standardisation and rationalisation of production methods replace craft skills.

And from Foucault (1991), in relation to the production of new forms of academic subjectivity, they argue that

it is less convincing to talk about a university as a community of scholars; perhaps instead it is a legally constituted web of corporate surveillance mechanisms. The search for excellence, for a corporate culture, for total quality management is the search for a way to regulate the labour of academics and other employees (1995:327).

Parker and Jary argue that in response to the worsening conditions of their labour, and increased surveillance (Henson, 1995), academics change the way they come to know themselves and their role. Careerism, ritualism and retreatism are the core responses. The new academic is 'more instrumental and rationalized', being concerned less with their academic discipline and more with career, quality ratings and rewards. Senior academics and administrators meanwhile have been reconstructed in parallel ways. Enhanced salaries, new contracts, less teaching and the introduction of new practices of accountability have repositioned them as 'academic managers' (Williams, 1992; Townley, 1993) or 'charismatic leader-managers' (Parker and Jary, 1995) in the new higher education.

There are a number of problems with both the Marxist and Weberian/Foucauldian analyses. Firstly, they could be said to adopt an over-determined or over-socialised understanding of the social subject and downplay the problems, dis-order and unintended consequences of either instituting or achieving the desired outcomes from the methods adopted (Game, 1994; Ryder, 1996; Dearlove, 1995). Secondly, and relatedly, there is a lack of engagement with the problematics of actually achieving these new relations and configurations. To take Parker and Jary's paper for example, these authors argue that their ideal type 1990s UK university

exhibits among other things 'greater managerial power' (1995: 320).

Management discourse has been imported, they argue, to enhance the

importance of management as a process and to legitimate the activities of particular members - executives, directors and so on - as key decision makers (1995: 324).

They stress that the 'language of 'line managers', 'customers' and 'products' *begins to displace* the academic language of deans, students and courses" (1995: 324, emphasis added). One objection to this claim is that just because a language is to be found in a particular social terrain, it does not necessarily mean that existing languages and practices have been reconstructed to mirror the 'new' discourse. Parker and Jary, it seems, are attempting to read the effects directly *off* a discourse without addressing the extent to which the 'new' managerial discourse leaves unchallenged those practices they attempt to narrate in new ways. It also ignores the ways in which passive or active resistance is directed at and rebuffs this 'greater managerial power' (see, for example, Ezzamel, 1994). Only in two brief sentences in the paper do Parker and Jary touch upon these resistant practices. They argue (against their own thesis perhaps) that,

the professional academic does not necessarily want to please their management because they gain status from their relationships with their students and other academics inside and outside their organisation. It is a powerful argument, and as noted it probably begins to explain why universities still function at all when their resource base has been cut so badly' (1995:328).

If then, as they suggest, an academic identity is likely to be somewhat ambivalent in its relationship to the new discourse and practices of managerialism, surely this forms the basis on which to argue that 'greater managerial control' is also likely to be a somewhat ambivalent endeavour. Yet nowhere in their paper do Parker and Jary give effective voice to this issue. Nowhere, paradoxically, do they also place themselves as resistant

voices, despite the fact that their experience of working in their own institution, namely Staffordshire University, is an important motivation for the paper.

These problems with the paper are in part a result of the authors' selective application of ideas from Weber and Foucault. Much is made of Weber's iron cage of rationalisation thesis.

The institutions becomes an effective iron cage populated by Weber's cogs in the machine, specialists without vision and sensualists without heart. (1995: 329)

But little is said about the residues of affective and value-rational action or about the paradox of consequences. Likewise, much is made of Foucault's notion of the construction of subjectivity via panoptical practices (1995:329) ['greater managerial control and an increasingly restricted sphere of academic professional autonomy will result in new forms of subjectivity amongst academics' (1995:331)]. But virtually nothing is said about the central importance of transgression in Foucault's work (see Knights and Vurdusakis, 1994).

Thirdly, these authors tend also to shy away from empirical analysis (see Trowler, 1996; Prichard and Willmott, 1997; Buchbinder and Newson, 1988; Miller, 1995, for much needed corrections). However, with that said, such accounts do form a useful antidote to the dominant instrumentalist open systems analysis of the changes to work in higher education.

Dancing to the system's tune?

In this approach (Middlehurst, 1993; Warner and Crosthwaite, 1995; Schuller, 1995, Becker and Kogan, 1992) the university is understood to be made up of various functioning parts, each contributing to the general

'equilibrium' of the institution. The whole itself is again part of a broader higher education system which undergoes various instabilities in relation to which it attempts to respond and adjust. Each institution is considered to have various functional capacities and characteristics whose work is managed by managers responsible for responding to the changing conditions of the system, and realigning or 'managing change' in relation to their own function areas. When problems occur it is often blamed on poor communication or inappropriate structures which have failed to empower people to change their own environments. As House and Watson (1995) advise:

People being managed through periods of significant change, especially when the implications are on the face of things distressing and in that sense at least not chosen, appreciate and are more likely to respond positively to clear information on what is happening and why. They are also more likely to accept changes if they understand them and respect the motives of those driving the changes. (1995:19)

Of course this systemic functionalism does not simply assume that systems function in and of themselves. In this analysis systems and functions are staffed by people who carry out particular roles. A 'role' is understood to comprise various tasks which, in turn, require particular skills or knowledge appropriate to each particular functional element in the whole (Middlehurst, 1993; Brodie and Partington, 1992). While there has been a general move to introduce the notion of culture, values and language (e.g. McNay, 1995; Thomas, 1996) to the approach, this often overlays 'roles', 'structures' and 'functions'. Systemic functional or structural analysis is the dominant 'code' used by managers and senior post-holders to understand and speak, in public at least, about their work and organizations. Occasionally senior post-holders take up other approaches (Bull, 1994), and

are regularly critical of such formalism (Price, 1994), preferring to understand themselves as leaders engaged in creating the 'right atmosphere', but the functionalism continues to underlay the approach. Such functionalism is often challenged by other approaches for its blindness and complicity, most recently by post-structuralism beginning perhaps with Lyotard (1984).

Language gaming, textual tactics and making spaces

Lyotard's analysis (1984), as discussed above, could be said to be strongly in-laid with Marxist and Weberian threads. Lyotard entertains the notion of commodification of knowledge and has a view of the 'system' as a

vanguard machine dragging humanity after it, dehumanising it in order to rehumanise it at a different level of normative capacity' (1984:63).

However, the importance he gives to the pluralism of language, that is language games as constitutive of a fragmented social subject, together with a distrust of *pre-figured* metanarratives, renders his work post-structural. Broadly, his assertion is that 'events' (Auschwitz, the 1968 Paris uprisings and the prolonged recession of the 1970) have produced a widespread de-legitimation of the modernist grand narratives (scientific reason and emancipatory humanism) upon which the contemporary university is founded. In their place, performativity becomes the dominant criterion of judgement. In response 'management', the ideology of the performative, whose target is simply the most efficient input/output ratio, steps forward convinced that it can take control. As Peters notes in his empirical work in relation to UK higher education (see Peters, 1996), which draws on Lyotard's approach,

each of us lives at the intersection of many [language games], the technocratic decision makers proceed on the assumption that there is commensurability and common ground among them and that the whole is determinable (1992:134).

Thus higher education is understood as a mass of language games or *petit recits* (small narratives). The plurality and heterogeneity of these is denied by technocratic managerialism which works to subordinate and position other narratives in relation to its constructions of efficiency and accountability.

Such a framework, while not always referenced to Lyotard directly, but drawn from the general trajectory of a poststructural analysis, forms the basis of a number of recent critical works on work in higher education (Weil, 1994; Selway, 1996; Fairclough, 1993; Holmer-Nadesan, 1996; Lander, 1996, Peters, 1996a,b; Ibarra-Colado, 1996; Bloland, 1995). All, in different ways, are concerned with exploring work in relation to its textuality, which might be understood as the point at which language and practice intersect. Weil (1994), for instance, using an approach reminiscent of Becher's discussion of tribes and territories in academic life (1989), notes that

Story telling lies at the heart of any institution and any significant change process. . . Managers may communicate policies, report decisions, assert what is right and what is misunderstood, but what is spoken about in a myriad of ways is the dramas, the feelings, the passions, the power, the pain, the values, the celebrated, the despised. (1994:153)

And yet,

What has gone very wrong in many institutions is that, for example, the funding council story, or the manager's story, is 'living the people'. The story becomes one of being 'done to', rather than making sense and 'doing with'. The spect-actors who have been required to carry through changes are reduced to spectators. (1994:161).

While it could be argued that Weil's advocacy of narrativity or storied-ness is ultimately subordinated to developing managers adept at using stories to extend their control, the approach does stress the ontological importance of textuality, storied-ness or narrativity in the constitution of work in higher education.

This emphasis on the colonisation of the textuality of work in higher education is given much firmer treatment in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis of the marketisation of universities (1993). Broadly, Fairclough is concerned with the constitutive effects of colonising discourses, particularly those of marketing and management in higher education. While Weil's approach tends to take a more phenomenological assumption, understanding people as meaning makers, Fairclough's draw on structuralism questions the extent of the control (or presence) we have over how meaning is made. Broadly, Fairclough's analysis shows how the identity of higher education institutions and the nature of the identities that make them up are being reconstructed through changing discursive practices. As noted in Chapter 1, his analysis suggests that our ability to reflexively engage with and challenge these is somewhat limited. Fairclough argues that as a result of these practices there has been a reconstruction of the professional identities of academics on a more entrepreneurial (self-promotional) basis, with the foregrounding of personal qualities (1993:157).

While Fairclough's textual approach focuses on the reconstruction of institutional and professional identities, Holmer-Nadesen's (1996) post-structural analysis of relations between university managers and service workers supports and extends the work. It addresses particularly the way that the ubiquitous discourses (structuring social practices) of gender and class make up work in higher education, firstly by analysing the largely

neglected 'service' work of universities (Delmont, 1996; Miller and Higson, 1996), and secondly by exploring resistance to managerial discourse, through the concept of 'space of action'. In relation to resistance, Holmer-Nadesen argues that managerial discourse is but one of many forms of knowledge and practice through which workers position and reproduce themselves. It is this 'surplus of meaning' that produces space for contingency and choice, and thus resistance. However, this is tempered by the way in which discourses overlap and support others. Holmer-Nadesen shows how women workers in a university hall of residence resist their positioning in managerial discourse as 'service workers', by engaging in attempts to extend their control over their space and time at work. One way in which this is done is by drawing on a maternal discourse and positively articulating themselves as 'mother', 'sister' or housewife in relation to 'their' students. However, as Holmer-Nadesen argues, this ultimately leads back to and reinforces administrative and managerial discourse, and thus reduces their space of action and scope for collective action.

Most institutionalized understandings of mother, sister and housewife are articulated within the discourse of patriarchy where women are positioned in relation to dominant males. Reproduction of traditional familial relations within a male dominated bureaucracy, such as that found in this university, has the effect of over-determining authoritarian, male power. Consequently, that service workers articulate self as mother need not be incommensurable with formal organizational discourse. (1996:77-78)

Gendering the higher education worker

Holmer-Nadesen's work is among a growing number of works that broadly engage in a feminist critique of higher education, while at the same time drawing on elements of a post-structuralist orientation (Brooks, 1997;

Heward, 1994; Morley, 1994; Yeatman, 1995; Prichard, 1996b; Walker, forthcoming; Farish et al, 1995; Court, 1994; Game, 1994; Lander, 1996; Mumby and Stohl, 1991:325-329). Broadly, such analyses illustrate and challenge the various ways in which work in higher education is gendered. In general terms it seeks to illustrate how, as in the case of Holmer-Nadesen's paper, ubiquitous patriarchal discourses reproduce higher education, and how this militates against equitable distribution of rewards and status and the limitations of formalised efforts like equal opportunities initiatives (Farish et al, 1995), or schemes such as Opportunity 2000. Adrian Webb, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glamorgan, shows how this operates in his account of his 'first step' up from head of department .

That the first reluctant foot on the managerial ladder led to my present position [Vice Chancellor at the University of Glamorgan] is explicable in three ways. The first is simply that as head of department at Loughborough I inherited a very skilled and experienced departmental secretary. She transformed the administrative incompetence which I effortlessly generated into a standard of efficiency and dependability which impressed my superiors. They subsequently promoted the wrong person - me not her - and the rest is history. (1994:42)

Feminist accounts of work in higher education seek to explicate the processes which produce gender oppression and gendered divisions of labour in higher education (as Webb's account illustrates). Morley, for instance, argues in relation to her study of women working in academic posts that

within academia there is a weave of criss-crossing threads or matrices of discursive practices and a complexity of social identities. Women . . . are in the interstices. Subordination is systematic, structured, extensive, stable, with the ability to constantly reproduce itself' (1994:197-198).

Such analyses have, unlike those discussed, also attempted to bring the 'body in', showing particularly the culturally mediated nature of embodiment (see Roper, 1996 in relation to men's bodies and education management). As Morley again notes 'women's emotionality' and 'physicality', are placed in binary opposition to men's 'rationality' (1994:201). Some authors have addressed how particular positionings are literally inscribed on the bodies of workers in higher education. Holmer-Nadesen in her study notes how the programme director (who ran a staff development session for the services worker, entitled 'Working Together', aimed at reducing the worker's 'space of action')

was trim, dressed in professional attire made of natural fabrics while the service workers were almost uniformly plump, dressed in polyester uniforms or casual polyester slacks and blouses. Their very bodies were inscribed with differences of class. (1996:67)

Game (1994) and Lander (1996) meanwhile throw their nets much wider. Drawing on the structuralist notion that meaning is produced negatively through difference between dominant and subordinate terms, they show how the very notion of 'work' in relation to higher education relies on an interdependent series of oppositions between dominant and subordinate signifiers: knowledge work over service work, head/mind work over body/hand work, men's work over women's work, clean work over dirty work. Thus work is organized in higher education through material structures of meaning that conflate 'knowledge-head-men-clean' and position it over 'service-body-women-dirty'. Women in higher education management positions are, in this analysis, and as Game notes 'matter out of place' and thus a challenge to dominant meaning practices.

Of course the *post*-structuralist move is to argue that language is inherently unstable. Multiple readings are constantly being produced while power relations are embedded in seeking to fix or at least stabilise the meaning produced through these pairings. In Game's case, she described how, by taking up the post of head of department, she became aware of the attempts to position her as 'secretary' who 'manages the dirt, cleans up the academics' mess' (1994:48). Being a woman head of department compounded attempts to position her as secretary. She notes that by refusing these 'comfortable' feminine positionings which 'go quite smoothly in management is unsettling : for many men and, I suspect, for some women' (1994:49).

Lander (1996) meanwhile addresses the gradations of clean and dirty in the distribution of work in higher education.

Bodily service work is hermetically sealed in deference to hygienic considerations and truth considerations. This is consonant with the social and cultural distinctions of head work and hand work. It renders the service worker as different, as dirty, as *Other*. Within the service identity of the university there are subcultures each bound by subtle gradations in the social ranking of the unclean. . . the ranking of the unclean is proportionate to services most closely associated with bodily functions, appetitive and eliminative. (1996:4, italics in original)

This form of analysis suggests that becoming a 'manager' in higher education involves reproducing or disrupting particular meaning practices. In Game's case she sought to disrupt meaning practices which would position her as secretary or mother. Similarly, for men such implicit and unsaid meaning practices work to produce the interdependence of particular masculinities (e.g. father) and management. The advantage of a poststructuralist approach is that it allows a non-subjective and non-subject specific account of the agency of management and how it is reproduced through the unsaid practices of masculinity in particular sites and locations.

Summary - a critical literature going poststructural?

The above discussion illustrates the strands that make up the critical literature on work in further and higher education. As is clear, the move to a poststructural analysis in the above feminist and feminist inspired work in both further and higher education [e.g. Game, 1994; Holmer-Nadesen, 1996; in higher education and Whitehead (1996) in further education] provides a way of conceptualising the construction of the manager in such a way that a strongly dualist and realist epistemology can be avoided. However this is not in any way to deny the importance of a political economic approach to the reconstruction of FHE, simply to assert the need to read this in a different way from that presented in the Marxist approaches discussed above - exemplified in the FE by Longhurst's work. Workers in FHE are involved in a fundamental reconstruction of the sector from public service to public enterprise. Attempts are being made to intensify the effectivity of labour, to reduce costs and increase non-state income. Yet this is not simply a mechanical programme that can be 'read -off' from the prescriptions found in the managerial texts or from a set of college or university management financial statements. It involves the reconstruction of identities and relations and thus must be thought of as embedded in the tensions and conflicts between particular knowledges and discursive practices. The epistemological commitment is to understanding the construction of the manager as an effect of the tensions between and among differing modes of discursive practice. These modes are in a dynamic and changing relation to each other. They are understood to be qualitatively different in scope, variably conflicting and enacting of variably divergent identities, relations and

forms of knowledge. Principally, drawing on the framework advanced by Fiske, I argue that a key difference between these modes are their strategic and tactical orientations. Localised forms seek control over immediate forms of life, while strategic modes attempt to control generalised ways of living/being/acting. The key aspect in the constitution of the 'manager' is tension surrounding the changing character of the relation to 'oneself', understood as a subject position found within these differing modes of discursive practices. To give an example drawn from the research to follow, these competing forms of knowledge potentially constitute college or university departments in conflicting ways. Management knowledges seek to constitute the department as strategically focused, customer-orientated, research and teaching excellent, and effectively managed. Professional knowledges constitute departments as student-centred, teaching or research focused, collegially organised and possibly politically active. The discursive practices of devolved budgeting, department-based teaching and research assessment and audit processes, funding bids, promotions and contracts, however, position senior post-holders in FHE as more directly responsible for the performance of others, thus challenging and potentially undermining the identities produced by collegial discursive practices. Thus one can argue that through the intensified use of managerial discursive practices one comes to know oneself as directly engaged in managing others' time, space and effort. This is in contrast to the discursive practices of academic colleagues where one's relation to oneself is mediated by the discursive practices of peer review, peer based promotions and group based forms of organising work. The empirical work below aims to address these tensions. The work was carried out among those positioned organizationally as heads of department, heads of service, administrative heads, principals and vice

chancellors in UK colleges and universities. It relates broadly to the first half of the 1990s.

The key analytical point however is that the languages and practices or cultural resources which are drawn on in the construction of workplace identities and relations do not reside with the senior post-holders themselves. These language and practices have their own dynamics and their own histories which are constantly being re-worked and reconstructed. The senior post holder/manager is, from this perspective, understood as dispersed in the various and conflicting practices of speaking, writing, remembering, categorising, deciding and acting, some of which constitute her/him as a 'manager'. Drawing generally on the work of Foucault, the analysis approaches its topic in an ascending fashion. It does not assume the manager's existence, but addresses the problematics of this production through multiple and sometimes intense micro-practices or forms of ordering.

Furthermore, these practices do not simply re-orientate vocabularies, change practices or re-organize forms of reflexivity. They act on one's body. Specifically, they evoke, inscribe, channel and connect in a dynamic way the sensual, emotional, visceral experience of human being. As McLaren put, 'discourses do not simply sit on the surface of bodies . . . but are enfolded into the very structure of desire' (1994:67). For example becoming a manager seems to enhance anxieties over and desire for the recognition of 'significant others' including, and this is a significant point, one's regard for particular ways of knowing one-self. As Knights and Willmott argue, the individuating and disciplinary practices enhance the desire and search for potentially 'stable' and 'valuable' identities (rather than understanding identities as relational) (1989). Relatedly, becoming a 'manager' appears to heighten feelings of threat which, as Hollway suggests,

enhances processes of splitting where negative feelings are projected onto the relational other - the managed. Also, I suggest, becoming a 'manager' engages actual physical desire in the sense that discursive practices that induce the 'manager' also induce the 'creative' production of new embodied mappings which make up subjectivity. Geertz puts this inter-relationality of text/meaning and embodiment/dispositions neatly in his description of the inter-relationships between *sentiment* and *texts*. While discussing the Balinese cockfight his point relates to the embodied texture of textual practices generally

Subjectivity does not properly exist until it is thus organised, art forms generate and regenerate the very subjectivity they pretend only to display. Quartets, still lifes, and the cockfights are not merely reflections of a pre-existing sensibility analogically represented; they are positive agents in the creation and maintenance of such a sensibility. (Geertz, 1972: 28)

The discursive practices of managing can also be understood as positive agents in the creation of a seductive affirming sensibility. Put another way, the discursive practices of managing induce, albeit temporary, feelings of exhilaration and pleasure, premised perhaps on an illusion of being in control. Given these conceptual commitments, the next question becomes: What exploratory methods are appropriate?

Section 2 Chapter 5. 'From Methodology to Research Method'

This short chapter foregrounds the actual research methods and methods of data analysis used to gather and explore the empirical material in this study of the constitution of the manager in further and higher education. It discusses how the research methods support and allow the conceptual framework outlined above to be explored empirically. I discuss broadly a number of 'conditions' which need to be placed on the 'data' given. I then turn to the process and methods of 'data' analysis employed and discuss how the selection of text samples and their analysis supports the conceptual framework advanced for this study. Included in this is a discussion of the use of contrasting 'voices' to report various forms of empirical materials.

Research sites and Research methods

As noted, it is the identities of locales and stations constructed through discursive practices which are the focus of this investigation. Broadly, the aim is to explore language in action e.g. in conversations, events and documentation with and between college and university senior post-holders. This is the approach taken. The study draws on interviews with more than 65 senior post-holders in four universities and four further education colleges. Along with this observational accounts and participant observation accounts in one university and one college were gathered together with documentation from all the eight institutions and a number of other named universities and colleges. The higher education interviews were

conducted during 1994 and the further education interviews in 1996 and early 1997.

The four higher education institutions include two pre-1992 and two post-1992 institutions. The two pre-1992 institutions are Victorian 'civic' institutions located in the north of England. These were chosen because they represent what Peter Scott calls the 'heartland' of the 'old' university sector (1995:44). The 'civics' make up a quarter of this sector and according to Scott are the most comprehensive of British universities ranging across all the arts, sciences and embracing education, law, medicine, engineering and other professional fields (1995:44). Each of two pre-1992 universities have annual turnovers in excess of £120m, have close to 20,000 students and consider themselves to be research-led. The two post-1992 universities meanwhile are representative of the 30 polytechnics created in the late 1960s and early 1970s which, in Scott's opinion, have been at the forefront of growth and innovation in higher education since the 1970s. Both the 1992 universities included were former technical colleges (or amalgamations of these) which, during the late 1980s particularly, grew into institutions with more than 10,000 full-time equivalent student enrolments and turnovers of more than £50m.

In order to achieve correspondence of data across each of these institutions a similar profile of about nine senior post-holders were interviewed. This included: three very senior staff (typically, vice-chancellor, pro-vice chancellor and registrar or equivalent), three high grade administrative staff (e.g. head of accommodation, personnel, planning, etc.) and three senior academic post holders (e.g. dean, head of school, head of department)¹. Semi-structured interviews lasting between 40 and 90

¹ ¹In terms of access, in each case the vice-chancellor or principal of each institution was initially approached for permission to interview senior post-holders. Introductory letters

minutes were held with these senior post-holders while in one of the post-1992 institutions a significantly larger sample was interviewed alongside attendance at meetings and other events. In general the interviews in all four institutions addressed the following issues: the interviewees' current experience of work; past experience of work; changes in their experience of work; the consequences of these changes and anticipated future changes to their experience of work.

In the case of the further education colleges included in this study, a similar pattern of sampling and interviewing was followed. Four colleges were chosen from those in the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire regions to represent in terms of size and specialisms the general pattern of the post 1992 further education sector. Three of the four colleges have average state sector incomes of around £6m. The fourth college is twice this size with FEFCE income of around £13m (1996/7 figures)². In each college six senior post-holders were interviewed including: the principal, two service directors and three academic section heads. This was supplemented with four observational visits and further interviews with four programme co-ordinators in one of the colleges. The same question format used in higher education was used in interviews in the further education colleges.

The interview, observation and documentation; some strengths and weaknesses

were then sent to each potential interviewee and a follow up telephone-call made to confirm a willingness to participate and a convenient interview time and place. It is an indication of the familiarity of the research interview as a practice, and the willingness of people to take part in such work, that only three potential interviewees declined to take part in the research across the whole sample.

² ² In terms of levels of funding, two of the colleges have relatively low average levels of funding (ALF) of around £12 (1995-6). One college has an average ALF of around £15, and the fourth college has a relatively high ALF of nearly £19.

The interview is the core research method used in this study. While it could be argued that the interview is removed from the actual discursive practices of managing it has a number of strengths as a method, not least of which is that it is a relatively unproblematic way to organize access to a relatively large number of people in a variety of institutions. Yet principally the semi-structured private interview between researcher and senior post-holders provides a means of exploring the discursivity of the tensions that surround their positioning in colleges and universities. The interview provides some means of exploring those identities likely to be engaged in or produced by particular discursive practices. Essentially the interview can provide evidence of how senior post-holders routinely navigate transitions between various subject positions e.g. of manager and senior professional. It could also provide material for exploring the important discursive practices through which locales and stations might be reproduced e.g. staff-student field trips, off campus meetings, teaching audit processes.

However, in line with an interactionalist critique of a positivist orientation to the interview (Silverman, 1993) I am *not* assuming that what is said in the interview 'reflects' other situations. Neither am I arguing, as conversational analysts and ethnomethodologists tend to do, that the interview is a discrete event that can only be explained on the basis of the interaction between those involved. The interview *is* a particular accomplishment in its own right, but it is also an accomplishment achieved through and with the cultural resources of discourses available in these sites. Of course interviews are contrived settings, for gathering 'data'. Also they are easily treated as a public relations 'vehicle' by senior post-holders. Nevertheless, while it is important to assume that each interview is a

particular display each includes, to use Silverman's terms (1993), a display of the particulars, that is, of the vocabularies and genres of discursive practices which are at work in a particular social terrain. For instance a particular account given during an interview is potentially the actual account at work in other interactions, although this cannot be assumed.

I have however relied upon a mix of methods and not simply the interview. The argument here is not that a reliance on a 'mix' of methods produces some form of 'truthful' knowledge, simply that each of these methods, themselves discursive practices (see below), offers different ways of drawing on the discursivity of work sites, which can be then woven into the overall research narrative.

Observation and participant observation, for example, allow the researcher the chance to 'listen in' and 'work within' the terrain that is being reconstructed by new discursive practices and their embedded positions. Observation and participant observation provide ways of 'listening in' not simply to the official and unofficial stories, but also on the actual embodied practices. Textual accounts of this observation of embodiment provide ways of exploring the discourses at work. Rich description (Geertz, 1972) from observing or being part of events provides a way of exploring the discourses at work, particularly the tensions, breakages and ruptures between them as well as their seamlessness. Reading events from the position of the observer or participant also provides material that can be compared with other sources, e.g. documentary accounts and sources.

Meanwhile documentary sources are also extremely useful in that they provide accounts of the 'official' discourses at work in particular sites. As Fiske and Shotter highlighted in the discussion above, stationing or strategic practices tend to rely on representational devices and a realist understanding

of language, whereas the localising power is embedded in more dialogic forms of practices. Thus documentary sources e.g. job descriptions, audit reports, contracts, strategic plans, senior post-holder reports and reviews are important in that they illustrate the character of the kind of subjects such practices attempt to constitute across a particular terrain.

Some conditions on the 'data/corpus' derived from these methods

These methods, interview, observation and the collection of documentary materials, were those adopted for this study. However it is necessary to discuss further some of the implications of these. Firstly, such methods *themselves* (interviews, observation and documentary sources) are discursive practices. They are in other words actively engaged in constituting power/knowledge relations which variably provide and may help constitute particular subject positions, and hence subjectivities. Interviews particularly are, as Foucault's work highlights, genealogically linked to and implicated in the suffusion of modern forms of power (1990). Derived from the pastoral ritual of Christian confession, the interview has spread in the modern age to become, along with the examination, one of the key rituals of truth and power in modern society. Foucault argues, drawing on his material from his discussion of sex, that the power of this discursive ritual derives from two elements: the speaking subject being taken to be the subject of the statement, and the statement being made in the presence or virtual presence of a

partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and

intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile. (1990: 61-62)

But more than this, Foucault argues, the interview/confessional has become part of the processes of scientific discourses because of its centrality in the production of the discourses around sex. Of course, as a practice, the interview has spread and changed and been put to work for various purposes.

The motivations and effects it is expected to produce have varied, as have the forms that it has taken: interrogations, consultations, autobiographical narratives, letters, they have been recorded, transcribed, assembled into dossiers, published and commented on. (1990: 63)

Again, I want to stress that given the commitments of the study here, the statements made by senior post-holders in interview are conceptualised as produced *in part* by the discursive practice of the interview, as a particular display. Yet they also provide discursive materials produced by and through other embedded discursive practices e.g. localised administrative practice, the Research Assessment Exercise, the appraisal, the contract, the management team meeting, budget processes etc. What is crucially important is the dialogic aspects of interview discussion. The texts of interviews, I want to argue, are intertextually linked to other discursive practices. As well as the interview, the texts and utterances of the interviews with senior post-holders are dialogically produced by the textuality of the college or university. These research-orientated conversations in general terms can be assumed to refer to, respond to and anticipate the narratives, texts and stories found in these sites (Fairclough, 1992:101). Secondly, the interview texts are not read as being *of* the interviewees, reflecting some inner world of thought or emotion, rather the subject is produced by and through the interview textual practices (the texts in action) as is the subject

produced by and through the numerous other textual practices that organize the college/university.

In line with this, the interviews themselves adopt a certain approach aimed at *reducing* the extent to which a particular subject is produced by the practice itself. This opens up further the possibility of discussion of the effects of the discursive practices of the college and the university in which the interviewee is involved.

In terms of the power relations of the interview itself, I accept that it is inevitably engaged in enjoining people to produce an account for their various selves, to confess, in other words, and thus mimetically (re)inscribe themselves within particular discourses. However, a number of practices were adopted to try and reduce the 'need' to 'confess' in a particular way. Open-ended and deliberately ambiguous questions were used. The researcher explicitly denied any position of authority, in general terms positioning himself as a student or naive investigator. Tactics of dress and conduct were used so as not to directly evoke particular discourses and subject positions (e.g. if one were to dress in a business suit for instance the clothing induces particular ways of constituting the interviewer). Of course I assume that the subtle mix of elements including the vocabularies used by the researcher to present the study, the forms of dress he used, and numerous other clues that he is likely to have inadvertently given off, *do impact* substantially on the texts themselves. Nevertheless, by tactically attempting to reduce this, I was able to open up the discussion to those positionings in which the interviewees were embedded. As has been noted, the key questions upon which this study turns are: What subject positions does the speaker take up for him/herself, how is this done e.g. what practices are embedded in this, and what are the problematics that surround this? The

same set of questions were used in each interview (see appendix 1) and I broadly adopted the same approach to each interview itself. However, this was not a positivist approach to interview questions. I did not set out to mechanically reproduce the same conditions. There was and is a good deal of flexibility here, aimed at producing rich texts. This richness comes from engaging with the interviews as *a particular display*. To learn from them, one has to respond differently to each. Of course the general framework of starting with relatively non-threatening personalised questions, moving toward the more difficult questions toward the end was used, but as the questions themselves were highly non-specific, they were treated more as prompts to further discussion of issues that were being raised, rather than breaks in the discussion where the interviewee was to be solicited for his/her attitude to a particular aspect of managerial work.

The variety of ways in which I, as researcher, was positioned during the interviews give an indication as to the relative open-ness of the event. In some cases the I, as researcher, was positioned as an accomplice - as someone invited to share and invest in the heroics or problematics of the position of manager. On other occasions, I, as researcher, was positioned as a subject who shared a distance and possible questioning of the subject position of manager. In some cases I, as researcher, was positioned as a confidante with whom unofficial stories could be shared with impunity. For others, the interview seemed to be a 'slot' in the diary where a reasonably well rehearsed account of the institution, the work and the self would be offered. Interviews with the four college principals and the four university vice-chancellors tended to be like this. I, as researcher, was positioned as an outsider to whom the strategic agenda of the college or university would be explained. There were points in each of these interviews where certain

questions interrupted such narratives and other stories were told, but large sections of the discussion dealt with and were clearly repetitions of well rehearsed strategic narratives. Again this shows how the researcher is not outside the practices that construct knowledge of some areas. Researchers are deeply implicated in this construction, particularly during those crucial moments early on in interviews and during observations.

Other elements were of course important, particularly the physical location of the interview. All the HE interviews took place in the private rooms of the respondents. In further education, apart from interviews with the principals, most interviews took place in empty teaching or administrative rooms over which the interviewee had some control. However, eight of the 28 further education interviews were held in 'public space', for instance in the staff work rooms which many 'managers' in FE share with their lecturing and administrative colleagues. This inevitably changed the nature of the discussion. Speakers tended to present the publicly consumable version of changing conditions of work. However this was not the case for each, and on balance, each of these texts provides useful elements for the study.

Observational texts and documentary sources should also be treated in a similar sceptical fashion. Documentary sources are not 'windows' on organizations but are written for particular audiences and readers who are positioned within these organizations and constituted by the discursive practices that make them up.

Likewise observational practices, field note taking, *report and thesis writing* also, induce one to take a particular position from which to write. Thus the interview, observation and documentary sources and *their reproduction in various other textual forms* should be understood as discursive practices which are both partly constitutive of the identity of

researcher and that of the researched. The researcher cannot stand outside the 'data' in some liberal fantasy of observation. Her or his identity is constituted by the research practices. Thus it is possible to argue that there may be a kind of unspoken collusion between the researcher and researched, particularly over the identity of the 'manager', as the discursive practices of research work potentially confirm and reinscribe valued subject positions. In higher education particularly the identity of researcher might resonate for instance with the interviewees own identity as an academic researcher.

However, in spite of this, it is important to reaffirm that the 'manager' of the college or university is not simply produced through the discursive practices of research. The texts of discussions are informed by and reproductive of other cultural resources and their embedded subject positions/identities. For example, the subject positions of the social practices of gender, sexuality, age and disability are inevitably drawn in (Neal, 1995), but so too are the tensions around the construction of new managerial identities.

In summary, the interview as a discursive practice has a number of advantages and disadvantages as a device for exploring such a question. In terms of advantages, it is a relatively open space. Almost all the more than 65 senior post-holders I spoke with seemed to find the experience relatively harmless, even pleasurable. In part this was aided by the familiarity for them of the confidential research interview in further and higher education, and the identity of 'researcher'. As a result, interviews frequently went well beyond the 40 minute limit I would initially agree with the interviewees. Yet this signals a key disadvantage. The interview is a contrived space. It is not, directly at least, engaged in the discursive practices through which the

manager is an effect. While interviews with senior post-holders bring with them assumptions about the relative importance of these posts, the interview is a space removed from other sites where the problematics that surround the practices of managing might be directly articulated. As a result one can expect the speakers, given the relative openness of the confidential interview, to perhaps overplay their positioning and perhaps overstate their relative power or powerlessness in relation to others. Thus the interview should be treated as *a particular display* where many of the normalised controls on such displays have been removed. Particularly, it could be argued that the interview's 'removal' of the subject from the direct practices means that the new managerial identity can be analysed and critiqued by the speaker from within other narratives e.g. the educator or administrator. Thus while the interview could be said to provide a space via which the tensions around such competing subject positions can be explored, it is important that this not be taken itself as evidence that such tensions are invariably articulated at points when the managerial or educational or administrative subject is engaged through particular practices. After all, one of the ontological assumptions for this study is that 'human being' is fragmented and an effect of discursive practices. One's investment in and allegiance to particular practices in the midst of others cannot be guaranteed. As Fiske notes, the identities produced by locale and station are not necessarily in opposition to one another. Of course one's commitment to a relatively coherent narrative of self across these diverse practices might guarantee some sense of coherency and this is the kind of assumption that the interview questions suggest, yet it is important to hear narrative practices as just that - practices - whose content, and thus the formation of subjectivity, is constantly developing and changing.

The interview then should be treated as a kind of recording 'studio' where *some* exploration of the discourses that make up the assemblages known as colleges or the universities are heard and enacted. It can also be treated as a locale in its own right where confidentiality and relative openness of time and space provide the materials for producing or reproducing narratives of the self, and those of the college/university, which are likely to be variably subversive, resistant, but also creative and even innovative. It is extremely easy for the researcher to privilege the material gathered via the research interview. This needs to be set alongside and questioned via accounts and materials from other spaces - meetings, gatherings and the loose networks that make up the working practices of the college or the university.

Observational accounts of work relations in meetings or at work stations, for instance, along with documentary evidence, help to provide a counter to the problems of the interview. This caveat should over-arch a reading of the material which follows. Interviews are never pristine unmediated spaces through which to accurately trace the reality of organization. Organizations, and people, are 'made-up' through various practices and positions.

The next question becomes, given the epistemological commitments of the study: How should one analyse *and produce texts* from these research methods? This question of analysis can be broken down into three more detailed questions. Firstly, on what basis should one filter out pieces of text for analysis, or, in other words, on what basis can one justifiably choose one piece of text for analysis over another? Secondly, how should these fragments, sentences or blocks of text be analysed? And lastly, how should the analysis be reported. In relation to this last question it becomes important

to justify the various narrative positions or 'voices' taken up in the production. Just as the researcher is positioned in and by the research methods e.g. interviews and observations (and how these are accomplished as particular events), so to does the research report, conference paper or thesis demand that a particular narrative position or 'voice' be constructed. As Hatch (1996:369) argues in her critique of writing practices in organization studies, 'basic epistemological positions are constructed, at least in part, through the ways in which researchers construct themselves as narrators of their research stories'. She shows that even those researchers who accept what she terms a 'subjectivist' epistemological position (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), tend to take up the dominant objectivist 'god's eye' narrative position in their texts (1996:368). In the following I deal first with the related questions of the form of analysis of text and the problem of text selection, and then turn to the issue of narrative position or 'voice' in the research report.

Analysing the texts - critical discourse analysis

As noted above, the key question for the research is what subject positions does the speaker take up for him/herself? How is this produced, e.g. what practices are embedded in this and what are the problematics that surround this?

There are a number of forms of discourse and narrative analysis available which could be used to address interview material (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; van Dijk, 1985; Burman and Parker, 1993; Curt, 1994; Feldman, 1994; Bal, 1985). However, Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis offers a number of tools which aid particularly the exploration of the subject positions found in interview texts (1989, 1992,

1993, 1995, Fairclough and Hardy, 1997). While Fairclough's approach has much in common with other forms of discursive analysis (e.g. Potter and Wetherell's), its strength and difference is found in the positioning of linguistic analysis within a broad social science frame of reference. His approach has a three dimensional analytical framework for the study of discourse comprising - text, discursive practice and social practice. Fairclough situates the analysis of texts (i.e. their vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and structure) within micro-sociological analysis of discursive practices or genres, which he understands as practices of production, consumption and distribution of texts (e.g. the interview can be understood as a genre of language use). Discursive practices are then set within the broad frame of social practice. Following Halliday (1985), Fairclough suggests that actual texts must be read as simultaneously engaged in the problematics of attempting to represent 'reality', to (re)enact social relations and to (re)establish identities (1992:9). What this means is that the formal aspects of language - vocabulary and grammar - be understood as actively productive of relational, experiential and expressive characteristics which make-up particular identities, relations and systems of knowledge.

Fairclough's emphasis is on the analysis of language and discursive practices, but it is clear that he understands 'text' to refer not simply to language forms, but to all human practices, objects, signs or representations that carry meaning (1992:72). So clearly the practices that organize buildings, rooms, seating positions, forms of body conduct, forms of dress, (the whole ensemble which produces the 'work station' for example) are textual in that they have embedded in them discursive and social practices and therefore signify differently depending on the discourses or discourse types or devices that make them meaningful.

It is not my intention in this study to offer a detailed account and critique of Fairclough's approach (Pennycook, 1994). The aim is to outline the features of the approach which allow an investigation of the problematics and processes involved in speakers taking up particular subject positions in the texts that make up the corpus of the research documents (interview transcripts, observational notes/reports and documentary materials). It is similarly not my aim to argue in any more than a general way for the usefulness of Fairclough's approach over other forms of analysis (for instance to discuss Fairclough's linguistic approach against an analysis found in conversation analysis or deconstruction). However I want to make a few key points.

Broadly, critical discourse analysis supports the conceptual points made earlier - particularly in Chapter 1. It provides a means of addressing language and language use in detail without losing sight of the way language and power are mutually implicated.

Fairclough's approach also resonates well with the conceptual approach presented in Chapter three. He engages with much of Foucault's approach to discourse, but suggests that it requires a more detailed analysis of actual language and practices and should be more keenly concerned with what Potter and Wetherell term the 'established' aspects of discourse (that is with a Neo-Marxist concern with the social landscape of material interests, alliances and directions of domination). Generally Fairclough argues, in line with the work of sociologists like Giddens, Beck, Lash and Bourdieu, that such alliances and sets of interests are increasingly mediated discursively. The so-called 'linguistic turn' in social theory mirrors, in other words, a broad 'linguistic turn' in social life.

Human societies have progressively enhanced the role of language in the business of social life, including the workplace. (Fairclough and Hardy, 1997)

Thus social change must be explored as produced discursively. Yet this is not to suggest that texts determine social conditions. Fairclough argues that

you cannot extrapolate from the formal features of a text to their structural effects on the constitution of societies. The relationship is indirect. They only become 'real' when they are embedded in social interaction when texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common sense assumptions (1989:39).

Fairclough works with the Foucauldian term 'orders of discourse' (1992) to address these 'indirect effects'. Orders of discourse are those texts, discursive practices and social practices which constitutes some area of social activity, particularly that which provides the cultural resources from which identities are constructed.

Doing critical discourse analysis

Fairclough's broad point is that much recent social science takes a very generalised view on the notion of discourse, which needs to be empirically supported. He suggests that

close reference to the texture of texts allows the analyst to show how social and cultural processes which are often described in rather general terms are concretised into the detailed behaviours of people's lives. (Fairclough and Hardy, 1997)

I now want to give an example of the kind of analysis suggested and some general elements which will be used to address the actual research texts below. The example involves the analysis of two text samples. In Fairclough's form of analysis he suggests that initial analysis position the text

sample in a macro-perspective. The two texts below were chosen for their direct articulation of what might be understood as two rival discourses of managing. It can be argued (Eccles and Nohria, 1993) that management discourse tends to 'cycle' backwards and forth between the inevitably complementary mechanistic Taylorite approaches to control and human relations influenced approaches. The first stresses the need for tight specification of tasks and job, while the latter stresses the need for management to enhance the socio-cultural 'environment' in which work is undertaken.

In Watson's study (1994, discussed in Chapter 1), he describes how the company's official discourse of 'empowerment, skills and growth' was at odds with an unofficial, but nevertheless 'actual' discourse of control, jobs and costs. He notes that these are themselves, while not directly linked, reminiscent of McGregor's theory X and theory Y understanding by managing. In this the control language of Taylorism is pitted against a 'democratic humanist' theory of work motivation (Watson, 1994).

The first text sample is from a British publication entitled 'Clarifying Organisational Values', by Woodcock and Francis (1989). The second is from a Harvard Business Review interview with Robert Haas, chief executive of Levi Strauss and Co Ltd.

Woodcock and Francis claim that

managers should understand, acquire and maintain power despite the inherent dangers of an authoritarian approach . . . despite the risks, there is no practical alternative; managers must manage. (1989: 27)

Haas meanwhile claims that:

managers should create an environment where people want to move in a constructive direction - not because there is money tied to the end of it, but because they feel it's right and they want to do it. (Howard, 1990)

Fairclough (1989; 1992) suggests that critical discourse analysis involves processes of description and interpretation where texts are read in context as discursive and social practices. Of key importance for the analysis of text samples is intertextuality and interdiscursivity. This refers to the way texts 'mix up' discourse types, genres, vocabularies and activities. It refers analytically to the way the text can be read as a response to and an anticipation of other texts. Obviously, the intertextuality of the interviews with senior post-holders is a crucial element in the study below, as it offers clues as to how the new managerial discourses move across and through the post-compulsory terrain, perhaps reconstructing that terrain as they go.

Following a general interpretation of the text samples, Fairclough suggests that descriptions be made of the formal features of the text (vocabulary, grammar for instance), looking for the expressive, relational and experiential values; alongside this descriptions are offered of the discursive practices that constrain the production, consumption and distribution of such texts. These descriptions are then interpreted to build an account of those discourse types or conventions which are being drawn on, reproduced and possibly altered. Discourse practices include the interview, the meeting, the informal chat, the book or the article. All of these establish particular subject positions and constrain and enable certain types of text production, consumption and distribution. This is followed by further interpretation of how the analysed texts and discursive practices contribute to an understanding of social processes, for instance the power relations embedded in managing.

Describing the texts

Both authors above divide up the world experientially into managers and an 'Other', and use certain vocabulary and grammatical features to construct relations between these two entities. Both also put the auxiliary verb 'should' to work to attempt to solidify their statements as obligations on the part of managers rather than simply as points of view about manager's work. The authors diverge, however, on the object of the 'Other' and the nature of this relation.

For Woodcock and Francis, the primary other with which the manager has a relation is power. The relation is one of acquisition and maintenance. Power, treated as an entity, is thus drawn toward the manager by the use of these terms. The acquisition of power is also placed above alternatives through the phrase 'there is no practical alternative', and also made dangerous in some unspecified way through the text's use of the term 'risk'. Woodcock and Francis finally use the imperative mode to affirm their statement through the use of the verbs 'is' and 'must' in 'there is no alternative' and 'managers *must* manage' (my emphasis).

For Haas the primary 'Other', unto which the manager acts, is not power but the much softer and positively valued term 'environment'. Haas' use of the term 'creating' rather than say 'setting' or 'controlling' an 'environment' highlights the positive evaluations attempted. The manager's relation with the 'people', to whom Haas ascribes wants and feelings, is then necessarily indirect and largely un-stated. Money is mentioned as an experiential value in the environment but ruled out as the direct motivator of 'people'. Lastly it is important to describe the text as a discursive process.

Interpreting texts as discursive practices

The aim here is to begin to place the text within a social context, exploring it as part of discursive practice which supports, resists or attempts to overthrow certain relations, or directionalities, of power. The questions are: What is going on? Who is involved? What are their relations? and What is the role of language? Answers to the first three questions provide materials which build accounts of discourse types or conventions with embedded subject positions or selves, relations between people and forms of knowledge. These discourse types or conventions can then be understood as engaged in the production of Fiske's locales and stations.

Interpreting the discursive practice

What is going on? The activity types for the samples above are: a book aimed at managers, and a magazine article also aimed at managers and academics. Who is involved? The subject positions for those involved in the production are, in the first sample, the authors, who also present themselves as management consultants. In the second sample the producer's subject positions are those of interviewee and chief executive officer of a major corporation. The subject positions provided for text interpreters are firstly that of reader of the text and secondly possibly that of fellow manager. Both samples are broadly attempting to prescribe managerial action in different ways, and are therefore concerned to provide a 'place' in the text for a manager.

As noted above, the authors draw into the text different but widely available discourse types. In terms of identities, relations and content the discourse types are of the manager positioned as the initiator of action. The relation is with 'an Other' which is seen as the object of one's efforts. Each

sample could be said to draw on differing knowledges to accomplish this. In the first sample the knowledge might be about how to acquire and maintain power and in the second knowledges about how to create environments which infuse people's wants and feelings with those of the corporation. This leads us to further interpretation where it is a 'matter of seeing a discourse as part of a process of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power' (Fairclough, 1989:163) and where there are tensions, ruptures and shifts in relations between locales and stations.

Interpreting the texts as socially engaged

The two samples above represent two differing approaches to the problem of how 'to do' managing. For the management academic these examples could be seen as possible alternative ways of talking about managing for the purpose of teaching management. We could argue that the articulation of these discourses serve generally to legitimate the place of academic institutions in relation to the state and private sector organisations. In work organisations there are tensions for managers in how and when they articulate these differing discourses. In Watson's study (1994) the tension is referred to as the 'Guns and Roses' culture. The pointed gun is symbolic of the control, jobs and costs discourse whereas 'roses' symbolise the empowerment, skills and growth discourse. Nevertheless the text samples both confirm the position of the manager or managerial subject. In doing so they are at work in a wider societal tension over access to certain material and symbolic resources as well as the general directionality in capitalist economies toward the accumulation of surplus in private hands and the continued commodification of areas of social life.

Yet what is perhaps interesting about these statements is that while Woodcock and Francis are uncompromisingly direct in their concern that managers must manage, Haas' exposition presents a perhaps more insidious attempt to accomplish the same effect. For me, as a reader, Haas's statement suggests that power be diffused through 'environment' and thereby into people's wants and feelings. His use of the term 'constructive', whose synonyms according to my thesaurus are 'helpful', 'useful', 'productive' and 'effective', begs the question: constructive to whom - people, corporation, manager? If we go back, however, to the way Haas constructs the relation between the manager and the people - indirect and diffused through 'environment' - then what he is suggesting is that the manager is able *to create* the wants and feelings of the 'people', that is, constitute their relations to themselves. If we assume that the manager is acting in the interests of the corporation, then those wants and feelings which are constructive for 'people' will, by definition, be those deemed constructive for the corporation.

This brief example shows how critical discourse analysis provides a means of addressing the potent issues in managerial thought - particularly the extent to which management is *embedded* in work organizations rather than being explicitly manifest. The aim is to produce a managed environment which infuses those whom are its target with the appropriate self-disciplining dispositions and forms of conduct (see Casey, 1995; Willmott, 1993, Jacques, 1996 for discussion of debate around the construction of the employee through environment/culture).

Critical elements in Critical Discourse Analysis

As well as the above, it is worth briefly noting some of the critical elements which critical discourse analysis provides for addressing the construction of particular identities and relations. It is not necessary to reproduce Fairclough's approach completely to undertake this form of analysis. Some elements are better suited to asking particular questions of texts. Given the research question of this study the following elements seem crucial.

Actives and passives: Management texts often exhibit various constructions of agency. They might use, for instance, active rather than passive sentence constructions and position the speaker as the agentic subject of the text. Alternatively texts often use passive constructions and delete the agent. Note how 'universities have been starved of funds' or '50 academics have been sacked', omits the agents in the processes.

Nominalisations: management texts often include nouns which stand in for verbal processes, an effect known as nominalisation (see Hodge and Kress, 1979). The terms 'management' and 'organization' can be considered common nominalisations for the often 'messy' practices of managing and organizing which are these compressed into an abstract noun. This, for instance, might reinforce the managers' claims to be in possession of a generalisable and efficient form of applicable knowledge. Clearly such moves are not arbitrary but are part of the constitution of particular strategic and tactical practices and particular identities.

Modes, modality and pronouns: As well as nominalisation, modality and sentence modes are important for constituting the relational aspects of texts and thus the construction of particular identities and relations. As noted

in the example above, sentence modes establish the relation between the speaker and the listener. For example in the 'grammatical question' the speaker is asking something of the listener who is assumed to have the information, while in the declarative the listener is simply a receiver of information. Of course the picture is much more complicated than this in actual texts. Yet sentence modes, as well as modality, are central to the construction of authority relations between those positioned by texts.

Modality, separated into relational and expressive elements, refers to the grammatical features which establish relations of authority either directly between speaker and listener or in relation to some form of truth or knowledge. Modality, as Fairclough illustrates in his analysis of Margaret Thatcher's radio interview (1989: 169-196), was crucial to Mrs Thatcher's attempt to stress both her authority and the truthfulness of her claims. She used for example strong modal verbs, 'must', 'should', 'have got to', and appeals to categorical truth - expressed through the use of the present tense (1989: 183-184). Pronouns are obviously also important for the construction of particular relations between subject positions - us and them, we and you - and are crucially important for elaborating the various authority relations. For example the inclusive 'we' is often used by college principals and vice chancellors to refer variably to the college, the senior management team or the staff in relation to students or teachers.

The analysis below relies at various points on the kind of approach suggested by Fairclough. In terms of advantages, critical discourse analysis provides a means of exploring texts for features which build an account of the tensions and struggles between discourses as they address and constitute subjects in competing ways. While the text examples on management practices analysed in the preceding pages provided little in the

way of intertextuality for analysis, this is a core feature in Fairclough's work and that addressed below. Again intertextuality refers to the way texts are made up of potentially different discourse types, genres and vocabularies which to some listeners or readers display an unevenness or 'lumpiness'. For the listener confronted by this 'lumpiness' it may signal the need for intervention and challenge. For the analyst it may provide clues as to the processes of change underway in particular sites and within particular individuals. This 'lumpiness' may, at various points, produces moments of breakdown or crisis. It also induces circularity. In interviews certain 'problems' are returned to in the talk time and again. It is these points of return, crisis, breakage or uncertainty which I have used to code the interview texts, in line with Fairclough's suggestion:

One selection strategy which has much to recommend it is to focus on what I earlier called 'crucies' and 'moments of crisis'. These are moments in the discourse where there is evidence that things are going wrong; a misunderstanding which requires participants to 'repair' a communicative problem, for example through asking for or offering repetitions, or through one participant correcting another; exceptional disfluencies (hesitations, repetitions) in the production of a text; silences; sudden shifts in style. (1992:230)

Nevertheless while Fairclough's suggested method provides a framework for identifying and drawing out fragments of text, sentences and paragraphs for more detailed analysis, what is also required is a means of marshalling and organizing these text samples. Given the size and complexity of the interview material, control is crucial. Kvale (1996) suggests three possibilities here: meaning condensation, meaning categorisation and narrative structuring (1996:192-193). Obviously Kvale's interpretivist leanings, signalled by the term 'meanings', are at odds with Fairclough's form of analysis, but given that Fairclough's work tends to focus on discrete pieces of texts, Kvale's advice is helpful in dealing with a large body of

interview transcripts. As a means of filtering and producing a corpus of material to work on, these methods of condensation, categorization and, to some extent, narrative structuring have been employed below. I want to give a brief account of the process here to illustrate how this was done.

In the case of interview materials from both further and higher education I began filtering the transcripts by first conducting a thorough and detailed reading of all the interview texts. As I read I compiled a list of 'points of return', giving them a brief descriptive title and noting their location in the interview transcripts. Next, using the computer, I 'cut and pasted' all these points of return with their associated transcript location, into separate word processing files. Each of these was then read, categorised and condensed under broader thematic headings which became separate files. With these categories in place, I was then able to collect illustrative text samples from the original transcripts which were long enough to give a sense of the way in which these issues were addressed in the interview itself and could be compared and analysed along with other samples which addressed the same broad issue. These thematic files with attached illustrative text samples provided the core material from which I drew when 'writing up' the thesis chapters which follow.

It is worth giving a sense of the issues that these broader thematic 'points of return' addressed. With the higher education interview material one of the core 'points of return' I describe as the tension between 'core and periphery relations'. This included a 'struggle over where the university was located', (was the university the central institution, or the departmental units). Obviously this links together accounts of various practices of devolution and centralisation. A similar point of return could be found in the further education

transcripts. I termed this 'difficulties with senior managers, tactically facing the 'centre'.

A particularly important 'point of return' which transcended both the further and higher education interview materials involved the problematics of becoming a 'manager' as this tended to challenge professional relations and identities. As Fairclough suggests these tensions or points of return are often signalled by 'breakdowns' in the texts where speakers repeat phrases or correct themselves. These points are illustrative of the way subject positions 'give way' to others, and are thus potentially illustrative of the tensions that surround the construction of the manager in further and higher education.

However, one of the problems of critical discourse analysis with its textual, discursive and social cultural framework, is that it proves very time-consuming and daunting, particularly when dealing with large quantities of text. While the corpus of material used in the discussion below has been carefully sifted and condensed there is a need to take advantage of the similarities of account from the various interviewees. Here Kvale's narrative analysis proves useful. Thus, rather than address the detailed features of the text samples, it was the 'stories' told by the interviewees which are put to work below. Often very similar stories were told by different interviewees in relation to recent institutional events and processes. These accounts provide resources for building relatively coherent accounts of particular events or processes. This is the approach which underpins the section in Chapter seven entitled 'Example: Charisma to Managerialism via an 'execution' for example. In general then the approach taken below mixes, where appropriate, these two forms of analysis. Detailed textual analysis and more generalised narrative analysis.

While critical discourse analysis informs the analysis of textual material, at points I take a seemingly more realist stance and pursue the collective narratives of events compiled from numerous interview texts, documentation and observation. I do not forsake the detailed textual analysis but treat it implicitly as informing the interpretation of the social practices addressed in the interview, observational and documentary research materials. This approach is broadly in line with that suggested by Fiske (1994). He argues that by working with a systemic theory of knowledge, that is a theory that argues that knowledge is socially constructed by structuring practices, one is able to explore textual examples or utterances as instances of culture which illustrate both how the 'system structures the whole way of life and the ways of living that people devise within it' (1994:105).

Yet in both cases where I take up either a more detailed analysis or assemble various narratives together to produce an account, the issue of narrative positioning or 'voice' of the researcher/reporter/writer needs to be addressed.

Narrative position or 'Voice' in the research text

A key question raised by the issue of how to analyse and report on the research work, is what narrative position or positions the researcher ought to take up or draw on in producing the research text. In this short section I shall discuss: the dominant approach, some of the problems with this, the issue of narrative position in texts which drawn on poststructural approaches, and some of the problems and tensions around this. Through this I shall briefly justify the various narrative practices taken up in the thesis below.

As Hatch (1996) argues there are four general narrative positions or voices used to construct social science writings: the main character tells the story (Burrell, 1993; Game, 1994; Kondo, 1990), minor character tells the story (Geertz, 1972; Law, 1994; Watson, 1994), narrator tells the story as observer (Middlehurst, 1993; Ainley and Bailey, 1997; Trowler, 1996; Elliott, 1996a) and analytic or omniscient narrator tells the story (Foucault, 1980). While Hatch commends this latter position, the dominant convention tends to be that of narrator as seemingly neutral observer. As Hatch argues such a position tends to affirm a realist and dualist position with regard to social knowledge i.e. the world is 'out there' and made of 'things' which can be described by an observer. Even qualitative research, which directly challenges these assumptions tends to take up this dominant position (Halford et al, 1997; Du Gay, 1996). For example Susan Halford and her colleagues take up this narrative position in their research (1997), even though it is concerned primarily with the analysis of discourse. This is illustrated in the following.

As in banking, local government workers commented particularly on how it is discourses about motherhood and organization which serve to reinforce the notion that women's primary commitment is to home life, whilst their commitment to the organization comes, of necessity, second. Martin, a senior clerk, had strong view on this:

any normal, decent women would want to be assured that the upbringing of [her] child is as safe and prosperous as it can be. So I suppose, yes, the woman's perspective would be more home orientated even if she's got a career of her own. (1997:206-207)

While there are points in this work (which I take to be an exemplar of recent qualitative analysis from organization studies) where the researcher 'appears' in the text (as those who ask questions, or as researchers at work on their data) in general terms the construction of the researchers' own voice

or narrative position is that of observer, who in this case is situated as a 'listener'. While far from unusual, this lack of reflection in the text with regard to the author's narrative position is perhaps a little unsettling given that the authors make explicit reference to the way in which they guided their interviewees into the construct of their 'career' narratives.

During the course of the analysis of the interview data, we increasingly came to recognise these data as a form of narrative. Indeed, by asking our respondents to reflect upon their past lives and think about what they had achieved in their careers, we were inviting them to construct 'career narratives' by reflecting upon their working life trajectories and tell us their occupational stories (1997:62).

This suggests then that while the interviewers were engaged in actively producing the interviewees narrative from which the research was drawn, the narrative position or 'voice' taken up to produce the research text takes on a perhaps un-due stability and authority.

The key point arising from this is that just as the interview as a discursive practice is infused with power relations, similar issues are raised with regard to the 'voice' of the researcher in the research report. As Putnam argues (1996) narrative position is not simply an outcome of the choices which researchers make.

Power infuses the production of knowledge through the way we gather and analyse data, as well as through the way we present our findings . . . power is also embedded in the way that academic practices shape the production of research texts. The ideology of the research report strongly influences how we write, what forms we use, and what outlets we seek . . . These politics of representation may supersede the role of narrative position in understanding organizational research. (1996:385)

What responses to these issues could be made in the research report? One would be to follow the novel examples of a number of authors from across the social sciences who have recently taken up the challenged induced by this poststructural reflexivity over the 'author' and produced

highly innovative works (Curt, 1994; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992; Burrell, 1996; Maclure and Stonach, 1996). In the following however I have taken a more moderate approach. While the great bulk of the analysis that follows takes up the conventional tropes of the qualitative research report, as exemplified by Halford et al, I have attempted to address these issues (in an inevitably partial way) in four segments of the text below. The first and most crucial response is found at the beginning of chapter seven. Here I use a fictionalised account of my positioning within the discursive practices of the academic conference to establish a poststructuralist or postdualist account of the construction of identity. The section entitled 'Conference Going and the Construction of academic identity' is presented in block quotation format as if it were a quotation from another speaker. However this speaker is a 'me' discussing the construction of 'me' as an academic through the discursive practices of a particular academic conference. While the example is used to provide the basis for discussing the construction of the FHE manager, through it I am also highlighting a reflexive stance in relation to the narrative position or 'voice' which pervades the thesis. The example highlights how narrative position is not simply an outcome of the choices which researchers make in reporting their results, but more substantially an effect of particular relations of power embedded in the dominant discursive practices which produce academic knowledge. In the segment the speaker, attributed with an awareness of this, can be read as speaking back to the dominant narrative position which pervades the thesis and which itself is engaged in the production of an academic identity.

Similarly, but perhaps in less dramatic fashion, the accounts of the three meetings I attended at College 'A' have been written in such a way as to highlight the tensions around narrative position. Ostensibly I attended

these meetings as an observer; someone listening in on the 'work' of section managers and programme co-ordinators. In order to highlight the problematics of assuming that one can simply listen and record discourse in some neutral and positivistic fashion, I have put my reports of these meetings in the same block quotation format. By adopting this approach I have attempted to highlight that these segments of text should not be read simply as accounts of these meetings per se, but accounts of these meetings written through the narrative position of the observer. Such an approach helps to highlight the inherent selectivity and storied-ness (Curt, 1994) of research writing and also the production of the subject position of 'researcher' through the discursive practices in which he or she is embedded. As is clear from this discussion, issues of narrative position and power, like those that relate to the interview as a discursive practice, present substantial dilemmas for researchers taking up a broad postdualist position. Yet to foreground these issues at every turn in the research process, to make them the focus of research, risks compromising the possibility of using the time and space made available by research programmes to engage with, in my view, the more substantial issues of organizational life. As mentioned in the introduction to section one, the position taken here is that the adoption of a fully elaborated poststructural position puts into question the possibility of producing research knowledge in the first instance. For the purposes of this piece of work, I have sought to highlight these substantial issues here, and address them by way of the format used below. But at the same time I'm concerned that these issues do not compromise the possibility of discussing the 'development' of the 'manager' in further and higher education.

Section 2 Chapter 6. 'Further and Higher Education's turbulent years'

Introduction

This chapter overviews the 'reforms' which have engaged further and higher education since the late 1980s. The aim is firstly to position the 'reforms' within the wider processes of political-economic reconstruction, within the reforms of the public sector, and then to discuss the legislative, regulatory and fiscal elements that bear down on and elaborate the construction of the 'manager' in further and higher education. The aim here is not to read these changes sequentially and neutrally but as constitutive of an ascendant managerial station, or to use Law's term, 'mode of ordering' (1994), in further and higher education

Positioning the 'power bloc' - changing political-economic alliances and education as service industry

Drawing on the notion of the 'power bloc' presented above, the reconstruction of further and higher education in the last ten years has to be read as an effect of attempts by an ascendant neo-liberal (Thatcherite) power bloc to radically re-write the terms by which the public sector generally, and post compulsory education specifically, is organized and governed. The Thatcherite power-bloc in general terms can be said to comprise a distinctive set of alliances between private capital, a radical Conservatism propagated by, for example, Sir Keith Joseph, and heterogeneous sections of the electorate. This power-bloc encompassed diverse shades of political opinion

- notably in relation to the meaning of Nationalism and the European question. As moves towards European Federalism have been made or projected, the Thatcherite alliance has become progressively split and disorganized as a populist ideology as well as a political force. The last Thatcherite Government was dramatically swept from office in April 1997. However, this was not before it had won five consecutive general elections and, it can be argued, significantly reconstructed the UK's political and economic landscape (Jenkins, 1995; Clarke and Newman, 1997; MacInnes, 1987).

In terms of the public sector, the key elements of the Thatcherite power bloc's 'common sense' was that the state sector was a 'drain' on the UK economy, was inefficient and unresponsive to taxpayer 'needs' and largely controlled by elite professional groupings. Such a construction of the public sector was set early on in the Thatcher Government's term in office. Lady Thatcher wrote in the 1979 Conservative Party Manifesto,

No-one who has lived in this country for the last five years can fail to be aware of how the balance of our society has been increasingly tilted in favour of the State at the expense of *individual freedom*. . . the state takes too much of the nation's income; its share must be steadily reduced. (quoted in Pollitt, 1993: 44, emphasis added).

The neo-liberal emphasis on 'individual freedom' provides the basis for a reconstruction of the 'public' as consumers, and the public sector as public enterprises engaged in providing services to meet individual consumer/customers/client needs (the emphasis is away from notions of collective social provision). Through this, public sector organizations are re-imagined and reconstructed as 'businesses' by new funding and regulatory practices which position them as having to bid or contract to provide a certain level of 'output' to a certain specification (Hoggett, 1996). As public sector organizations are re-imagined as contractors and service

providers, managerial knowledges and practices come to suffuse the terrain previously occupied by professional and administrative knowledge and practices. Public sector organizations are said to be without 'effective management'. The classic anecdote of this is found in the Griffiths Report on the NHS which recommended the introduction of general managers to hospitals. The report suggested that if Florence Nightingale was carrying her lamp through the corridors of the NHS today, she would almost certainly be looking for the people in charge (1983:12). The 'manager' thus becomes a central figure in public sector reconstruction charged with being responsible and accountable for service provision against centrally controlled 'contract' levels of work (Willocks and Harrow, 1992). As Clarke and Newman note

Managerialism intersects with the New Right project in several ways. Decentralisation, contracting, the creation of 'quasi-markets', privatisation and other processes integral to state restructuring have all placed a new emphasis on managerial and business skills. (1997:36)

Generally these have been variably productive in reconstituting the public sector as an extension of the service economy. While large segments have been turned over to corporate capitalism, the 'core' areas of education, health, social services and defence remain broadly taxpayer funded and publicly accountable to Parliament. Yet in these areas, the aim has been to transform the sector *as if it had been* privatised. As Hall notes

The right . . . wanted [the public sector] to be submitted to the institutional logic of the market. It is only to be worked, operated, regulated and disciplined in ways that markets do. (1993:15)

Hall's general point, and that of other writers (Rose, 1996a; Du Gay, 1996), is that the public sector does not need to be privatised as such, but

the way in which it is organized and governed 'should' mirror private sector practices.

Critical analysts of public sector reconstruction note that the key point of this infusion of 'managerial skills' is that such restructuring is not simply the application of progressive and 'necessary' business skills, but politically and culturally significant. Broadly, the stationing of the 'manager' is an attempt by an ascendant power bloc to cement in place a particular disposition which reinscribes the relations between state and public, between public sector employees and those they serve and, most importantly, between the public and itself. This remapping engages a broad cultural reconstruction of notions of the public, citizenship, professionalism and, of conceptions of education generally. Education is progressively constructed as an individual economic 'good' provided by post-compulsory sector colleges and universities who compete to meet the needs of various customers/consumers. Management and business skills, while often presented as such are neither neutral, apolitical nor disinterested. Despite powerful and mystifying claims to the contrary management is a social practice, not a scientific/technological one. The 'manager', as Reed notes, is a social category positioned in an attempt to finesse a way between structural demands and constraints and human objections (1990: 81). The theoretical content of management is not derived directly from science and experimentation but from the various crises and elisions in the historical and cultural relations of power (particularly of capitalism and patriarchy) that have enabled and impeded, at turns, management's emergence (Allvesson and Willmott; 1996:38). Responses to such crises and elisions have then claimed or been glossed with the legitimating, neutralising and objectifying force of scientific discourse. Management in this light might be more adequately

considered a problematic and precarious process of political manoeuvre, which draws on and progressively exhausts particular 'innovations' (Eccles and Nohria, 1993) as they fail to secure the effects promised. As a result there is, as Thompson and McHugh assert, no 'one-best-way' to manage, only different routes to partial failure (1991).

By reading management as politically engaged (but with a tendency to deny this engagement), it is not surprising that there have been a number of varieties and variations to this 'managerial logic' during the Thatcher/Major years, and variable degrees and configurations by which particular state sectors have been subject to each of these (Jenkins, 1995; Clarke et al, 1994; Clarke and Newman, 1997; Farnham and Horton, 1993; Willocks and Harrow, 1992; Pollitt, 1993; Stewart and Walsh, 1992; Hood, 1991). Broadly the legislative, regulatory and organizational 'reforms' which swept through the public sector during the 1980s and 1990s approach the 'problems' of the public sector (articulated by the Thatcherite power bloc in relation to its cost, relative efficiency and producer 'capture') by moving initially, as Pollitt suggests (1993), from broadly Taylorite specification and control of costs, to more consumerist and culture/human relations-based approaches in the later years of the Conservative era.

Constructing the 'accountable manager'

The public sector management literature amply illustrates this move from what I shall term the 'accountable manager' to the 'enterprising

manager'. The 'accountable manager', to some, is the line manager and to others the 'hard' Taylorite managerialist dispatched to cut costs across the public sector. The 'accountable manager' can be seen as Griffiths' general manager (1983), Hood's 'New Public Management' (1991) and Pollitt's 'implementor of new disciplines of measurement and rationalisation' (1993). The opposition upon which this positioning is built is that the public sector has been/is controlled by unaccountable professions or consensualist management. As Pollitt notes: 'Everywhere the hierarchy of 'line management' is said to need strengthening - presumably against the forces of organisational pluralism and professional autonomy' (1993:85). Conservative ministers constantly reproduced this opposition and positioning during the 1980s and 1990s. Kenneth Clarke, who held a number of significant cabinet posts during the Thatcher and Major years, including education, declared that the Conservative-driven changes involved 'taking on powerful vested producer interests' and the 'acceptance of modern thinking and modern management in the public services where virtually none existed before' (Guardian, February 2, 1993) .

Later in the Conservative period, Government's reforms moved from a focus on cost control to managed or quasi-markets and to constructing the 'enterprising manager'. This is not to suggest that the 'accountable manager' was replaced. More it was augmented in part through challenges to the 'accountable manager'. Common et al (1992), for example, identified disillusioned public sector managers in their study. Disillusionment arose in the face of confronting intractable barriers between the way managers would like to operate (possibly as the 'accountable' manager) when the 'realities' of working in the public sector intervene. These 'realities' might be conflict between profit and equity of treatment or use; between task

execution and 'looking after' staff; or over the appropriateness of treating some groups such as the ill, the unemployed, the offender or the student as a customer. Underpinning this are arguments about the application of private sector management discourses to the public sector (Ackroyd et al, 1989; Stewart and Walsh , 1992; Willocks and Harrow, 1992; Reed and Anthony, 1991).

Welcome to the 'enterprising manager'

If the 'accountable manager' is concerned primarily with cost control and intensifying the contribution of labour (which includes substituting relatively expensive labour for cheaper forms and more closely specifying and attempting to control professional practices), then the 'enterprising manager' augments this with recourse to a discourse of change, empowerment and liberation (Clarke and Newman, 1993). As Clarke and Newman note in their account , *The Managerial State* (1997), the notion of change powerfully colonises space for debate about public services. Its narrative logic, which locates the local in a global order of inevitable and fast moving change, positions those who might challenge a particular 'change' as being against change itself. Those who resist the 'calling' to change are assumed to be personally, socially and organizationally engaged in protecting vested interests (1997: 53), traditional practice and bureaucracy.

Through this the 'enterprising manager' is constructed as concerned with liberating him/herself and her/his organizations from the strictures of traditional practice, bureaucracy and entrenched interests. It is this particular issue which has proved so powerful and alluring for the Foucault-inspired Governmentalists (Rose, 1989; Du Gay et al, 1996; Burchell, 1993; Gordon,

1991). The Thatcherite Power bloc's attempt to suffuse an 'enterprise culture' elaborates a new field of governmentality where the micro-techniques of governing oneself - in an enterprising fashion - intersect with and reproduce a whole political economic terrain. As Rose notes in relation to management, the 'enterprising manager' promises 'economic progress, career progress and personal development intersected upon this new psycho-therapeutic territory' (1989:115).

The 'enterprising manager', according to some strands of the public sector management literature, can be read as a 'born again' 'accountable manager' fired with an almost evangelical desire to reconstruct the 'static frozen wastes', to use Issac-Henry et al's term (1992), of public sector organisations with a zeal for the customer/user. This is Common et al's 'champion of change' (1992:121), Issac-Henry et al's 'effective change leader' [who is concerned with the 'penetration (sic) and durability of reform' (1992: 45)], and Pollitt's 'heroic cultural engineer' (1993:170). Frequently this construction deals only with how *this manager* orchestrates change. Only occasionally do 'the people' appear whom the inseminator seeks to change. For instance in Issac-Henry et al's text the authors suggest that the priority for the change leader is 'keeping the staff informed and involved, indeed empowering them'. While there is a good deal of slippage between informing, involving and empowering, the relationship constructed is one of doing something unto 'the other'. Any response by 'the other' is seen as the fertilisation of the manager's action. Instructively, the authors add a later rider to those who might take up the subject position of inseminator. 'One must be wary of assuming that negative attitudes toward change are necessarily irrational emotions' (1993: 48). I suggest that this comment, while offering an 'olive branch' of rationality to 'the other', also implicitly assimilates

rationality to the enterprising manager. Often it seems that rather than talk about people in organisations, this construction relies on particular metaphors, for instance 'the body' as a metaphor for the organisation. In Issac-Henry et al's text the metaphor of the body in suspended animation is used. The manager, like a scientist and doctor, goes about the business of 'unfreezing . . injecting . . and finally refreezing to consolidate the new patterns' (Issac-Henry et al, 1992: 48).

While the discourse of change and the enterprising manager might appear to simply reconstruct the way in which public sector organizations are talked about in official reports, in political speeches and the advice of the management consultancy firms, of key importance is the interdependence of this with the devolution of processes. This allows action and control to be attempted 'at a distance' (Miller and Rose, 1990:1; Meadmore et al, 1995). This involves the 'devolution' of budgetary responsibility and accountability to senior professionals particularly but also includes various review, auditing and monitoring processes which provide the means by which professional practice is re-thought, recalculated and thus reworked. This apparent devolution of decision-making power through the practices of audit, budgets and other monitoring devices has significantly 'transformed the governability' of professional activity', as Rose notes (1996b:351). Through these devices professional practices are evaluated not in the knowledge of the profession itself but in terms of output in relation to particular quantitative measures, customer 'satisfaction' or return from a market.

The 'beneficiary manager' a new self-interested elite on the 'make'?

Alongside the accountable and enterprising manager there is a critique which constructs the new public sector manager as a member of a favoured new bureaucratic class and self-interested elite. Media stories concerning with the proliferation, expense, exorbitant perquisites and alleged frauds of managers in the NHS particularly, but also in education, have brought this construction to the fore.

During 1993, former Welsh Secretary John Redwood enlivened this anti-management line of debate by putting a stop to manager recruitment in Wales. In ways that parallel the then Government's problems over European integration, Redwood questioned the Government's enthusiasm for management, its cost and the growing legions of 'men in grey suits' (Guardian, November 17, 1993). His questioning followed his 'discovery' that, while 20 medical staff had been hired in Wales since 1990, 1500 managers had found jobs (Guardian, September 3, 1993). Mr Redwood's move provoked hasty 'repair work' at the 'barricades' of the 'accountable' manager construction. Health Minister Brian Mawhinney at the time declared:

We are determined to tackle any problems with bureaucracy in the NHS. Nevertheless managers are necessary to help make the NHS more efficient and effective' (Sunday Times, October 3, 1993).

This has led to managerial redundancies across the NHS in recent years. At the time Mr Mawhinney is reported to have called on NHS Trust Federation leaders for ideas to control management costs following 'an intolerable number of parliamentary questions about management numbers and pay, leading to negative stories in the media' (Guardian March 9, 1994). This construction of the manager as a self-serving beneficiary of

Government changes has continued to gain momentum during 1996-7 with reports of large increases in vice-chancellor and FE college principal salaries, of college principals employing spouses in senior posts, and financial irregularities at the heart of the resignations of vice chancellors and directors at Portsmouth University, Huddersfield University and Swansea Institute and Glasgow Caledonian University.

Constructing the managerial stationings in Further and Higher Education

I now want to further detail and elaborate the constructions of 'accountable' and 'enterprising' manager by exploring how they have been produced through the changing legislative, regulatory and fiscal environment of further and higher education. These two constructions, 'accountable' and 'enterprising' manager, are understood here as ways in which the managerial station(ing) in further and higher education is elaborated.

As noted above, a station is both a physical place where a particular social order is imposed and a social positioning in a particular set of social relations (Fiske, 1993). The term is used as a way of combining elements of social experience which are frequently conceptualised as separate: the interior dimensions of consciousness (identity, subjectivity), the socio-political dimensions of social relations and the physical dimensions of bodies in space and time (1993:13). Following Foucault, Fiske argues that power operates not through the effort of a particular social class (Burrell and Scarborough, 1996), but through sets of technologies and mechanisms. In the following I want to argue that the managerial station(ing) in further and

higher education is produced nationally through the suffusion of particular funding, audit and planning processes (together with a raft of reports, forms of advice and a growing manager development literature). These processes or devices form what Rose (1996) calls 'lines of latitude and longitude'. For example, audit, budgeting and planning devices form lines of visibility and thus lines of potential action (see figure 2 for graphical presentation of the general framework). Their intersection constructs the managerial station in further and higher education. Through them the senior post-holder comes to know her/himself and others in ways that are largely at odds with the knowledges and practices of the professional administrator or academic or teacher.

Drawing on the above, the following elaborates the 'accountable manager' and the 'enterprising manager' stationings in further and higher education. These two forms of stationing are, I argue, historically and contextually located at the intersections of particular approaches to funding, auditing and planning, particular reports, and other forms of advice relevant to FHE. They roughly map onto the two modes of managerialism in Higher Education identified by Martin Trow (1994) and discussed by other commentators of various theoretical persuasions (Parker and Jary, 1995; Harvey and Knight, 1996; Ainley, 1994). While 'soft managerialism' developed within the universities in response to budget cuts, Trow argues, 'hard managerialism' developed with the replacement of the UGC with the UFC and the higher education funding councils which

aimed at introducing business-like attitudes towards work and performance into universities, changing the functions as it changes the motivations of their employees, not merely introducing more efficient rationalized structures of management as in the first phase. (1994:14)

Trow argues that this 'soft' managerialism is the best 'defence of university autonomy' (1994:16). The 'accountable' manager then is the product of intensified resource constraint while the 'enterprising' manager is a response to quasi-market practices applied across the public sector aimed at multiplying the variety of sources through which universities and colleges might be funded. While these two constructs can be read as augmenting each other, in particular sites and locations they are variably in conflict as well, as the empirical material from one post-1992 university, discussed below, elaborates.

The 'accountable manager' in higher education' -cuts and funding

In higher education the construction of the 'accountable manager' was massively boosted by the cuts to university grants of, on average, 17 percent announced in 1981 (Pratt and Silverman, 1989;Sizer, 1988). Indeed it would be possible to read the construction of the 'accountable manager' generally across the sector as broadly induced by the politics of public sector funding restraints. While calls for 'better resource management' and more efficient use of resources in higher education had been growing with the expansion in higher education, and the increasingly active role taken by the UGC following the end of the five yearly funding programme in the early 1970s (Lockwood and Fielden, 1973), the 1981 cuts provided the conditions for the early construction of the 'accountable manager'. Peter

Scott, in a review of the 'Thatcher Effect' on higher education, argues that 'it was the cuts that forced institutions to operate as businesses rather than academic enterprises' and the 'cuts that allowed the government, under the guise of value-for-money accountability, to extend its political control over the system' (Scott, 1989:206). To a varying extent, this was done by devolving financial accountability 'out' across institutions. Gareth Williams' 1992 study¹ of changing patterns of finances among 24 higher education institutions confirms points made by Pratt and Silverman (1989) and Sizer (1988) that the 1981 cuts induced a wider devolution of resource management responsibility across universities. At the time, these authors argue, this was done primarily as a way of showing university departments the proportion of institutional shortfalls that each was required to bear. While this in itself is unlikely to 'turn' senior post-holders into 'accountable managers', the decisive change in this direction came in 1986 when the UGC split research funding from teaching funding, organized the first selectivity exercise through which research funds were progressively distributed on a performance-basis, and at the same time introduced a formulaic method of funding teaching on the basis of student places rather than through a block grant. The specification of teaching funds based on recruited student numbers (on the basis of a particular unit of resource) is a key aspect in the construction of the 'accountable university manager' across higher education during this period, and later in public sector further education. While still under the control of local authorities, polytechnics were progressively being funded in this method through the allocation methods developed by the former National

¹ The study discusses changes between the 1981 cuts through to the publication of *Higher Education: A new framework*. This Government white paper prefigured the changes instituted in the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act. This act abolished, formally at least, the divide between polytechnics and chartered universities, established a single funding council for the HE sector and set in train the removal of further education colleges from local authorities' control and the creation of the FE sector funded by its own funding agency (on

Advisory Board of Public Sector Higher Education (NAB) (Thorne and Cuthbert, 1996). As the 1980's progressed, both the NAB and the UGC/UFC made the formulas by which they distributed teaching funding more transparent. These processes, as a number of authors assert, aided by the development of accounting software, simultaneously 'broke' the pattern of previous institutional funding and allowed the income attracted by each polytechnic and university department from the funding bodies to readily identified by senior post-holders (Thomas, 1996; Thorne and Cuthbert, 1996). Williams argues (1992) that the previous incremental block grants system for universities had enhanced and developed collegial forms of management. The shift to increasingly targeted, contractual and tendered funding method in the latter half of the 1980s had the effect of concentrating control of funds among senior university postholders. Turner and Pratt (1990) identify the bidding or tendering processes instituted by the former Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Council (established with the incorporation of polytechnics in April 1989 under the Education Reform Act), and continued in a scaled down form by the HEFCE and FEFCE as powerfully increasing the centralisation, secrecy and thus the managerial positioning of senior post-holder groups in the former polytechnics.

The limitation on the number of people concerned in devising the bid has generated concern among senior managers as well as elsewhere about collegiality within institutions and the increased concentration of decision making in the hands of a small executive. (Turner and Pratt, 1990:31)

At the same time this move to more contractual funding forms requires, in Williams' terms, a 'high degree of managerial effort and competence' (1992:26) among senior academic and service department heads 'within' institutions. Formulaic funding and devolved budgeting, while

April 1, 1993). This repeated changes instituted for polytechnics by the 1988 Education

two different mechanisms not necessarily directly linked, more intensively individuate or station senior academics/administrators as 'managers' responsible for the efficient use of resources. At the same time they make such post-holders responsible for the organizational processes which secure the continued exchange of a particular level of output for a certain level of resource. The complexity and detailed character of the funding mechanism together with the State sector-wide efficiency drive has increasingly required FHE senior post-holders over the last 10 years to be actively involved in generating, projecting, calculating and returning student/activity unit figures in such a way that maximises the return from the funding council.

Funding - differences and details

The current further and higher education funding mechanisms for teaching are broadly similar. There are different modes of study (full-time and part-time) with different 'bands' so that different kinds of learning activities are funded at different rates. Claims for income are made against a plan for the coming year agreed between the college/university and the funding council. The main difference between the two sectors is that further education is funded through activity units (rather than full-time equivalent students) which are 'claimed/earned' on the basis of output. As a result, colleges claim, on the basis of calculations made at three 'census' points during the year (one in higher education), a certain number of units for enrolment, on-programme and achievement of courses. This more intensified funding method and the relative variety of programmes that colleges provide (a large part-time provision) together with the common problems of instituting a

computer system which would cope with these elements, have constructed the terrain across which the manager is required to manoeuvre.

In the case of higher education teaching in England, the HEFCE's formula is based on the notion of funding student places in institutions. It operates through a system of 44 funding cells (11 subject areas, by two levels of study and two modes of study). A particular price is paid to each institution for a certified number of students in each cell. This figure is returned to the funding council at a particular 'census' point in December of each year. The actual price is calculated on the basis of the institution's level of funding minus efficiency targets (averaging about 3 percent per annum), offset against the level of tuition fee compensation (paid to universities by the Government via local authorities) and adjusted for inflation.

In both further and higher education the mechanism allows a level of visibility across the sector (FTEs funded, or Units earned in the case of FE), but more importantly across institutions. The devolution of such mechanisms 'into' colleges and universities means that senior post-holders are thus able to judge their relative contribution to institutional performance, for example, and between 'their' area of activity and others. It is through this nationalised funding mechanism, and the institutionally specific devolutionary mechanisms which developed during the 1980s, in both further and higher education, that senior post-holders have been progressively stationed as 'managers' of fields of activity.

Of course, the nationalised funding processes do not simply station senior academic and administrative post-holders as responsible for a 'cost centre'. They simultaneously attempt to position them as responsive to and responsible for a diminishing supply of funds upon which to resource that 'cost centre'. This is the interface between the 'accountable' and 'enterprising'

manager. The 'accountable manager' is positioned as responsible for the performance of and efficient use of resources. The enterprising manager is an outcome of a diminishing resource distributed on a contract basis through an institutionally devolved funding system. The 'enterprising manager' is constructed *between* the income and expenditure of a particular 'cost centre'. This positioning requires the post-holder to take responsibility for securing and preferably generating a level of resource, for example by increasing effort, reducing teacher contact hours, or finding alternative income sources.

The so-called efficiency gains which have been a persistent requirement of the Secretaries of State in their 'advice' to the FHE funding agencies in recent years, are made possible by these new funding mechanisms and the seeming autonomy of further and higher education institutions. Increasing student numbers have been achieved through a system of tendering for extra student numbers (which could then be rolled into core funding) at a marginal (stopped in 1995 for undergraduate higher education) 'fees-only' rate (known in the further education sector as the demand-led element). Through this the unit costs in further and higher education, in tandem with efficiency gains in the core funding rate, have been driven down while at the same time actual students numbers have increased dramatically, particularly between 1989-1994 in the 1992 universities and between 1994 and 1996 in further education colleges.

The current state of play - 'funding crisis' or 'deteriorating position'?

As a result of these nationally orchestrated processes, student numbers in higher education have risen in the last 10 years by 62% to 1.659

million while the level of funding per student paid by the state has been cut by 35% in real terms (CVCP, 1997a). The Dearing Inquiry's account of this puts it in a slightly bigger picture. While student numbers have doubled in the last 20 years, funding has increased in real terms by 45 percent. While public spending on higher education, as a percentage of gross domestic product, has stayed the same, 'the unit of funding per student has fallen by 40 percent' (DfEE, 1997).

A productivity study of higher education between 1980-1995, produced for the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals for the Dearing Inquiry (1997) shows that higher education productivity increased by 4.6 percent per year during the period while on average productivity across the service sector was just 2.1 percent per year (These figures were generated by dividing higher education's total income by the number of people employed by institutions). The bulk of the productivity growth was between 1990 and 1995 (up 26 percent over the five year period compared with 8.7 percent for the service sector as a whole) with the 1992 universities increasing productivity by 3.8 percent per year against 2.3 percent per year in the pre-1992 universities (CVCP, 1997b). These changes, particularly in the last three years, where higher education was required to produce efficiency gains of around 6 percent per year, without growth in undergraduate student numbers, have helped produce what the CVCP called 'the greatest financial crisis in recent memory' (CVCP, 1996) and the Higher Education Funding Council called a 'rapidly deteriorating position' (HEFCE, 1996). The deteriorating financial situation has had numerous effects - the most important being the shift to recover more income from students themselves (although at the time of writing institutions seemed unlikely to benefit directly from this). It underpins concern over declining

'quality' of higher education, particularly in relation to franchising programmes, and has intensified the controversy around the political nature of the mechanism of 'quality control' - teaching assessment and quality audit.

Of course, there are wide variations in circumstances between institutions. While the number of institutions with negative cash flows from operations increased from just 10 of the 136 HEIs² in 1994-5 to a forecast 47 in 1996-7, and the number of days of total expenditure available to institutions in net cash balances fell from 27 in 1994-5 to only 15 after 1996-7, the 'financial strength of the sector is concentrated in a small number of comparatively wealthy institutions' (HEFCE, 1996:6).

As a result of this financial squeeze institutions indicated to the funding council in late 1996 (through strategic plans and financial forecasts) that they would be reducing staff numbers, deferring capital programmes and long-term maintenance and limiting equipment expenditure to the funding council level. The council noted that many institutions had offset increases in pay rates with reductions in staff numbers.

Funding the 'system'; constructing the 'manager'

In summary then, this broad approach to funding teaching which includes the close specification of funds on the basis of full time equivalent students, or in the case of further education through activity units, has been repeated and refined across the post-compulsory sector³. The 1988

² The HEFCE funds education, research and related activities at 136 higher education institutions; these are made up of: 72 universities, 16 directly-funded schools of the University of London, 48 higher education colleges. In addition the Council funds higher education courses at 74 further education colleges (HEFCE, 1996).

³ Changes to the national funding formulas for formerly public sector further and higher education were notably advanced by the same personnel. Sir William Stubbs, now director of the London Institute was chief executive of the Polytechnic and Colleges Funding Council, under the chairship of Sir Ron Dearing, before moving onto the same post at the Further Education Funding Council in 1992 when the PCFC and the UFC merged.

Education Reform Act, and the repeated remarks of ministers during this period, make it clear that rather than funding institutions, funding bodies are understood to be providing funds 'in exchange for the provision of specified academic services' (Williams, 1992: 13). The secretary of state instructed the new UFC in 1989 that 'I shall expect to see . . . a means of specifying clearly what universities are expected to provide for public funds' (quoted in Williams, 1992:9).

Meanwhile the squeeze on funding and the formulaic means by which funds are distributed/'earned' positions senior professionals as more intensively accountable for the financial return on particular levels of academic/teaching activity. Pratt and Locke (1994) argue in relation to teaching that the 'formulaic method of calculation means that it is difficult for institutional managers to make internal allocations of funds that differ significantly from the formula' (1994:40). Thus the more detailed the specification of the activity for funding relationship, the more the process bypasses 'central' institutional personnel, who are positioned in a service relationship to activity units, and more directly stations the head of department/faculty/section for example.

The dominant reading of these processes is that the 'accountable manager' is an evolutionary aspect of the development of a necessary mass post-compulsory education system (Scott, 1995; Barnett, 1997). Yet this suffers, in part, from a systems theory-bias (Becher and Kogan, 1992; Scott, 1995; Harvey and Knight, 1996). Such accounts fail to capture the political character of such practices. If management in higher and further education were simply the effect of the system's need for expansion at a reduced cost, then it seems unlikely that the energy and determination which

have been engaged in spreading the knowledge and practices of management would have been necessary (see below) .

A more engaged explanation would be that the Thatcherite Power Bloc's approach to FHE in the later half of the 1980s amounted to a 'war' , and attempt to 'tame the shrews' (Jenkins, 1995). This would suggest that a mass higher education 'system' is more an effect of alliances between changing patterns of dominant and subordinate interests. Ascendant interests in order to achieve some degree of saliency, would need to be articulated through the seemingly benign but strategic mechanisms of 'systems' . In this reading the managerialisation of FHE amounts to more than simply the meeting of already existing systemic objectives. It involved a programme set of 'reforms' in the late 1980s and early 1990s whose strategic objective increased state control over FHE and simultaneously attempted to subsume erstwhile opposition to this.

Be better managed! Advice and the construction of the accountable manager

The 'accountable manager' perhaps finds its most cogent elaboration in a series of reports targeted at the post-compulsory sector which 'advised' universities, polytechnics and colleges of the need for more devolved and competent management. In relation to universities this is found in the *Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities* (Jarrett Report) published in 1985 and in relation to polytechnics in the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Education's (NAB) *Management for a Purpose* (1987). In relation to further education such advice is found in the Audit Commission's 1985 efficiency studies in further education and the

Department of Education and Science and Local Education Authorities' 1987 report *Managing Colleges Efficiently*.

The Jarrett report is perhaps the most well known example of these reports. It explicitly recognises the university as a corporate enterprise providing services to consumers which require effective management to maximise the efficient and effective use of the public resource it 'consumes'. The Jarrett committee recommended that vice-chancellors adopt the role of chief executive and heads of academic departments be appointed with 'clear duties and responsibilities for the performance of their departments and their use of resources' (1985:36). The NAB report *Management for a Purpose* sent a similar message to polytechnics. As the material from one of the two polytechnics that form part of the sample below illustrates, elements from this report provided the vocabularies and practices which led to the weakening and, in some cases, removal of faculty and institutional committee structures in favour of management teams. In relation to the pre-1992 universities, Williams (1992) notes that when university personnel were asked the reasons for introducing devolved budgeting, staff from 11 of his 14 pre-1992 universities visited in the study said that the Jarrett report's recommendations and 'the need to give departments information of their predicted shortfall in institutional funds' (1992: 19) were the main reasons. In general terms, these reports explicitly signal the change of relationship between the state and post-compulsory education institutions and pre-figure the 'nationalisation' of local authority further and higher education in the 1989 and 1992 acts. In the case of pre-1992 universities, Salter and Tapper argue (1994) that the Jarrett report, together with the changing relations between the UGC and the universities signal the 'fall of the traditional liberal ideal of the university and the rise of the new managerialism' (1994:132).

'I plan, and I am audited, therefore I am!!!' - constructing the accountable manager in audit and planning processes

Alongside new funding mechanisms, and calls through such efficiency studies for 'better management', the construction of the 'accountable manager' has been boosted by the introduction of more intensively focused auditing and planning processes. In relation to the former, the controversial Research Assessment Exercise (the first in 1986 following the UGC's splitting of research and teaching funding) the subject based Teaching Quality Assessment processes (introduced by the new Higher Education funding Councils beginning in 1993) and the institution-based Quality Audit (established at the time by the university-sponsored Higher Education Quality Council) have each been crucially involved in the elaboration of the 'accountable manager' across the sector. Each of these processes elaborate and reproduce, through the need to produce and defend departmental or institutional submissions, the positions of departmental, service and institutional manager. Through them the senior post-holder is located as responsible for the processes which yield 'quality' - 'excellence' in teaching, highly graded research and effective quality audit. While nationally orchestrated each of these practices has, with some changes, been mimetically inscribed into the review and auditing processes of institutions themselves, so that each area prepares itself for external inspection. Both the Teaching Quality Assessment, and Quality Audit are designed to review internal quality assurance processes rather than to conduct such reviews themselves. While the cost and duplication involved in these two processes has been criticised and, after some controversy, a new body - the Quality Assurance Agency - has been established (which will

streamline teaching and quality audit) the actual practices themselves are unlikely to be substantially changed.

The lineage of all three of these assessment processes can be found in organizations such as the now defunct CNAA, the CVCP's Academic Audit Unit, and institutional processes of peer review (coupled with the Government's enthusiasm for performance indicators, in the case of the Research Assessment Exercise). Yet the decisive shift, which renders such practices constitutive of the managerial station across FHE, has been the nationalization of such review processes, their standardisation across the university and college sectors, the tying of resources to them in the case of the Research Assessment Exercise and most importantly their mimetic suffusion across institutions themselves.

Alongside these nationalised but substantially devolved audit processes, institutional planning processes have also been engaged in constructing the managerial station. The crucial difference between audit and strategic planning as processes, and one reason why strategic planning can be read as engaged in constructing the 'enterprising', rather than the 'accountable' manager, is the different ways in which such process address the subject (be that the senior post-holder, the institution, or the activity area). Strategic planning is future facing. It involves, at an institutional level, detailed plans that position the subject (the 'manager', the activity area, the institution) in relations of difference with the future. In this way, rather than being positioned as accountable and responsible for efficient and effective use of resources, strategic planning, together with contract based forms of funding, addresses the subject (the senior post-holder, the institution or the activity area) as having choice, that is, as being continuously engaged in a project of shaping and maximising effort for success. Rather than producing

an intensified stationing between a level of resource and particular objects, strategic planning powerfully stations the subject as an agent, albeit within a particular set of constraints. As will be developed below, this provides a seductive but perhaps somewhat illusory sense of control over the circumstances in which the subject (the institution, senior post-holder or area of activity) is positioned.

While planning processes have a long history in higher education (Thomas, 1996), strategic planning and the plans themselves have become a key item in the relations between further and higher education institutions and their funding councils. For example, the newly independent polytechnics were required by the PCFC to submit strategic plans as part of their requirement for 'independence' in 1989. This practice was later embraced by the UFC and FEFC. All universities and colleges are now required by the funding councils, as a pre-requisite of funding, to submit detailed, annually updated, five year strategic plans. While offering the possibility of diversity and divergence across the sectors, Thorne and Cuthbert (the latter the assistant vice-chancellor at the University of the West of England in Bristol) argue that the 'requirement to produce plans can be seen as a managerialist control over institutions' (1996:180). Like the devolution of funding mechanism 'down' to the operating units, the strategic planning process is 'spread' out across institutions with senior post-holders setting the broad objectives and deans and heads of department/service 'filling out the corporate vision', as Thorne and Cuthbert describe it. Through the cycle of strategic planning processes, deans and heads of department/service are thus required to position themselves within corporate objectives, speaking for 'their' sphere of activity, but more importantly taking up an 'enterprising' relation to the future of both 'their' department (or faculty or service) and

themselves. Through this requirement to fill in the 'blanks' of the strategic plan, they are required to detail how, when, and by whom corporate objectives, as expressed in relation to 'their own' sphere's activities, are to be achieved.

'I appraise therefore I am' - appraisal and the manager

Alongside, and in most cases embedded within, strategic planning cycles, are the requirements for senior postholders to hold performance appraisal cycles. This in turn is underpinned by the introduction of new employment contracts across FHE, particularly in formerly public sector further and higher education following the 1988 and 1992 education acts. For many observers both contracts and staff appraisal represent the managerialist tide (Kogan, 1989; Thomas R, 1996; Townley, 1993,1997; Henson, 1995) as they, unlike other more institutional and nationalized processes, have as their strategic intent the individualised orientation of staff to corporate objectives.

Under the terms of the two acts the then polytechnics and further education colleges were removed from the aegis of local authorities and reconstituted as education corporations, with charitable status. As a consequence they acquired responsibility for their own finances, estates and the employment of staff. With the passing of the two acts, staff who were previously employed by local authorities were required to become employees of these further and higher education corporations. This, in the context of new contractual funding regimes, and what Ward (1995) describes as the market orientated deregulation drive of the Thatcher paradigm at its peak (1995:157), led polytechnic and then college employers to take action against

the local authority-originating employment conditions of the sectors, and introduce new more 'flexible' employment contracts. As a consequence both sectors experienced significant industrial conflict over the introduction of these contracts during 1991, in the case of the former polytechnics and higher education colleges, and from 1993 onward, in the case of further education colleges. The disputes included the use by the Secretary of State for Education of a controversial 2 percent funding holdback mechanism (Ward, 1995), to push through contract changes. This was also used in order to agree the introduction of a now defunct performance-related pay scheme for the 1992 universities.

Meanwhile, in both sectors senior post-holders were among the first to sign new contracts. These 'management spine' (FE) or 'local management' (HE) contracts are broad documents that specifically re-designate senior post-holders as responsible and accountable (either to more senior post-holders, or to the institution's governing body) for managing the performance of particular domains of activity e.g. the college, departments, sections or sectors (see appendix 2 for examples of job descriptions for FHE 'managers'). Compared with the shift to new contracts for teaching staff, the shift of senior post-holders onto local management contracts was relatively smooth. It was aided in some, but not all, cases by a financial 'sweetener'. In the former polytechnics discussed below these were up to £5000 per annum. However, as the example below shows, some found the terms and conditions of the new management contracts worrying. There was particular concern over the loss of a negotiating forum for senior post-holders who were required in many cases to negotiate salary increases with their line managers. This system of personal and 'secret' salaries has, as Farnham shows (1995) in his survey of heads and professors in post-1992 universities

and colleges, led to quite wide differences in salary across the sector. Alongside this were concerns that these generally broad documents failed to recognise the professional standing and expertise of senior post-holders (there was often no mention of teaching and research in the contracts) outside of being positioned as managers of particular domains of activity. Embedded within the new management contracts were the requirement that those on such contracts would be both appraised by a 'line manager', and become an appraiser of the performance of staff.

Generally, however, individualised performance appraisal of university and college staff has, as House and Watson (1995) note, 'been a feature of thinking of Conservative Administrations since at least the early 1980s'(1995:14). Appraisal was recommended for the university sector in the Jarrett Report (1985) and taken up in the late 1980s and early 1990s on an institution by institution basis, usually through consultation processes between local union branches and university management (Bryman et al, 1991). The Jarrett report noted in regard to universities that

little formal attempt is made on a regular basis to appraise academic staff with a view to their personal development and to succession planning' (1985:28).

Accounts of the impact of appraisal in pre-1992 universities suggest that it tends to be regarded as a meaningless bureaucratic exercise with very few tangible outcomes (Thomas R, 1994).

In the 1992 universities, appraisal was made a condition of the new 'flexible' staff contracts agreed in January 1991, while in further education compulsory performance appraisal schemes were established through the 1986 Education (No.2) Act. Here local authorities were required to establish processes that appraised the performance of teachers in schools and further education colleges (Scribbins and Walton, 1987). While such efforts had a

strong staff development aspect to them, since the incorporation of colleges, appraisal in colleges has been renovated and in many cases is now directly linked to strategic planning processes so that each individual is required to match targets that linked to college objectives (see below for examples).

Appraisal, as Townley has argued (1993, 1997), forms a key process in the construction of the managerial identity in higher (and further) education. While there are wide variations in the ways in which appraisal is constructed across the FHE sector, performance appraisal, both of staff and particularly heads of department/service, is explicitly engaged in constructing the subject position of the 'accountable' and 'enterprising' manager.

Individualised appraisal objectives across FHE in most cases explicitly position the post-holders as responsible for the productive and efficient use of department/service resources. In some case this is to be assessed against particular targets and performance indicators (Townley, 1993, 1997; Henson, 1995). In general staff appraisal documents and processes are involved in constituting surveillance relations between subjects. While often articulated in the language of 'staff development' they provide appraisers with 'guides for action and present information which prompts the need for decisions and solutions' (1993:231) in relation to work colleagues. These micro-edicts act as devices which at the same time construct the appraiser as the overseer or manager of both a particular subject and that subject's sphere of activity.

In summary, the above has sketched out the key nationally orchestrated processes, practices and knowledges involved in constructing the managerial station across FHE. Alongside these processes must also be added the accumulated knowledge and advice found in the growing further and higher education management literature. This provides 'support' and

'help' for managers and is thus intimately engaged in the construction of the managerial station.

The higher education management literature: tracking a moving target

While a detailed review of this literature would distract the discussion here from its current trajectory towards the discussion of empirical material, there is a string of texts, many found in the Society for Research into Higher Education's catalogue, which chart the elaboration of the increasingly accountable academic and support service manager. Fielden and Lockwood's 1973 *Planning and Management in Universities: a study of British Universities* might form a kind of base line text for this. While managerial in intent, its somewhat pastoral tone sets it apart from later works. For example, while arguing that universities pay 'more attention to the details of their management structures' (1973; 35), they concede that

lack of clarity in the allocation of responsibilities, for instance has a latent function in that it can allow expertise or motivation to override authority; it might therefore be best to retain a lack of clarity in certain units. (1973:35)

Twelve years later Geoffrey Lockwood with another co-author (Lockwood and Davies, 1985) declared that

institutional leaders cannot now rely necessarily or exclusively on the good sense of the collegial processes to cope with the issues arising from a highly competitive higher education environment. Collegial processes . . are not particularly environmentally aware; not particularly problem orientated, are conservative rather than adaptive . . . It is senior institutional leadership which has to define problems and structure the context of possible solutions (1985: 339).

Yet even this seems somewhat tentative and benign in comparison to the account of managerial practice recommended in a run of recent texts:

Warner and Crosthwaite's *Human Resource Management in Further and Higher Education* (1995), Warner and Palfreyman's *Higher Education Management - the key elements* (1996), Bocock and Watson's *Managing the Curriculum*, and Ford et al's *Managing Change in Higher Education, a Learning Environment Architecture* (1996). This latter text may represent a clear elaboration of the new managerial positioning for universities. It recommends not simply a renewed emphasis on management, but a thorough re-engineering of the university's core 'business processes'. Senior post-holders become enterprise managers charged with maintaining learning architectures. According to Peter Ford and his co-authors, this includes the development and evaluation of learning 'chunks'. A learning 'chunk' is a bounded learning activity with a specified set of learning objectives and assessment procedures. In their approach, chunks are put together by 'learning chunk development team' and would be offered to students through different 'learning vehicles' (1996:57).

In relation to the need to re-engineer the university, the tone is stark and uncompromising,

an HEI (higher education institution) must understand which core processes it needs to put in place. These processes must be designed to support the objectives of the business. Achieving the objectives must not be subservient to the processes. In other words, processes that do not contribute to the achievement of the stated objectives of an institution will require examination to determine whether they can be modified or need to be replaced (Ford et al, 1996:21).

This functionalist and systemic approach to the reconstruction of the university draws heavily on the prescriptions of Business Process Engineering (Hammer and Champy, 1993). Taken together with other texts in the field, e.g., Bocock and Watson's *Managing the Curriculum* (1994) Cuthbert's *Working in Higher Education* (particularly chapters 3,4&7) and the renewed emphasis on teaching in the *Report of the National Inquiry into*

Higher Education (Dearing Report) (1997), these texts provide an outline for what Roger King, vice chancellor of the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside described as an increasing corporate 'curiosity' in the learning process.

It is an interesting and perhaps remarkable fact that in higher education the core of the academic enterprise (the course or programme or product) lies largely outside corporate control . . . The search for growth, efficiency, and quality are essential organizational requirements that will take senior management more directly to the heart of the academic domain (King, 1994:71).

Constructing the FE managerial station

The further education sector has, as the above notes, been broadly subjected to similar mechanisms and practices which were applied to public sector higher education in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Phillips, 1994) (through the ERA, the new funding councils). Similar funding, strategic planning and inspection processes to the new sector, which was created in the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, as those applied to the newly 'independent' polytechnics following their removal from local authority control under the Education Reform Act (1988). Jenkins argues (1995) that this amounted not to an evolution in the systemic organization of further education, but the Government's 'compulsory seizure' of further education from local authorities.

As a condition of their 'independence' the 452 tertiary, further education, specialist and sixth form colleges which now make up the sector are required to provide detailed three and five yearly strategic plans supported by annual operating statements. These include plans for each year's projected student recruitment together with bids for growth in activity

units for the following year. It is through this mechanism (and the now likely to be removed demand-led element) that the historically different average levels of income for each college are being equalised and efficiency gains for the sector are being achieved, alongside spectacular growth in student numbers, in some cases, . In the three years between 1993-4 and 1996-7 colleges were expected by the FEFCE⁴ to grow by 25 percent. However as the price paid for such growth was at less than existing levels of funding, the so-called 'efficiency gains' were achieved. The National Audit Office recently reported (1997) that

in the three years since 1993-4 [the funding methodology] asked colleges to expand numbers by some 17 percent with an increase in funding of five percent. The implied efficiency gain is over four percent a year (1997:24).

Added to this is a differential where colleges with historically higher than average levels of funding are facing a faster rate of income reduction than colleges with historically lower levels of funding. Current college income per activity unit ranges between £12 and £33. By 2002, the funding council plans to be paying 90 percent of colleges a standard amount of about £15.75 per unit (Russell, 1997a). Based on this year's projections, 69 percent of colleges are within 10 percent of the sector's median level of funding (National Audit Office, 1997:27).

To achieve these 'efficiencies', colleges have been forced to remove, intensify, substitute or reskill the labour of teachers and administrative staff across the sector. Upwards of 80 percent of the sector's costs are in staff salaries and wages. The National Audit Office's survey of colleges found that in response to this methodology, 'nearly all [those surveyed] had reduced

⁴ The Further Education Funding Council will distribute £3.15 billion in 1996-7 to 452 general and specialist colleges to fund the attendance of around 3million students. The most recent figures note that in November 1994 colleges employed 174,209 staff 90,666 full-time and 82,964 part-time, 101, 520 women and 72,579 men (FEFCE, 1997).

their staff costs, for example through introducing more flexible staff contracts, reducing direct teacher contact time and increasing class sizes' (1997:27).

The new funding practices together with wide disparities in the historical circumstances of colleges has contributed to the rising number of colleges in serious financial difficulty. The FEFCE admits that 20 percent, or 80 colleges, are in serious financial trouble (Russell, 1997b), and only continue to operate with the goodwill of banks. These conditions, as well as the new practices, provide the 'bed' in which the managerial station has become established as the common sense solution to problems. Most problems are attributed to a lack of management or effective managers. For example, the National Audit Office (1997) argued that 'management and governance appear to be key factors in financial health' (1997:66). This follows similar comments by FEFC inspectors. Former chief inspector Terry Melia called for 'imaginative management' to stem the 'downward funding spiral' for many colleges. College principals also seem to concur that 'mismanagement', not under-funding, is largely to blame for the rising number of colleges struggling with deficits. A newspaper telephone poll of about 10 percent of college principals (Times Higher Education Supplement, October 20, 1995: 1,3) suggested that three quarters of principals, when asked, thought that funding problems were caused by "managers' inability to keep control of labour and other costs."

Alongside the strategic planning and funding methodology a new inspection regime was established, which again mirrors in some ways that applied to higher education institutions through Teaching Quality Assessment and Quality Audit. The FEFC's inspection process aimed to inspect each college every four years. The inspection regime assessed both cross-college

provision - including governance and management - as well as each curriculum area.

The construction of the managerial station in colleges was also massively boosted by the process of incorporation effective from April 1 1993. This required colleges to establish 'in-house' services previously provided by local authorities - finance, personnel, estates and information systems. In the build up to incorporation, colleges received advice from the management consultancy arm of Touche Ross and, as a condition of 'independence', were subjected to a series of 'health' checks by management consultants Coopers and Lybrand, hired by the then Department for Education. In general terms these were aimed at ensuring that financial controls were in place for receiving FEFC funding. Yet the introduction of new processes together with these checks and advice also had the effect of putting large numbers of senior college post-holders together for long periods and subjecting them to a new way of considering further education and their 'role' within it.

Burton (1994) suggests that this whole process of incorporation, which involved numerous surveys and assessment processes carried out on and by senior post-holders, was likely to have 'produced' managers with the "perspectives of the commercial world as the ones most appropriate to the new further education environment" (1994: 358). Burton notes that,

for many months (prior to incorporation) a large proportion of managers were engaged almost exclusively in processes which would have exposed them to such influences, or in directly analysing their roles and evaluating how they compared to their counterparts in the private sector. (1994:358)

Through this, managerial knowledges and practices have isomorphically suffused the sectors as senior post-holders engage in a process of comparing their work in the new further and higher education

corporations with private sector practices. Burton goes on to suggest that these processes almost certainly would have inclined some senior post-holders to a managerialism which, using Cuthbert's definition (1992), can be defined as

elevat[ing] the activity of managing above that which is managed, instead of recognising that the two are inseparable. (Cuthbert, 1992, quoted in Burton, 1994:359)

Following what might be termed this 'conversion' process, senior post-holders have in the last three years been, to varying degrees, engaged in 'cascading' management practices across colleges (Whyte, 1994). The handbook from consultants Touche Ross, for instance, advises senior post-holders on how to draw up strategic and operational plans, to instigate value for money studies with appropriate performance indicators, ('to define how the college will measure whether it is delivering value' (HMSO, 1992:30) and to develop marketing and quality assurance programmes. Colleges are also advised to develop 'a formal management system for assuring quality' (1992:32). Each of these processes progressively construct the managerial station in FE colleges, and attempts to increasingly tie senior professionals into these processes.

However, arguably the sheer diversity of the sector and variety of college experience under local authority control means that the degree of suffusion of management knowledges and practices is highly mixed. One of the principals interviewed for this study, who is a member of a number of FEFCE advisory committees, suggested that the suffusion resembled a 'normal distribution curve' where some colleges are 'organizationally pushing the boundaries and others are doing sufficient to keep up with their environment and the demands made on them'. While there is significant differences in the 'operating environments' faced by colleges (e.g. degree of

direct competition with other colleges), there are also significant differences in historical experiences. Cowham described (1995) how prior to incorporation many colleges had become accustomed to a more 'entrepreneurial' or 'opportunistic' approach to managing substantially devolved resources under the local authority. Others clearly had differing relations with local authorities which inclined them to a more public sector educational ethos. For some incorporation was clearly a 'shock', while for other colleges and personnel much of the groundwork had been done. Thus the extent to which senior post-holders were constituted as 'managers' was mixed.

In summary, this chapter has sought to produce an account of the nationally orchestrated funding, planning and auditing practices which are engaged in constructing the managerial station in FHE. The purpose has been to read these practices as acting, not simply out of the inexorable logic of a 'system' but as part of the imperialising strategy of the Thatcherite power bloc. The following chapter moves to examine in a more detailed way the construction of this managerial stationing in colleges and universities themselves. It now draws on the empirical material from the eight further and higher education institutions gathered for this study.

Section 3 'Making Managers in UK Further and Higher Education'

Section Introduction

This section draws together the thesis by discussing the empirical material drawn from interviews, documentation and observation with more than 70 senior post-holders at work in four colleges and four universities through the analytical frameworks presented above. The narrative below follows directly from chapter six's presentation of the 'national' processes engaged in the reconstruction of FHE by addressing the institutional and localised suffusion of managerial knowledges and practices. Chapter seven provides a detailed account of the development of the managerial station in FHE. Chapter eight discusses the tensions between this and embedded practices and knowledges which form the locales of FHE, and Chapter nine addresses the gendered tensions between managerial stations and locales.

Chapter 7. 'Doing the business' ;constructing the supervisors of production in further and higher education'

Introduction

This chapter offers a broad but detailed account of the knowledges and practices involved in the construction of the managerial stationing in further and higher education. As a means of addressing this, however, it first offers the reader an example of how such a stationing is achieved, using the parallel example of the construction of an element of academic identity. It

then discusses the construction of the managerial stationing by first exploring the reconstruction of the 'university' and the 'college', and then moves to discuss how the new practices of managing work to constitute the grid by which managerial subjectivity is constituted.

Becoming an academic, becoming a manager - approaching identity construction through a parallel example

The discussion up to this point in the text may seem to some readers to overplay the determining characteristics of the 'power bloc' and to underplay the precarious and unstable aspects of the dispersal of the mechanisms of power, or the ability of actors to mediate such processes. As this chapter addresses the construction of the managerial stations in FHE institutions this sense of neatness and determinism might be compounded for some. As a way of addressing this possible reading, and as a way of introducing how the managerial stations are constructed in FHE, I want to begin this section with an example of a parallel 'stationing' process which I assume will be highly familiar to readers of this thesis. It revolves around the construction of 'my' academic identity. This also serves as a means of positioning 'myself'. As suggested above, a relational account of identity collapses strong claims to entities such as the 'observer' and the 'observed', arguing instead that such identities are constituted through discursive practices. A thesis for example forms part of the discursive practices which produce academic identities. One cannot stand neatly outside these processes. For example, at the same time as offering an account of the development of managerial subjectivity in FHE, one is being constituted through the positionings available in discursive practices locatable in

academic settings. It is crucial, given the epistemological priorities outlined above, that this be highlighted and acknowledged. A form of doubling is therefore underway where a relation to oneself develops in the midst of attempts to describe those practices which constitute managerial subjectivity. This doubling includes, for instance, the construction of 'my' academic identity within the power-laden discursive practices of the academic conferences. Through these practices, what could be termed, academic reproduction, socialisation or learning is achieved. I want to argue that a similar process is underway for those positioned as senior post-holders in further and higher education in their constitution as 'managers'. The discussion below shows how the constitution of 'me' as an academic is an outcome of 'my' stationing within the discursive practices of the conference, just as the manager is an effect of the stationing of the senior post-holder within the discursive practices of managing. This stationing is, however, an altogether more dispersed, subtle, fragmented and multiple process than the above discussion of the Thatcherite power bloc and its imperialising strategies might at first suggest. Just as the discussion of my stationing as an academic suggests below that it is largely an effect of a 'me' at work on 'my'-self via discourse, so too, I would argue, is the process of becoming a manager in FHE.

The academic station discussed below comprises forms of communication and actual bodily practices with already inscribed power relations. In this example, the constitution of an academic identity is achieved through a particular configuration of these elements - through the surveillance and examinational aspects of academic paper giving. The example shows specifically how power relations operate. They have the effect of reproducing dominant alliances and interests, but these are not

explicitly present. They are an effect of the precarious mimetic processes of developing a particular relation to oneself among large numbers of people. For example 'I' was not *told* my place in this 'organization' (the academic conference), I *took* my place, both by imaginatively positioning myself within particular narratives, and taking up a position within particular practices of academic paper-giving. This taking up of 'my' place, that is, playing the variably pleasurable power-knowledge practices across 'me', sets up lines of coherency which reproduce particular dominant interests and groups within the academic conference.

In the same way, 'managers' are not 'told' or forced to take a place. They take their places by 'playing' the knowledges, discursive and embodied practices upon themselves. These form an unstable 'grid' of practices and knowledges that signify as 'the manager' or 'managing', but whose effectivity in relation to embedded or new locales is constantly problematic. Thus claims, for example by Longhurst (1996), that managers are motivated by their own survival to exploit and oppress staff is analytically incorrect in the approach taken here. Longhurst's approach might be said to over-play the attribution of coherency to 'managers', by mis-reading the intent of managerial practices as the effect. Imperialising knowledges, as Fiske argues, seek to totalise and refine the station so as to 'minimise the gaps through which locales can be established' (1993:71) or reproduced. Longhurst's work, like other Labour process orientated discussions of public sector education (Sinclair et al, 1996), could be said to have become ensnared in and give undue coherency to the imperialising power-knowledge strategies that are at work in constructing the 'manager'. Longhurst argues that

college senior managements are under pressure to oppress and exploit staff and those that fail to do so are likely to be

unable to balance the books and thus face dismissal.
(1996:65)

But the analytical division he makes between 'managements' and the 'pressure' is unwarranted and misleading. It attributes to 'management' a functionalist and structuralist coherency which inadvertently supports the imperialising knowledge practices, and denies the incoherency and fragmentation of 'management' and the 'manager'. This is precisely the advantage of a post-dualist approach exemplified in critical work on education by the likes of Ball, and his co-authors (Ball, 1994; Gewirtz et al, 1995) and supported here. 'Managers' are not in my view motivated by their own survival. Powerful individuating discursive practices are at work which firstly separate the 'manager' off from others and attribute to that body a responsibility for certain domains of activity. This is achieved particularly through various mechanisms of visibility e.g. quantitative returns, reports and the like which seek to measure activity against particular norms. Also these practices tend to induce both the seduction or exhilaration of difference combined with the fear of separation and intensive judgement. These responses intensify the 'playing' of particular ascribed identities upon the body (in the sense of both body 'surface' and 'depth') of the FHE senior post-holder. This in turn works to construct the managerial 'station' in FHE. However, its hold is problematic. The 'manager' is not just a 'docile' reproducer of top-down Taylorite practices but a site of contradictory positionings within various discursive practices - not just those individuating practices of top-down imperialising managerial discourse. The compliance, commitment and effort in extending top-down Taylorite practices, for instance, is not forced from us through domination, or collected from us through some simple exchange relation (work effort or skill for money). It is *variably* 'extracted' to a large extent through practices which produce 'us' and

progressively tie 'us' to particular identities - that is, particular ways of being a 'self' or 'selves' (Knights and Willmott, 1989). These 'selves' or ways of being encompass the wide range of contradictory dispositions, desires, perceptions, emotions, physical coverings, positionings, practices and knowledges which make up the flows of embodied life, in the case below, in further and higher education corporations. As the next chapter shows, some of these ways of being are intimate, deeply embedded 'horizontal' identities which variably, and tactically, challenge the construction of the managerial station in FHE.

Conference going and the construction of academic identity

Scene: A university classroom. About 25 men and women are seated at tables which form a square in the room. On one side of the square in front of a whiteboard and beside an overhead projector, a speaker sits. He stands, introduces the person to his right and sits again. The person on the first speaker's right then stands and begins to speak.

'Thanks, Martin for that. Firstly I appreciate your coming to listen to my paper. I want to begin with a brief account of its development. To be honest the thought of actually being here before you and talking with some conviction filled me with major feelings of dread and anxiety. In fact these feelings led me to put off writing this paper for some weeks. Eventually I got to a point where the anxiety of not getting the paper done crashed through the anxiety of actually doing it and I found myself in front of a PC desperate to start. The only way I thought I could possibly start though was to literally write my fears out of myself. I thought that by addressing my anxieties I could silence them.

'I was able to track down two possible explanations for my anxiety at writing. First, I feared being mocked by my dear audience. While you might regard yourselves as my peers, for me prior to the conference I felt more like an apprentice about to confront the tradesmen during my first day on the job. I imagined the conference to be the site where I would be symbolically taken out behind the academic workshop and set upon by the intellectual bullies.

'My fears were to a degree confirmed when a colleague who was involved in this conference last year said that some people had been reduced to tears when presenting their papers. He described this conference as a "rigorous conference rather than one at which you could just give your life history". His comments confirmed that I was entering a place where spectacles of punishment were to be enacted and where particular identities and knowledges were perhaps policed by the intellectual *tradesmen*.

'A second reason suggested itself. I was convinced that the abstract I wrote for the conference had in fact duped the conference *managers*. I thought, that they thought that, after reading the abstract, that I was someone who I was convinced I was not. I guess I felt an outsider. This feeling of being outside I justified on the grounds that I don't have a research degree, I'm not a lecturer and I haven't published much before this. Initially I had thought that the abstract would be rejected but it would nevertheless satisfy my department manager, who is concerned to ensure that I am at least seen to be delivering the research 'goods'. Anyway the shock came when the abstract was accepted'.

'You're all probably thinking: "Why is he telling us this?" Well the key reason is that it can be used to illustrate how power relations, subjectivity and discourse are interdependent and how reflecting on the stories and practices at work in particular locations can tell us a lot about how particular effects like the academic or the manager are produced. Using some tools from the kind of discourse analysis methods outlined by Fairclough (1989, 1992) I want to prise apart the above. Firstly I want to suggest that this conference can be read as a taxpayer-funded public sector organisation reproduced by 'managers' through their privileging of certain discourse practices e.g. paper-giving. These practices can be seen as made up of certain bodies of knowledge, subject positions and embedded relations. These discursive practices do not just operate here and now in this room. They are widely dispersed. They organize time and space use, identities and relations down to the most intimate of levels in people's lives.

'These explanations for my feelings offered above amounts to a set of readings of this public sector organisation; or, to put this another way, they are readings of texts available to me which construct this public sector organisation. In these texts the 'managers' are positioned in certain ways in relation to 'myself'. In the first reading the organisation contains a dominant bloc of academic 'managers' who use the spectacle of public confessional, i.e. paper-giving, as the process to accomplish relations of power and to patrol the definitions of what is knowledge. I also read/constructed the spectacle in

highly masculine ways. I framed paper-giving as the academic equivalent of the punch-up behind the workshop. I positioned myself on the receiving end of this 'justice' and the academic managers as the toughs. My colleague confirmed the dominance for me of this reading by suggesting that the necessary skills for a 'confessor' so as to survive the spectacle were rigour, a.k.a. strength, and invulnerability to feelings. Both these I suggest are the very "pillars of maleness" (Middleton, 1993:120). In this reading then, paper-giving amounted to a ritual to test one's (male) identity, as well as to constitute one's academic identity.

'In my second reading I positioned myself as being outside the conference all together I did this through a liberal credentialist discourse. In this I assumed that conference subjects could legitimately hold certain definitions of self through the possession of certain 'goods', for instance, a research degree or publishing track record. The conference's academic 'managers' in the discourse are positioned as the arbiters of these definitions of self through control of the discourse practices which define what is publishing at conferences and, on other sites, how one gains possession of a research degree. The effect for me of reading the organisation in this way and placing myself outside its domain of the legitimate was this intense feeling of lack, of being without the necessary credentials. Broadly, both these readings problematised an identity. The combination of my positioning within this credentialist discourse and the first which problematised my male-ness or masculine identity heightened this sense of anxiety. From within these positioning it seemed unlikely that I would rid myself of these feelings of lack. '

Making academics and making managers through the construction of stations

The above illustrates how a poststructural or postdualist account of the constitution of identity can be approached. There is no 'organization' and 'individual', as such. There is a 'power bloc', but this is largely the effect of the suffusion of particular practices and knowledges (rather than the direct origins of domination), which are located and reproduced in certain spaces, e.g. the conference session. But mostly they are dispersed and embedded

in the 'paper structures' of organizing. These are reasonably durable and provide ways of making certain judgements and decisions. They provide guides for action and organize ways of responding to particular 'problems'. The 'individual' identity is thus an effect of insertion into the subject positions available in particular knowledges. Yet one's insertion into such positions is variable. This could be said to depend on the resonance of such subject positions with patterns of desire collected biographically through engagement in other political processes (e.g. in this case schools, worksites and families). The example above illustrates how this is often deeply gendered. The 'significant others' in the above are all men: conference organizers, colleagues, 'tradesmen', Head of Department. The desire for acceptance and positive evaluations by these men (fathers!) is crucial and fuels efforts to find subordinate positionings in credentialist and masculine discourses. One effect of these processes is the construction of dominant male groupings in 'organizations'. In this sense then power is diffuse and ingrained. It has material effects, but is mirage-like. It is neither held nor exercised by these groupings directly. It is embedded in the seemingly synaptic responses of people who have been inscribed with a particular relation to the self through particular practices which, in effect, project power and authority onto these groups. Power relations are thus at work constituting and articulating particular powerful positionings, even if those who might be ascribed such positionings - the post-holders in other words - (the head of department, fellow conference-goers and conference organizers) would reject such a positioning.

The 'manager' in further and higher education is, I want to argue, constructed in ways similar to, though more complex than, the academic identity and the conference 'managers' discussed above. The FHE

'manager', like the academic identity, is an effect of particular discursive practices that operate in particular spaces e.g. the management team meeting, appraisal interview, the inspection audit. Like the conference paper-giving process described above, numerous overlapping practices work to constitute the FHE 'manager'. For example

- strategic and operational planning documents which require 'managers' to suggest and commit themselves to particular new programmes, targets and review processes,
- the income and expenditure spreadsheets which construct the manager as between units or full-time (student) equivalents 'earned' and the costs of such activities.
- assessment and inspection processes.

As I mentioned, the managerial 'I' is not an outcome of oppression and domination, but of subjection: the seemingly subtle processes of becoming both subject to and a subject of a particular regime of knowledges and practices. This occurs as we are drawn into the seemingly benign knowledges and practices which dominate particular sites. These in turn prescribe an appropriate relation that one has with oneself in these settings (which simultaneously construct relations with others). The new processes of audit, planning and budgets, which make up the 'paper structure' of 'managing' colleges and universities, insert and mutually produce the subject position of 'manager'. Through these knowledges and practices a position is constructed which is engaged in evaluating and taking responsibility for the performance of particular area of activity. The managerial station is then a mutually constitutive set of imaginative, desiring, embodied positionings (such as the management team meeting, or appraisal interview which seek to colonise particular spaces). The process of becoming a 'manager' is a subtle one of inducement and suffusion of particular relations to oneself, which have the effect also of constituting relations with others.

Of course the local effectivity of such knowledges and practices in constructing the managerial stationing is by no means stable and secure (see below). It is mediated by the interconnections and conflicts between the localised and the imperialising. How these multiple practices cohere, coalesce or conflict is locally contingent in relation to each college/university and to all those localised sites and ultimately working bodies that make up these 'organizations'. The managerial station particularly conflicts with, runs over or around other established stationings, e.g. professional or administrative, which are read in the approach taken up here as 'locales'. As I mentioned in the introduction, the imperialising knowledges and practices of management meet the flows and contours of the crumbled terrain of sedimented identities and practices of professional and administrative practices. At the same time, these rather technical imperialising practices work to extend their reach by simultaneously setting the subject position within a particular field or terrain. The practices of audit, budgets, contracts, performance appraisal provide, as Rose outlined (1996), grids of visualisation, vocabularies, norms and systems of judgement through which the subject position 'manager' and the terrain that is required to be managed is produced. It is to this that I now want to turn, what might be understood as the construction of the managerial context.

Stationing the university and the college - identities, relations and knowledges

If, as chapter six suggests, the 'manager' is a stationing constituted institutionally by nationally orchestrated and locally devolved practices then clearly the way in which university itself is 'put into discourse' (Fiske, 1993),

contextualises the construction of the manager in these settings.

Understanding the university or the college as for example a small to medium sized public enterprise, or as a knowledge factory, or an educational hyper-market, sets the tone by which managerial knowledge and practices come to reconstruct senior post-holders as managers. In order to draw this out, I offer a brief critical discourse analysis of public statements from vice-chancellors found in the 1991-2 annual reports of one pre-1992 and two 1992 universities. The use of these particular reports is significant. As chapter six outlined, the early 1990s marks the high 'water-mark' in terms of expansion of higher education and the progressive reduction in unit income. This is alongside the introduction of quality assurance and audit processes. The years between 1991 and 1993 thus represent the high point in the progressive managerialisation of higher education, while 1994 to 1996 represent a similar period for further education colleges - where 'independence', expansion, cost reduction and audit processes come together to strengthen the further education managerial station. To illustrate the case of further education colleges, I analyse interviews with the principals from the sample.

Annual reports and vice-chancellor statements; some background

University annual reports are promotional public relations vehicles distributed by institutions to various audiences who have some connection with them. They, alongside prospectuses, are the 'glossy magazines' of the marketised post-binary environment. By tradition the introductory statements to these public relations packages are not written by an

institution's most ardent internal critic or most jaded, disaffected student. Why? The actual discursive practices which organise the routines and responses which make up institutions carry with them certain sets of authority relations between particular subject positions (e.g. vice-chancellor as chief executive officer, academics as 'staff'). While the 'university' is a mix of discourses, those articulated through the vice-chancellor statements might be said to be either dominant or at least in ascendancy at a particular time. However, the way in which authority relations are embedded in vice-chancellor statements is *not* immediately obvious. There is a particular convention, or discursive practice at work. All three texts examined below follow this convention to some degree. This involves the authority figure broadly *congratulating* all those involved with the institution for their efforts. This convention establishes the hierarchical relations in such a way as to seemingly deny direct authority relations. The addressee is not directly called upon to support the institution but is thanked or congratulated for doing so. The authority relations become clear if, for example, we hypothetically turn the exercise on its head and try to imagine the circumstances which would allow or encourage the people of the organisations to congratulate the vice-chancellor for that person's good work. Also, while the message of the vice-chancellor's statements is ostensibly one of turning the 'spotlight' on the university, the implicit process is the production and reproduction of existing relations of power. In this we can see how particular stationings are attempted. Such statements thus provide material for the mimetic inscription of particular subjectivities which reproduce 'appropriate' authority relations. The vice-chancellor does not directly tell organizational subjects how to be, but congratulates them on being a particular organizational subject, thus providing materials by which

subjects can mimetically inscribe themselves into organizational subjection. Obviously, this is particularly the case for those 'closer' to the centre of institutions - namely senior postholders who rely to varying degrees on the positive evaluation of vice-chancellors and principals for their positions. Of course such statement cannot in any way be assumed to constitute organizational subjectivity. One must assume that a vice-chancellor's statement is but one discursive practice engaged in producing and reproducing relations of power.

The three statements are from: Keith Thompson, Vice-Chancellor of Staffordshire University until his retirement in September 1995 (figure 3, appendix 3); Sir Kenneth Green, Vice-Chancellor of Manchester Metropolitan University until his retirement in September 1997 (figure 4, appendix 3); and Professor Sir Gareth Roberts, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield and chair of the CVCP until September 1997 (figure 5, appendix 3).

The Staffordshire University Director's Statement (Figure 3, appendix 3) General Features; Contents and Relations

The key rationale for undertaking close textual analysis is to recover and highlight features which might be said to have social effects.

Thompson's heavy use (figure 3) of neo-classical economic discourse to describe higher education (for instance 'boom year', 'investment', 'unit of resource', economic well-being') can be read as part of a process of positioning the university within Government-sanctioned neo-liberal understandings of the public sector. One possible social effect of this is the construction of a new relation to oneself for those engaged in higher education. For example, senior post-holders might be provided with

languages and practices which position them as the managers of firms in an expanding education service industry. The dominant metaphor for the university, which Thompson drives home in his crisp categorical sentence 'We are delivering', is that of a production process which produces 'goods' for consumption. In this construction the university does not spend public funds on education but 'invests' it in the production of valuable objectifiable goods - in this case skills and knowledge. In order to achieve this re-writing of higher education, as a factory-like production process, a number textual tactics are employed. One is that the people involved in this production process to some extent 'disappear'. Their agency is nominalised and abstracted into nouns like skills and knowledge. A second is that the State's role as an agent in this process is obscured through the sentence construction: 'but we shall need continued and increasing support'.

There is, one could argue, quite profound 'stationing' work underway in Thompson's statement. The key features of this would firstly be the downgraded of State's role in funding higher education in favour of a position where the State provides support for it. The second feature would be the elaboration of higher education as a production process which 'delivers' agent-free commodities - skills and knowledge - which are sold in a market and owned in a broad sense by the UK plc (Winter, 1995). Both these constructions reflect and, one might argue, are engaged in contributing to the highly contentious processes of the privatisation, commodification and managerialisation of higher education. The link between the knowledge of these processes and their actual elaboration is through the construction of 'new' identities or subject positions for people through discourse.

Identities

Thompson's statement (figure 3, appendix 3) makes available for readers certain subject positions. Students, according to Thompson's rendering, are on the one hand little more than the bearers of funds and some aggregate of resource e.g. 'steadily declining unit of resource, namely with student numbers rising', and on the other hand, a vessel which somehow receives the 'investment in knowledge and skills'. 'Staff', meanwhile, are positioned in different ways. 'Staff' are an aggregate, 'staff numbers' on the one hand, but also the providers of 'enormous efforts' who may or may not, depending on whether further support (funding) is forthcoming, provide further realisable 'devotion and enthusiasm'. We have here then the process noted above of 'congratulating' staff. This reinforces and reproduces the positioning of the 'staff's' and the Vice-Chancellor and other senior post-holders. But what subject positions does the speaker take up himself in the text?

Firstly, Thompson establishes himself as an authoritative voice in the text through the use of categorical modalities of which 'We are delivering' is perhaps the most astonishing example. However, there are variations in the positioning of this authoritative voice and its relation to others in the text. He begins by adopting a position as a kind of observer of higher education, then shifts to that of an insider and then on to a position where he is one of a group of overseers of staff. For instance, he moves from 'higher education has experienced', to, 'Our work is central' and 'We are delivering' and onto 'We shall need (a knower of needs) continued and increased support if the devotion and enthusiasm of our staff (paternalistic positioning by a member of a managerial elite) is fully to be realised'.

***Manchester Metropolitan University, Vice-Chancellor's
statement (Figure 4, appendix 3)***

General Features

What is striking about the Manchester Metropolitan University text in Figure 4, from Sir Kenneth Green, is that it is not until the last paragraph and specifically the last nine words ('I can only thank those who made it all possible') that any hint of agency in the events he describes is provided. Up until this point the author relies on heavy use of nominalisations as the subjects of his sentences (e.g. approaches, initiatives, planning, relocation, enhancement, progress, management) and on passive agent-less sentences (e.g. '1991\2 . . . was by any account'). By relying on nominalisations he effectively removes the actors from the processes he narrates. He creates a 'world of thing-like abstract beings', as Hodge and Kress describe them (1993:24). Even in this last sentence the agency is vague, as it is not clear just how 'those who made it possible' actually went about doing so.

I wish to highlight a small number of other features which pervade this text and which, I suggest, render it as possibly the strongest example among the three introductions of what Hall (1993) described as the 'metallic managerialism' which has suffused higher education.

The Manchester sample is heavily loaded with words that attempt to carry positive expressive values ('most significant year', 'most comprehensive', 'further enhancement', 'progress', 'further improvements', 'broadened', 'enriched', 'high repute'). Overwording and categorical modality are evident throughout e.g. 'was, by any account, the most significant year', 'developments . . .continued' , 'the benefits (of the most comprehensive

planning exercise ever undertaken) were reflected', 'none of this would have been possible without the prudent approach to financial management which has transformed the institution since incorporation', 'merger . . . extended the university's influence'. How can these features be interpreted?

Firstly, as Fairclough notes, heavy overwording suggests that the contents of a text are the subject of ideological struggle. It seems likely that the changes outlined by the Vice-Chancellor and their rendering as positive events is *contested* by other participants in 'the university'. However, another interpretation is that the Vice-Chancellor is involved in what Fairclough denotes as the commodification of educational discourse (1992:210) through the inclusion of advertising discourses. Green's rendering of events seems to be part of the 'business of constructing an image' (1992:210) or a representation of the university. Fiske argues that imperialising knowledge relies exclusively on representational culture, while localised knowledge engages cultures of practice (1993). The contrast between the Staffordshire and Manchester texts highlights this difference. Whereas Thompson symbolically engages with the participants by constructing subject positions for both himself and other members of the university, the Manchester text is concerned almost exclusively with the subject position of the university itself. By looking back at the Staffordshire piece, then, it is possible to see Thompson's text not simply as productionist, but reflecting the tension between imperialising knowledges, and the localised practices of 'staff'. Green's text, however, is largely representational and disengaged from knowledges of practices.

Identities - the University

How is the university evoked? Just as the entire introduction to the annual report might be seen as part of a process of commodifying the university through an advertising discourse, I consider that the university itself is commodified within Green's text, not as a production process, as in the Staffordshire text, but as a provider of services to users, consumers or customers. One way to hear this is to introduce an alternative discourse. Universities are, traditionally, constituted as students and teachers/lecturers involved in a process of learning and teaching. Or to use a more traditional description, what students do is 'read' particular academic discourses, taking up their truth claims and their identities. Presumably academic staff are involved in speaking and re-writing these discourses. In the Green text this process has been largely erased. In its place the university is said to have growing student numbers, to have introduced new courses and to have generated new research initiatives. It has produced a strategic plan and it has quality services (computing, library, educational, and student) for students and staff. What has occurred is that in re-writing the university in an instrumental advertising discourse, Green has been forced to re-write what the university actually does in terms of what it has and what it does for its users, rather than what happens there.

University of Sheffield , Vice -Chancellor's 'foreword'

(Figure 5, appendix 3) General features

The first element worth noting from the Sheffield text in Figure 5 is its length and title. It actually contains twice the number of words found in the

Staffordshire and Manchester equivalents. It is also titled 'A foreword' whereas the polytechnic director and Vice-Chancellor texts are 'Introductions'. Their difference pre-figures, I think, a more detailed, more discursive and more communicative (in Habermasian terms) text than those of the post-1992 universities. The Sheffield text is less a piece of advertising copy and more a communicative tract. However, with that said, similar discourse types are found in both. The difference suggests that the pre-1992 university vice-chancellor *mixes* discourse types in a way not found in the others' statements. In other words he has dipped into several 'pots' of discourse types as he attempts to paint-in various aspects of the university in particular ways.

Evidence that Professor Roberts is seeking to incorporate textual features from Governmental discourses is found throughout the text. He uses the word 'standards' three times (paragraphs 1, 5 and 6). This could be seen as a trace to the discourse types circulated by the Major Government, perhaps to its Charter programme for improvements in public sector service standards. It also resonates with a traditionally Conservative discourse on education standards, which the pre-1992 universities might see themselves as maintaining during a period when former polytechnic higher education enrolment surpassed numbers in the 'old' university sector (Pratt, 1997). Yet the concern with standards also arises as a defence against falling standards due to increasing student numbers and declining funding.

There is also a series of terms which can be traced to a wider public sector managerialist discourse. These include, 'responsibility and accountability' (e.g. 'devolve responsibility to departments . . . within an accountable framework', paragraph 3), efficiency and productivity (para. 8), and the emphasis on commitment (to post graduate research (para. 4)

(again something that the post 1992 universities were considered to be less committed to), 'to the highest possible standards' (para. 6) and to 'finding ways of providing additional teaching and research and social facilities for increasing numbers of students and staff' (para. 9). Also highly managerial is Roberts' support for the controversial performance-related pay programme which at the time was sweeping through the public sector. He suggests that the information provided by the HEFCE's quality assessment units will help 'us' (clearly management) 'reward staff appropriately'. Both these elements point to the construction of the senior post-holder as a manager.

Subjects and Relations

In terms of the subject positions which the text provides, Roberts uses the first personal plural pronoun 'we' and 'us', throughout the text to refer to the university. In fact he uses it *24 times* in the text! Its use, together with the authoritative categorical modality [e.g. future developments *will* be determined by .. (emphasis added)] attempts to establish his subject position as a spokesman for the university as a collective. Whilst the use of the 'we' attempts to collapse social distance between Roberts as a male authority figure and other members of the university, there is some ambiguity in the use of the pronoun which points to the construction of the manager. While Roberts on one hand attempts through the use of the 'we' to eliminate the overt authority markers, he also re-establishes social distance at other points in the text. There are two key examples. At point he notes that 'the separation of teaching and research provides *us with the opportunity to devolve responsibility to departments and give them more freedom*' (my emphasis). As noted above, 'devolution' is a key practice in the construction

of the senior post-holder as responsible for performance and resources (Thomas, 1997; Meadmore et al, 1995). This use of the word 'us', however, recovers the distance, hierarchy and control exercised between the receiver and the giver of freedom - between the managers and the managed, in other words. Later there is a degree of ambivalence in the comment 'we are carrying out a rigorous review of our academic processes and administrative services'. I say this because these processes and services do not happen automatically, but are enacted by people. Therefore potential exists for one of these enactors to recover their ambiguous positionings in such a statement. There is in a sense a choice in the positioning for an interpreter. However, one subject position requires more effort to read than the other. On the one hand, the reader might be drawn to the 'we' in 'we are carrying out'. On the other, a reader is forced to recover their subject position in the nominalisations - administrative services and academic processes. A reader who does this would likely find they were not a reviewer but one of the reviewed and hence positioned within a power relation as the object to be known, rather than the knower - particularly as the managed (including the 'middle manager') and not the manager (clearly 'very' senior post-holders in this case). I suggest this rendering of the university's review processes serves to 'hide' the power relations involved. Roberts' comments on these processes and those concerning the 'giving of freedom' to departments, suggest the move to constitute the 'university', as Parker and Jary suggest, as a 'legally constituted web of corporate surveillance mechanism' (1995:327). Clearly these practices suggest a new relation to the self for those to whom 'freedom' is offered. Thus the text has embedded within it the managerial stationing, which includes new practices, new identities (glossed as new freedoms), and thus new forms of subjection. This new subject - the

managed manager for instance - may experience the power relations embedded in such processes of review and devolution as an intensified hierarchical visibility (Roberts' 'rigorous review'). Alternatively they may be experienced as a new way of being oneself at work, for instance as free to manage staff as human resources in an education industry.

Yet compared with the 'metallic managerialism' (Hall, 1993:15) of the Manchester statement and overt productionism of the Staffordshire statement, Roberts' text attempts to place the collegial and collective 'we' beside traces of a managerialist discourses (rigorous review, efficiency and productivity, accountable framework). The test would be whether a member of the 'we' (academic or services staff at Sheffield) would be able to identify with the text. I would argue that some sections of the text might not fit well with the discursive resources of some members of the 'university'. For instance, some could find the statement 'we are committed to finding ways of providing additional teaching', highly provocative. They might suggest that Roberts is simply dancing to the tune of the quasi-market environment and the enterprise discourse established by the Conservative Government across the public sector in the 1980s (the aim of which is seen by many as being to drive down the cost and arguably the quality of the higher education provision). Yet Roberts does not surrender to this discourse. He resists the economic jargon and refuses to over-write students and staff with the nouns 'consumers' or 'customers' or 'service users'. He also refuses almost completely to position the university as a thing-like provider of goods. In fact he uses the last paragraph to centre his resistance against this discourse. He writes:

A university, though, is really much more about people than facilities. Its reputation and the quality of the contributions it can make to society depend on the achievements of its students and staff.

From this we can see that Roberts is trying to recover a community/society discourse which is denied by the consumerist. His use of the term 'quality', which is a word that has become synonymous with the Government's programme for monitoring and managing higher education, is a deliberate attempt, I would argue, to re-write it into a different discourse.

Summary

In summary, then this analysis of three Vice-Chancellor statements suggests that the Sheffield text is intertextually more creative and complex and attempts to mix traditional educational discourse (with its concern for education as a situated social space containing students and staff) with some elements of a managerialist discourse. In contrast, the Manchester text relies on an advertising discourse to present itself while positioning students and staff as users (possibly customers and consumers) of services. The Staffordshire text evokes a productionist model for the university and tends to place students and staff in this process. The analysis suggests that it is the 1992 universities, which found some favour with the government during this period (Middlehurst and Elton, 1992) with their willingness to engage with market discourse, have more overtly and completely imbibed the discourses of the market and the factory. Meanwhile, in the statement from the pre-1992 university, Sheffield, the attempt is made to navigate a course between the existing educative discourse and that of the market. In order to do so a good deal more discursive work is needed. So while the Staffordshire and Manchester statements could be said to be engaging the 'new' order - an order of commodified knowledge and managerial privilege - the Sheffield statement, while constructive of the managerial stations through review and

devolutionary practices, also reflect, nostalgically perhaps, the need for older certainties about knowledge and academic privilege¹ to be protected from a radicalised state and a competitive post-1992 university sector.

Stationing the further education college - identities and relations in principals' interviews.

Compared with the university statements above, however, further education college principals rendering of the 'college', and their construction of 'staff' and themselves is more explicitly managerial. It is less intertextually complex, and thus less ambiguous. Of course, this is due in part to drawing on the interviews below which allow issues to be addressed more directly than they are likely to be in public statements, such as those made by the Vice-Chancellors discussed above. Yet the interview responses from the principals had a sense of being well-practiced performances - particularly responses to questions surrounding the effect of corporate status for colleges. This explicitness, I would argue, reflects the much more pragmatic and instrumental character of further education colleges and their approach to issues of work and organization.

For example, at interview all four principals identified colleges not as *businesses*, but using business practices. As College B's Principal said

We are effectively running as businesses now. We've got accounts that have to be signed off by external auditors. We are exposed to the process of audit and inspection and accountability in a way that is fundamentally different from anything that happened before.

¹ While there is insufficient space to elaborate it here, Roberts' statement includes a long section on changing relations between the university and the local community which is deeply inlaid with gendered and patronising relations of privilege and charity.

College C's principal described senior post-holders as

Effectively running small businesses now with considerable amounts of delegated authority.

Through this move, business and management discourse was drawn in and took a number of forms in these texts. College D's principal stressed the provision of services for customers and payment by performance.

A college's *core business* is providing excellent education and training *services* . . . the difference today [compared with pre-incorporation] is that the funding that we receive very much reflects our *performance* and in the past it didn't (emphasis added) . . . to provide excellent services we need to have very good information about what our customers want, and by customers I mean the users of the college in the widest sense.

In general terms all four principals drew on the dominant functionalist discourse to discuss the identities and relations of senior post-holders. This prescribes the necessity of colleges to be managed by managers who have a variety of 'skills' depending on their 'level' in the new organizations. College A's principal said the 'key role [in the college was] the middle manager'. College B's principal meanwhile drew on team discourse (Sinclair, 1992) and positioned the manager within the team. She suggested that incorporation required a 'paradigm shift' where senior post-holders were required

- to become 'effective resource managers, human, financial and physical',
- to be increasingly accountable, 'they had to produce evidence to prove they were doing what they said they were doing',
- and to be exposed to a funding methodology which could 'threaten the life of a college'.

In response to this, particularly the fear and anxiety produced by the funding methodology and independence, she counselled the 'importance of the process of effective team management'. This, she said 'helped managers to make the paradigm shift'.

We have gone through some very hard challenges, I mean the putting together of college teams and the teams themselves working together on the ground has been extremely powerful. I think that is mutual support from colleagues at every level of the college and trying to avoid people feeling that it is all their fault.

She even prescribed the 'team' as a response to her own anxieties

I'm not afraid to acknowledge that I'm frightened at times by the responsibilities that I face and I think that putting that on the table with staff and managers helps. I haven't got all the answers. This is a team effort. We can only do this if we are rowing the boat together and that is how you can allay some of that anxiety that follows from that fear.

Meanwhile College C's principal, spoke of management in much more combative and controlling terms reflecting a much more competitive masculinity at work in his construction of the college and the manager (Whitehead, 1996).

In a sense it has taught me that management is about propaganda to some extent, a selling exercise. You have not only to sell ideas and change to your staff but you have also to make sure that if there are people internally and externally who are working against you then you have also got to sell it more widely to get a better understanding

He recounted how prior to incorporation colleges were 'loosely administered' as neither local authorities nor principals controlled colleges: 'they weren't allowed to', he said. Gaining control, given that around 70 percent of expenditure is on staffing, involved

gain[ing] control of the deployment of staff, their pay and their outputs and how you manage them and deploy them. The name of the game is managing colleges rather than administering them.

The principal went on to argue for two ways of managing colleges, by authoritarian 'dictat and fear' and by 'delegation, understanding and skill development'.

we are very authoritarian about the plan, the direction, the strategies. We are very authoritarian about those. Also we are

quite clear about behaviours. Nobody is entitled to create their own management style, I don't want mill owners running parts of the college; there is a house style.

The 'house style' was said to be 'leading people, developing people, creating enterprising environments, not delegating tasks and not managing by fear'. Yet this was at odds with later comments made in the interview.

The principal suggested that

control comes up against a number of things. First of all it comes up against the debate about professionalism, particularly amongst academic staff and academic freedom . . . it has not been argued to my satisfaction that an approach to delivering education and training to students, and good value for money and constant change is compatible with what I understand to be professionalism and academic freedom.

He then went on to define the 'new' professionalised station, drawing in the terms 'professional' and 'academic freedom' in the context of the new constraints in further education.

I think the facts are that there are parts of this organization that are very cost effective, very entrepreneurial, very enterprising and where staff would say that they have got professional approaches and a degree of academic freedom. Given that they expect payment on a certain day of every month, I expect something in return. If people think it is optional to do some work then I think it is optional to pay them, an option that they don't like (ha ha ha)².

In this last comment the principal's text works to construct his own identity as a manager and employer, and to reconstruct the professional as an academic labourer in a new competitive environment. This reconstruction has been hotly contested through the lecturers' dispute over new contracts in this college. Whereas College B's principal relies on team discourse to reposition and construct discursively the new conditions for academic workers in FE, this principal preferred to remind academics of their financial

² Interviews with each of the principals were returned to them along with a request that they read the texts and forward any further comments that they might like to make. Just one of the four returned a comment. The Principal quoted here advised caution in using these last sentences as he said they 'sound like witches milling round a cauldron'.

vulnerability. This suggests that the principal's regime, despite his suggestions of a contrary 'house style', operates on the basis of a fear over redundancy and dismissal. This was supported by examples and comments from other senior post-holders interviewed at the college who described the senior management as aggressive and heavy-handed.

In sum, then, the above illustrates the dominant commercialism and managerialism in the texts of further education principals. It suggests, however, that there are significant differences in the mix of managerial discourse drawn upon in further education and that this both confronts and reflects different historical contexts. It also suggests that the suffusion of managerial knowledge and practices is not simply smooth and unproblematic. Indeed, College C's principal above said that in many cases senior post-holders themselves, to say nothing of academic staff, had been brought 'kicking and screaming' into the 'new culture'. Nevertheless the principal was proud that the college had not removed those with what he termed 'incompatible values'.

[I]nterestingly we haven't swept out, there has not been a night of the long knives here. People have sometimes recognised that that is incompatible and they have left us. We have not actually swept people out in that fashion and I'm pleased to say we have not sort of hand picked the red-blooded meat eating people from outside and created a college on the basis on this new culture.

By way of contrast, the following example, drawn from one of the universities in the sample, shows how the imperialising management discourse could be said to have swept out to some extent the existing order. One considered by many at the former polytechnic to have been entrepreneurial in character.

The coming of the manager - an embodied account of the construction of the managerial station - an example from higher education

This section addresses specifically the embodied aspects of the construction of managerial stations in higher education. It argues, drawing on the body topography framework discussed above, that the shift to a more managed post-compulsory sector can be read as a changing body topography. As I argued above, the concepts, stations and locales include the reconstruction of the body-subject by imperialising and localising knowledges. The construction of a more managed FHE is not just about changed funding mechanisms, new measurement techniques, new languages. It involves the changing spatial, verbal, physical embodiment *and* changing investments of desire (bodily energy). I want to illustrate with material drawn from interviews with senior post-holders from one of the four universities in my sample.

Example: Charisma to Managerialism via an 'execution'

In the late 1980s the high profile director of a polytechnic in the north of England was forced to resign following what was described by the trade press as a 'colonel's revolt' against him. The event can be broadly read in two directions using interview material from those involved. Firstly it can be understood as a response by senior staff to what they saw as the director's erratic, vindictive and over-bearing 'style' of management. Secondly, it can be read as the ascendancy of a corporate/bureaucratic mode of managing (see McNay, 1995).

In relation to the first reading one of former director's early supporters had this to say:

We felt at the time [of his appointment, circa 1980], that what this polytechnic lacked was a public figure. We needed someone who was going to project us into the sector. We were still the smallest and youngest of the new polytechnics. [the director] was someone who could do it. (head of department)

The director was said to have 'flair', be 'charismatic', 'a brilliant speaker and a bit of a cowboy'. This era is remembered as exciting and entrepreneurial. Alongside the director a so-called 'rat pack' of senior staff was said to 'virtually run the institution' outside of formal committee structures. The 'rat pack' had nicknames. One was called for instance 'the fat controller'. They also had their particular language. Entry was through 'initiation'. One dean who joined the former polytechnic at the end of the 1980s, and who became known to the 'rat pack' as 'huey', told me that he gained his credibility through his 'hard-man antics' at a three day senior staff conference in France (which latterly came to represent the excesses of the former director's era).

I wasn't part of the rat pack or any other pack. I think the rat pack wanted me in . .in rat pack terminology I demonstrated through the initiation ceremony, I 'went through the due processes' that gave me credibility. It was an interesting time for me as an observer of this saying 'where do I fit in?'.

The 'ratpack' (as above) represents a group of senior staff whose ethos broadly supported and was supported by the former director himself. In part this was done by 'getting rid of certain people'. Obviously issues of membership to the 'elect' inner circle created tensions. Towards the end of his tenure, the director was said to have 'got rid of all the people he didn't like' and started to turn on 'those that were good'. One or two maintained that he

was 'mentally ill'. All of these issues created what one senior manager called a 'seething mass' of tensions and conflict.

C.P. What caused this seething mass?

I actually think it was the director, it was the old director. I don't know, we were changing so rapidly. Certainly the old director had a great deal of involvement in it because we all started

At this point in the interview he abruptly paused and gave an interesting description of how the practices developing among people in the institution spilled over into his home life.

There was this occasion when my wife said to me, "Don't bring any of those practices back from that polytechnic into this house. If you want to play like that when you are at work, you play like that, but don't bring it back into this house". I thought what is happening to me? Now it wasn't just me, it was a whole host of people who felt like that.

Not long afterwards, as the story goes, the 'charismatic/vindictive' director was toppled by an alliance of the executive and deans. They met secretly at the university's conference centre one Tuesday morning and then presented the director and the polytechnic governors with a vote of no confidence. A few days later the director was publicly challenged at an academic board meeting over the veracity of statements he was making, and many of those present on whom he might have counted for support turned against him. There was an 'independent' inquiry by the governors followed by the director's resignation. A pay-off of some kind was made which included an agreement that the departing director would not discuss the events in a public forum for some years³.

The alternative reading of the director removal concerns the ascendancy of a corporate- bureaucratic 'style' of managing strong on

³ Last time I tried to talk to the former director about the events leading up to the resignation he referred me to the new director for comment.

conformity, accountability and responsibility, much in the mould set out in the National Advisory Body for Public Higher Education's publication *Management for a Purpose* (1987). The incoming director, in contrast to the 'charismatic', was known as a 'safe pair of hands'. There was respect for his financial conservatism and attention to detail, even if this meant 'pathetic arguments in management team about names: "we can't have that person called a manager or that person called a head" it was conformity down almost to boredom', as one senior staff member noted. A head of department had this to say:

[the new director] is a managerialist, everything is in its place. It upsets or threatens his sense of law and order if a group forms and it's not in his organizational chart.

Other things changed. While the former director was known to frequently walk about the campus, the new director was distant and out of touch with the day to day rhythms of the institution. He was seen by some as 'hidden' away in 'mahogany row' with his organizational charts, funding spreadsheets and the institution's growing 'library' of policies. Behind the closed doors people were being intimidated and bullied along by the new 'managerialists' (who were compared to Stalinists by some).

I think there is a lot of hypocrisy in this place and the higher up you go the more hypocrisy there is. It's about people doing the opposite of what they say. For instance Openness OK . . . (raises his eyebrows) [the university has an official open information policy]. At the heads conference around the bar someone says 'have you heard what happened to (former head of personnel)? 'No', 'Oh we're not meant to talk about it. Shall we go for a pint up the road? 'Turns out he'd been suspended for some impropriety. It's this knock at the door at 4am stuff. You realise that this isn't a very open society. (head of department)

And another head (a member of the so-called 'rat-pack') said:

[the vice chancellor] is very rigid in his approach and extremely inflexible. The [deputy vice-chancellor] is a very difficult

character to deal with. He will not allow conversation and unfortunately I don't even think he is aware of it. He makes very pejorative remarks and statements like 'You are all academic heads so I'll explain this to you twice'. You know, is that supposed to be funny?

Staff resented the secrecy and control that this corporate 'style' produced. A staff newspaper sprang up, saying in its first editorial that it was

a response to the information and consultation gap. . . It takes as its premise the idea that a polytechnic is primarily about people and ideas, not management and products.

Even new heads of departments, whose appointments were either made or closely vetted by the director, were critical of the centralising, controlling practices.

It's amazing in a small institution that it is so much more centralised. I had more responsibility for staff as a course leader in Birmingham (polytechnic), than I do now as a head of department. It makes us feel dis-empowered. Far too much is being churned out by the directorate in terms of policy but it's down to the paper work on your desk; you wonder if they are trying to *tie you to your desk* . . it may be looks as if we're puppets on a string. (head of department)

In opposition to a ban on any mention of the former director, people started to talk about this period in relation to the current regime. One dean recalled the discussion at the three day senior staff conference two years after the 'execution'.

People felt that they were able to talk about [the former director] and mention his name. People were saying things like, 'I haven't been able to mention his name since he went', and 'he was a right bastard, but he was good and we miss him now', people were saying 'yeah well we probably are managed better, but we miss that vision'. (dean)

Discussion

A body topography of the above highlights how bodily desire (physical energy/sensuality) is unstable, open, and on the move. The competing stories in the above account are not simply the work of discourses (languages), but the variable processes of investment of desire in different modes of practice, various discourses and particularly in other bodies themselves. These can be mapped through the changing spatial, verbal and physical presence of bodies.

During the former director's tenure, people invested in the practices, discourses and body of the charismatic. For the 'elect' these were passionate, exciting, 'playful' times. There were 'crusades' in the discourses of access, student-centred learning, and cross disciplinarity. There was the bending and breaking of rules, the doing of deals. Doors were open, bodies moved about and made their own groupings which enlivened some and ostracised others. One highly symbolic aspect was the fact that the director did not have a desk in his office. 'What do I need one of those for? I pay you to do the writing', he is remembered as saying. Instead of a desk he simply had an 'old wobbly chair he bought from [his former college]' said one of his acolytes. The desk is an important marker in the construction of a managerial station; it is a key symbol of the due process of bureaucracy. In effect, this denial of the 'desk', reinforces the 'due process' of groups like the 'rat pack' and contempt for bureaucratic due process. Yet at the same time there was alleged to have been favouritism, vindictiveness and a 'seething mass' of disputes and conflicts among the 'followers' and with the former director. For bodies whose investment was in due process, order and control, the 'party' of the mid-1980s had to stop! The symbolic 'execution' of

the former director, publicly embodied in his humiliation at an academic board meeting, and carried out with weighted symbolism in secret behind closed doors by the polytechnic's board, marks the shift to an investment in order and security. Bodies invested in the 'safe pair of hands' and *his* tools of order: policies, budgets, targets, appraisals. Slowly and as a counterweight to the entrepreneurial culture of the past, there was a shift toward the notion of being a 'manager' not freewheeling and dealing 'academic heads'.

The price of order, however, was the intensified stationing of bodies. This was through their increased confinement to desks (like 'puppets on a string') and behind closed doors huddled together in vertically integrated 'teams' (faculty management team, university management team, executive team) with other similarly clothed and practising bodies in the controlled spaces of small rooms and executive offices. Here control could be more easily exercised, instructions given and accountabilities more closely monitored than in large committees or the loose informal mate-like grouping. This required the increased codification of bodies in charts, through budgets, audits and a huge increase in paperwork. The price of an investment in security is also in secrecy, double-talk and masculine authoritarianism. A positive assessment of this would be that people became more responsible and accountable for resources and the institution was 'better managed'. Yet the shift to a bodily investment in the corporate order, signalled by the term 'better managed', is itself an ongoing unstable process. Changing body topography is therefore an ongoing and always partial process. The new topography of corporate order, in spite of a ban on official discussion of the past surrounding the former director, was challenged by a remembering of the investment in the exciting entrepreneurial order he embodied. The comments above such as 'I haven't been able to say his name', represent

both the official ban, and individual bracketing of turbulent practices and emotionality associated with the 'charismatic order' and the 'execution'. The recovery of the investment in the charismatic order/leader, from what many remember as the 'seething mass' of emotionality and conflict, represents a challenge to the investment in the practices, discourses, and symbolic bodies of the corporate order.

In summary then body topography of the managerial station has the following features:

- **Spatial.** The shift from large committees to small teams in vertically integrated line management structures through which control is potentially more easily and efficiently achieved. Instructions and accountabilities can be more closely monitored, and where sameness and conforming to the organization/department's 'strategic direction' can be exercised. Alongside this are the creation of more intensive one to one relations between the 'manager' and members of staff (through appraisal, review and audit processes) and the more intensive pressure to station post-holders in offices, at desks, within particular confines ('like puppets on a string'), away from teaching, and collective spaces.
- **Symbolic/verbal.** Increased codification and commodification of bodies and labour in charts, budgets, spreadsheets and audit documents, and the huge increase of 'audit-able' paperwork.
- **Physical.** Changes in the more formalised attire of senior post-holders, for men the extreme is the shift from 'woolly jumper to suits' together with attempts to lose weight. For women the shift is to more executive dress.
- **Investments of desire.** The taking up of the discourses of the private sector business manager, to the extent where they come to understand themselves as small business people with a portfolio of products sold onto a market.

Stationing the manager - an embodied nexus of grids, guides for action and forms of questioning - examples from further education

The substitution of a management for a professional or curriculum-led further education sector is potentially one of the most far-reaching consequences of recent reforms (Smith et al, 1995:37).

The above example dramatically illustrates how managerial discourse works to reconstruct the working lives of FHE senior post-holders. In effect it works also to dispose of those identities which refuse compliance or subvert its positionings. Right across the post-compulsory sector there has, as a result, been a significant 'reshuffle' of personnel at senior levels with the restructuring and reorganizations of academic units, replacement of senior staff, and the reallocation or rotation of responsibilities. As a result more than a third of further education college principals have either left or taken early retirement since 1993 (Ashton, 1995). All four colleges in the sample have appointed new principals since 1992 (all external appointments). There have been similar changes in personnel at almost all universities, chartered and statutory, during the period. All four universities in the sample have appointed new directors or Vice-Chancellors since 1990. Three were internal appointments.

As Chapter six outlined, universities and colleges are now significantly larger and more complex organizations in terms of funding and 'outputs' than they were prior to the growth period from the late 1980s onward, particularly the 1992 universities, but also some colleges (in terms of recruitment, one of the pre-1992, both 1992 universities and one of the colleges in the sample have doubled student numbers in the last eight years). This leads Scott (1995:67-70) to argue on largely functionalist grounds that managerialism is an inevitable and evolutionary outcome of mass higher education. As a counter to this, I would argue that this downplays the coherency of the knowledges and practices that have suffused FHE and how the effect of these aligns with and produces the strategic directionalities of a Thatcherite power bloc. Such knowledges and practices more directly

'station' further and higher education institutions, and particularly senior post-holders as managers, in the service of 'power bloc' objectives. This is not to assume, as House and Watson (1995:8) suggest is common among critical accounts of further and higher education change, that senior post-holders have been overnight turned into 'government placemen and women' by the requirements of the Education Reform Act (1988) or the Further and Higher Education Act (1992). By making the ontological and epistemological choices outlined above, that is by adopting a post-dualist and post-realist approach to knowledge, the account here is able to avoid such determinism.

Nevertheless there is a broad coherence about the new practices and knowledges, particularly funding, strategic planning, auditing and inspection practices which accompanied the 'independence' of institutions from the administrative, protective and some would suggest parochial and paternalistic cultures of local authorities (Ward, 1996) in the case of colleges and former polytechnics, and the protective and armslength relationship for chartered universities with the University Grants Committee (Shattock, 1995; Salter and Tapper, 1994). With these aspects in mind, I now want to provide a more detailed account of the nexus of practices and knowledges that attempt to construct the managerial station within FHE colleges and universities. In the first instance I draw examples from further education, and then turn to points made by respondents in higher education.

In broad terms the argument here is that new practices and knowledges constructs a particular station for FHE senior post-holder which differs significantly from past positionings. From being administrators of predictable income flows, senior post-holders in colleges and universities have been stationed as responsible for processes which are deemed to influence these flows. They are positioned particularly by devolved

budgetary processes and between income and expenditure. Such knowledge practices do not simply position, but individuate and divide senior post-holders off from one another. This is outlined explicitly in the following comments from College C's principal.

Knowing and managing

To survive this college had to move very quickly. We started with a lot of training on the managers, on enterprise and enterprise skills, leadership skills. The first thing we came across was language which reflected a certain attitude: like the denial of the use of the word manager in relation to some academic leaders; a preference for administration, side-stepping of responsibility - with some alacrity I would have to say. So part of the process was unequivocally pinning on people an accountability with an appropriate authority and the responsibility and over time delegating that down. . . Heads of school now operate a performance management scheme. . . they are responsible for delivering on an annual contract a volume of work at the right quality on each area's business plan. They are effectively running small businesses now with a considerable amount of delegated authority. Some of that is uncomfortable for them, some of that is still in transition . . . running through the organisation is a new culture, some people find it hard and some people take to it easily - it depends on their attitudes, their personality and their employment experience and background. . . the college's survival in this new environment was very much about value for money, customer care, responsiveness, it was about reorienting staff values, manager's values. (principal, further education college, November 1995)

The uniqueness of this quotation is its brevity. It compresses into 200 or so words many elements which address both the new practices at work in post-compulsory education institutions and particularly those engaged in constructing the managerial station. A station, as Fiske suggests, is constructed by detailed imperialising knowledges and practices that work to control simultaneously the interior dimensions of subjectivity, socio-political relations and the physical dimensions of bodies in time and space. The quotation above can be read as offering a detailed account of the

construction of these dimensions of the managerial station in further education colleges.

The first thing to draw from the quotation is its grounding in the common-sense, but politically complicit, ontology of the 'individual'. The principal's text assumes college 'managers' to be a population of 'individuals' with *attitudes* shaped by 'work employment and background' which will in turn shape adaptability to the 'new culture'. The assumption of a group of 'individuals', however, is used to buttress the construction of the individuated manager - a manager who is divided off from his or her colleagues and can be subject to particular techniques of measurement and judgement. In order to achieve this, however, forms of knowledge and practices are required which construct senior post-holders as individuals in the first instance. As Foucault argued (unfortunately using the male pronoun) the power process of subjection⁴

categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others recognise in him.
(1983:212)

The second point to draw from the text is the assumption that it is the new 'culture', the station in the approach used here, which is stable and the individual whose adaptability to it is variable. Thus each 'individual' becomes a case that can be assessed against the station's (culture's) norms. Through this decisions can be made about each individual's suitability or need for special attention.

Yet the managerial station which involves these new ways of relating to a 'self' as a 'manager' (located in the principal's text in the notions of enterprise, leadership, customer care, value for money and responsiveness), are highly unlikely to be taken up simply through the

principal's act of will or through training exercises that challenge the 'denial of the use of the term manager'. What is required is that these same relations be distributed, so that there are multiple points, moments and events through which the designated 'individual' is required to address her or himself as a 'manager'.

One strategy of imperialising top-down power, as Fiske notes in relation to stations, 'is to construct its stations in as fine a detail as possible to minimise the gaps so that locales can be excluded' (1993:71). This requires a whole panoply of seemingly mundane technical devices or 'forms of communications', to use Foucault's term⁵. These act continuously and at a distance aiming to produce new ways of being a subject, new identities.

Miller and Rose (1990) highlight this directly in their discussion of the practices of modern state-craft. In order to govern, States or power blocs, must translate the events or phenomena to be governed into

information - written reports, drawings, pictures, numbers, charts, graphs, statistics. This information must be of a particular form - stable, mobile, combinable and comparable. This form enables the pertinent features of the domain - types of goods, investments, ages of persons, health, criminality etc. - to literally be re-presented in the place where decisions are to be made about them (the manager's office, the war room, the case conference and so forth). (1990: 7)

4

Foucault addresses this in detail in *Discipline and Punish* and summarizes it in the paper *The Subject and Power* (1982). He notes in relation to prisons and education institutions that

The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole *ensemble of regulated communications* (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the 'value' of each person and of levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of *power processes* (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy). (1983: 218-219, my emphasis)

It is this aspect of Foucault's work which has been widely used by social commentators (e.g. Poster, 1991; Zuboff, 1988; Rose, 1989).

The managerial station in further and higher education can be read then as a point of both collection and translation; where events are translated into forms of information which can then be acted upon given certain criteria or norms. Perhaps most importantly it is the site where all these processes are going on at once and seemingly automatically. The managerial station is where information is collected, translated, judged against certain norms and actions applied on a continuous basis. This is done not through processes of domination but where 'individuals' are continuously judging themselves and others and adjusting their actions on a continuous basis. Indeed, the whole suffusion of the 'manager' across the sector is intimately linked to the increased needs for information, and, through this, control. The seemingly mundane practices of 'managing', what one section manager interviewed called her 'housekeeping jobs', have multiplied and now require a large commitment of time. Alongside tasks such as recruitment of staff (particularly part-time staff), timetabling and room allocation, a whole raft of more detailed monitoring processes have been assembled and introduced which address, for instance, student numbers, courses, attendance, staff hours, sickness and holidays. As the discussion of the 'meeting' below shows, colleges are required now to more intensively monitor themselves - particularly to attempt to ensure some degree of 'equalisation' between the total staff hours available and staff hours used while at the same time attempting to maximise the return on each of those used hours. This requires intensive information collection particularly in relation to staff hours, holiday usage, staff development time and sickness.

The managerial station as a point of translation is succinctly illustrated in the following text from College A's principal. The quotation also shows

again how common sense notions of the 'individual' are used to ground the individuating practices which work to produced the managerial station.

The key role is middle manager development, middle managers who can handle resources you know in terms of understanding in their heads that they have got a block of activity, how much that block of activity costs and what is the revenue generated by that block of activity and they can resolve issues to do with resource allocation and issues to do with managing people. They are the key things. In some colleges like this one it has taken longer because middle managers were never appointed as middle managers. They were Burnham senior lecturers, and the only distinction between them and ordinary lecturers was that they got paid more and they taught less.(College A's principal)

While this comment might be read simply as a graphic way to express the characteristics of the middle manager, such a discourse is crucially involved in the construction of the managerial station. The key turn in the text is to position the 'block' inside the body of the middle manager. This establishes ties of responsibility and accountability between the characteristics of that 'block' and the particular managerial body. As Deleuze and Guattari noted above, a foundation of modern power regimes is the assumption of a person's individuated responsibility for his or her body. The second 'move' is to nominalise an active social process as a 'block' of activity. An alternative reading would suggest that this 'block', which includes the multiple locales of students and staff, is not a 'block' at all, but a set of variably fragile social relations. The politically significant element of the principal's description is then the collapsing of these relations into a 'block of activity' (which costs a certain amount, generates a certain amount of income and generates certain staffing and curriculum issues) which is then enfolded into the body identified as a 'middle manager'.

The text also notes how this 'understanding' (the political significance of which is denied) differs from that required by the 'old' Burnham senior lecturers - who were senior academics in further education colleges. This is

a crucial distinction, yet the principal's text suggests that the difference between middle managers and senior lecturers amounts simply to the specification of the job at appointment. It denies the problematics of such a reconstruction, given that all the six section managers now on management contracts in the college were previously senior lecturers. It also underplays the complex nature of the re-positioning.

However, both Principals' texts highlight how the managerial station is produced. In the text from College C's Principal, the *mechanisms* of 'performance management', 'annual contracts for a volume of work at the right quality on each area's business plan' and delegated authority for 'running small businesses' are used to 'unequivocally' pin on senior post-holders a new way of being a subject at work. Embedded in these mechanisms are numerous more detailed paper and computer based systems such as strategic planning, budgets, timesheets, taught hour plans (which take the form of computer spreadsheets and databases). Significantly, it is the elaborateness and the overlapping character of such mechanisms which enhance the construction of the managerial station.

Two further examples highlight this. The first deals with new strategic planning processes and the second performance management programmes. In the first quotation the principal of a highly successful FE college (which in 1995/6 reported a £1million surplus on its work up from £460,000 the year before) explains how the college's planning process operates.

The cycle of strategic planning which we have just initiated begins with the governing body of the college setting the direction of the organisation. That will be communicated back at the residential conference next week with about 50-60 middle managers. We will then determine our corporate management priorities against the direction the governors want us to move. That will be taken back down into teams. Teams will then develop their own strategic planning priorities to help contribute to those corporate goals and individuals will identity their particular contribution to that. That goes right

down to individual operating statements which are the basis of the review. The annual development review with the individual seeks to identify the individual's staff development needs. Now that is the process. Putting that process in place over a three to four year period, which has been about aligning people with the mission and the corporate goals and developing team management skills, *has helped* the process of taking managers to make the paradigm shift. (emphasis added)

As noted above, the 'paradigm shift' is the principal's shorthand term for the move, initiated by the incorporation of colleges, to a more commercially orientated mode of operating. The example illustrates how the new discursive practices of planning, personal review and team working, with their embedded subject positionings, particularly that of the 'manager', are linked together in the attempt to produce particular stations at work. Through these multiple practices the goals and objectives of the individuated worker are aligned, through the discursive practices of individual review and the 'team', with the strategic objectives of the college, which of course is tied directly into the sector's objectives of reducing costs and increasing educational participation.

At College C meanwhile the annual review is known as the performance management programme. The emphasis here is not directly upon 'teams', but individuated performance and reward. The college's personnel officer outlined the programme.

At the beginning *you* set down *your* principal accountabilities, what are *you* here for and what are *your* main accountabilities to the college, and *you* usually have four or five of those. . . From these *you* are expected to set PMS objectives for that annual cycle. Those are done in consultation with the manager, they are things that are going to move the area of *your* work on, they have got to be above *your* job description. . . These are then compared with others in *your* phase to make sure that they are not too far reaching or too below everybody else. . . With objectives we also have to put together some form of performance indicator; so how are we going to meet it and how will *you* assess that *you* have met it. Usually that has to be completed by a certain date. *You* go through the year, trying to achieve *your* PMS objectives, obviously not at

the expense of *your* day to day role, and at the end of the 6 month period, *you* are assessed on how *you* are meeting it. Whether *you* are meeting it or whether it is an unfair objective [or] whether it needs to be changed or whatever. And then at the end of the year *you* are then graded as to how far *you* have got, graded by *your* manager initially. Then it is countersigned and then there is a moderation panel, picked from the college for each phase, and they actually moderate the assessment. It is a fair system.⁶ (emphasis added)

Read from a Fiskean position, this text highlights the multiple and overlapping discursive practices which seek to construct managerial stations in colleges. As is apparent, these practices combine particular knowledges, identities, relations and physical aspects. The PMS scheme addressed here, for instance, provides a mechanism by which workers can self-discipline themselves in relation to college objectives. It both provides a means for individuating workers, and offers devices through which they can closely discipline and monitor on a continuous basis their own performance. This is then assessed by, and in the process constructs, their 'managers' themselves. Note, for instance, the terms 'you' and 'your' are used repeatedly in the text (this suggests that there is perhaps a degree of struggle over the attachment of this particular 'you' to particular bodies). This 'you' is obviously top-down. It is a 'you' stationed by imperialising discursive practices in the interests of a Thatcherite power bloc. As Fiske notes, such a 'you' is not extending that person's control over herself, but extending the power bloc's control over that person.

The control is 'hers' only in their sense of her individuation, not in any sense of her identity that she might recognise as her own. (1993:74)

⁶ It is worth adding that the college board sets aside a sum each year for distribution through the PMS system, and this is divided up according to one's 'phase' or level. The senior management team in this college, for instance, gets three 'shares' for an 'Outstanding' PMS score while their subordinates (section managers) get two and their subordinates (programme managers)

Detailed and intensive strategic planning processes operate in much the same way as the PMS system. Through them senior post-holders are stationed as managers. The managerial 'I' is embedded in and required to articulate itself in relation to objectives, targets and deadlines. These 'I's' are recorded in the operating plans which are held by the senior post-holders them-'selves' through which control is extended over them-'selves'. In higher education this is often linked to particular quantitative measures through the research assessment exercise or grading in the teaching quality assessment process. These measures are in turn linked back into appraisal and reward processes.

Distributing the managerial station - examples from further education

The above has highlighted the construction of the managerial station through the interdependent regimes of practices, to use Foucault's term (1991). These are translated in and provide ways of being a particular 'you'/'I' in particular sites. The following provided detailed examples of the distribution of these practices, drawn from interviews and observation in the four further education colleges.

College A's principal provided a compelling example of how imperialising knowledges are taken up and become naturalised as that 'person'. In this text it is possible to hear how the 'I' of the power bloc's imperialising knowledges is enfolded into the speaker to the point where the 'needs' of the power bloc become 'his' needs. The principal is here discussing the requirements of the senior manager and middle manager (section manager/programme manager) positions in the college.

I need people who can work strategically at senior manager level and leave the detail, leave a lot of the resolution of staffing issues and staffing conflicts with their middle managers, and I pay [middle managers] more and get them teaching less, much less.

This principal had earlier suggested that encouraging middle managers to take on issues surrounding staff conflict, involved 'empowering' middle managers. This did not, however, mean empowering the 'middle manager' to challenge the imperialising knowledge and practice. It involves, as the following quotation shows, positioning the 'middle managers' with particular reporting and monitoring practices, with in-built norms.

CP: What do you mean by empowering?

Well it is giving them the authority to carry out fairly closely defined activities in terms of meeting targets for managing resources and in terms of resolving personnel issues because the natural reaction of a typical senior lecturer if a member of staff wasn't performing was to 'move it upstairs'. What I want them to do is to try and resolve those issues. . . when it comes to deploying resources each section of the college has a target in terms of units to be earned, that is its income side, and a target in terms of taught hours, that is its expenditure . . . it is up to the *managers* to maintain the balance. The ratio is 2.4 units per hour and if *they* stick to that then we balance the books . . . if it starts drifting down to 1.8-1.6 units per taught hour, then *they* have got real problems. (emphasis added)

We can note here how 'they' is used to shift responsibility for balancing income against expenditure to the 'manager'. The text assumes this positioning to be a seemingly technical, unproblematic and autonomous process. As the following examples from the 'meeting' and events in this college outlined in the following chapter show, this is far from the case.

One of the most prominent 'technical' processes at work in this college, however, which work to stationing senior post-holders is the computer-based unit efficiency process identified in the previous quotation. This process attempts to intensively monitor the funding council income earned for each hour of teaching time across the college. In this college the

spreadsheets are called 'taught hour plans'. They are maintained for reporting purposes by those in section manager posts (the equivalent of Dean in the 1992 universities) but also distributed to programme co-ordinators in the various curriculum areas in most cases. The spreadsheets allow programme co-ordinators and the section manager to model 'virtually' the section's teaching hours, modes of teaching and class sizes so as to produce a certain average ratio of unit income per classroom contact hour across the section. Through this section managers can explore the effect on income of particular changes to teaching programmes, for instance: combining classes, reducing class contact time, increasing the use of cheaper workshop instructors or open learning time. The section manager can then act on those options that produce the best result - the best target ratio. In effect these processes are engaged in condensing, quantifying and then removing decisions about education processes from the sites where they take place. They provide the means by which learning and teaching can be speeded-up, intensified or disposed of if it fails to meet particular levels of return. At the same time it constitutes the managerial station, as the senior post-holder is positioned through these between the 'power bloc' and the 'people'.

In the case of College 'A', its target ratio for 1994-5 was 2.4 units per hour. By 1996-7 this had been increased to 3.25 units and will rise to 3.5 for 1997-8. The move from 2.4 to 3.5 in the space of four academic years is directly linked to the driving down of college funding levels through both convergence and efficiency gains. Here we can see how the seemingly benign 'taught-hour plan' calculations are actively involved in both constructing the 'manager' and translating broad political economic alliances into the micro stationings of college and university classrooms. All section

managers in this college (similar techniques are used in the other colleges) are required through the computer-based taught hour plan to 'bring' their courses up to this level of return. In the first instance this required increasing class numbers, reducing contact time and increasing the number of classes lecturers teach. To give an example, the workload of A-level teachers in science in this college increased by 50 percent during the period. While actual teacher contact time had only increased by about 2 hours a week, teachers were now teaching five A-level classes compared with, on average, 3.5 classes in the early 1990s. Class contact for A-level science students had dropped from six hours per group in the early 1990s to 4.5 in 1996-7. The effect of this is similar to speeding up a production line, forcing the workers to work faster. The programme co-ordinator for science noted:

Our argument in science is that you can speed up the theory work if you like but you can't speed up doing practicals; that is fixed. And there is no way that you can speed that up. So we have to actually speed up more on the theory than other people.

The taught hour plan thus provides a means of the speeding up of learning and teaching labour right across the college in order to meet the convergence and efficiency demands of the sector as a whole. The second phase of 'efficiency measures' has required college section managers to substitute labour. Despite the principal's claims at interview that this would not be done, section managers, in an effort to meet taught hour plan targets, were moving technicians into workshop and laboratory 'managers' posts, and replacing lecturer hours with instructor and assessor level staff as well as increasing the level of course project work.

In the case of science, the section manager was positioned in such a way by these processes that they signalled a major problem. The college's sixth form programme was now competing with a new sixth form opened at

the school not far from the college. This had 'eaten' into enrolments. Efficiency and convergence processes, plus competition from this new local sixth form, meant that when the section manager for this curriculum area looked at the projected taught-hour plan ratios for the coming years, the ratios were significantly below the expected college norm and thus suggested that a significant number of A-level and GCSE teachers' jobs would be at risk. The section had been through the redundancy process in the preceding year, when a number of jobs were lost, so it seemed likely that it would be used again - particularly in science⁷.

The single issue that engages my attention most, especially where sciences are concerned and maths to a certain extent, is trying to think how I'm going to take these people and this curriculum and ensure that they survive, because they are not going to survive. I don't know the extent to which some of the people who I don't know very well realise this. I know that the programme co-ordinators who are the line managers operationally for them, know because I meet with them regularly, we all meet together once a week and I meet each of those once a week, so I know what they think, but I do wonder sometimes if the people who go in there everyday and teach the stuff actually realise that they are sitting on a boat that is sinking very very slowly. At the moment it is slowly: we don't want any sort of Titanic sunk in 10 minutes sort of things . . . in a year's time possibly two years' time we will not be employing as many people to do that as we now have. I would like to think that there would be some that were beginning to do some different things, they were beginning to think 'well what else can I do besides teach A level biology, what else can I do besides teach chemistry? I must have some skills'. I'm convinced that *my* biggest problem with them is to get them to think creatively and very innovatively about what they do. The odd conversation I have with people at the chalk face is 'well what can we do to get more A level students'? 'Well yes that is a fair point; if that will make you feel more secure then we will talk about it and possibly there are some things we can do to make sure we can go on' (CP: but that's not the direction) well it's small stuff. I think beyond that, if there is no A level

⁷ To put this in a national picture, the lecturers' union, NATFHE's, monitoring of job loss across further education suggests that upwards of 15,000 (Berryman, 1997) lecturing posts have gone mostly through early retirement schemes since incorporation in 1993. The Further Education Funding Council's staff information record is expected to be updated in October 1997 (with figures available in early 1998). The most recent figures from this are from 1994 and show that colleges at that time employed 174,209 staff of whom 90,666 were full-time and 82,964 part-time. Of these staff there were in total 101,520 women and 72,579 men (FEFCE, 1997).

tomorrow what will we do with you what can we do with you, what would you like to be involved in doing? Clearly it is not something that you can just do overnight; you can't just spray this kind of stuff on. Some people have been here a long time and always done the same things. . . .I don't know what it is going to take to make some people realise that this can't go on. How do you do that? How do you manage that without traumatising them to death? How do you manage it without them running down the corridor with their hands in the air saying 'what are you going to do?'' (section manager)

This is not, as Longhurst suggests (1996), a 'manager' motivated by her own survival to exploit and oppress. It is more a 'manager' constructed within and stationed by a particular set of knowledge practices which produce certain strategic implications - which prove troubling and highly problematic. They are troubling in part because the 'manager' is not a coherent distinct human being, but a multiple of subject positions within various discursive practices which in this case sit uncomfortably together. The 'me' the section manager refers to in statements like 'my biggest problem with them' is *not* the 'me' that is the mother of two children, the teacher or the magistrate, in this case, but the 'me' constructed through the knowledges and practices of the managerial station. Other subject positions are available, particularly localised knowledges which address professional and academic expertise. A key reason why the section manager above lamented the 'slow sinking' of science A-levels, is that professionally the teaching staff were 'excellent'. As she said:

they are good at what they do. Students who come here have a good deal. They get good results which is what they come for so I know that they are good. I suppose I should say they are good classroom managers. They get good results for their students and that is what they consider to be most important. It is what most students consider to be the most important. But really, I don't know, I don't know what it is going to take to make some people realise that this can't go on. (section manager)

Clearly the interview provides a space where such 'troubles' can be exercised. In the quotation we hear how to some extent the section manager

identifies with the professional identity, and its experience, but the speaker is also positioned by the unit yield methodology. 'Behind' her are the college's curriculum director and accountant who monitor 'her' efforts to bring courses into line with particular yield ratios. In this we can also hear something of the problematic processes involved in the extension of the managerial station out across the college? We can read in these quotations the politics of knowledge and knowledge practices at work which construct the positions of 'manager' and the 'academic professional'. The section manager speaks of how the 'programme co-ordinators' (those given responsibility for teaching staff in each of the four curriculum areas in the section) are said to 'realise' the current circumstances. But those whose knowledge practices position them as teachers continue to read themselves through these identities. Of course, as the above suggests, to the section manager positioned by the discursive practice of managing (i.e. the unit yield processes) this seems like resistance. However, what has occurred is that what previously might have been considered the 'teaching' station, has in the framework suggested here become a locale, as it has become the target of imperialising knowledges and practices. The section manager's own text reflects this shift as she positions the teaching staff differently in the quotations. She moves from a more 'horizontal', distanced and professional positioning in: 'I don't know what it is going to take to make some people realise that this can't go on'. , to, 'I don't know how *I'm* going to take these people and this curriculum and ensure that they survive'.

Read in another way, her particular concern here is to enjoin the science teachers to 'read' themselves through the knowledges and practices of the managerial station. Yet their professional identities, those that engage with the student and not the funding council and the 'manager', continue to

take precedence as it is these identities which are confirmed and reproduced on a day to day basis at work. The programme co-ordinators, meanwhile, those who were stationed at weekly meeting with the section manager either individually or as a group were engaged in reconstructing their professional identities.

Programme co-ordinators/managers in college 'A' and across three of the four colleges (although different terms are used for these posts) represent the 'new managers' and the extension of the managerial station into the professional locales of the colleges. In College A this comprises a group of 30 former senior lecturers. Each has been repositioned (through a changed job-description - see appendix 2) as the 'line-manager' for up to 10 teaching staff in each of the college's curriculum areas. The pattern of this repositioning, as might be expected, is largely identical to that of the section manager. As programme co-ordinators their teaching load had been reduced slightly (by three hours per week). They had been given a small flat rate pay increase of £750 per annum and had all been positioned at the top of the lecturer's pay scale, thus removing any differences between programme co-ordinators. Part of the work required of this post-holder is the provision of detailed monitoring information on each curriculum area (e.g. staff hours, student numbers). They are also required to not only input this into strategic plans, budgeting, unit yield and audit processes, but to reformulate plans and programmes on the basis of information returned from these processes. The college's curriculum director added a positive gloss to this by suggesting that such processes allow control for 'two aspects of the job - curriculum and resources - to be *given* to the staff' (emphasis added). However, these processes were having a profound and highly variable effect on their professional identities.

One section's programme co-ordinator noted that since incorporation

it has gone like a business. What use to be student centred, is now, you look at a student and you see them as a unit of funding. You have to look now at the viability of the course in terms of funding. Before you looked at it in educational terms. You shouldn't do but that is now what we do. We close classes on the basis of whether your funding units are up or down. Also I find it difficult to actually line manage people I've actually worked with on the same basis. (programme co-ordinator)

While this programme co-ordinator found the stationing problematic, her colleague, by way of contrast, whom she described as 'one of life's perpetual optimists' (an A-level and GCSE maths teacher), appeared to have embraced the positioning.

CP: What does the programme co-ordinator's job consist of?

Planning for the future, trying to keep the unit yield up. Trying to think about new schemes, and keeping people motivated in the job, keeping the morale up. In this job you are more in touch with what is going on, with the problems perhaps with planning for the future . . you can see the possible openings. In terms of the future we're hoping to move into distance learning education. In part it is to do with keeping our jobs . . we could see that with A-level classes opening up we needed to do something. So we are going to go for the distance learning market and hope to pilot the GCSE maths programme next year with 50 students. This would be learning packs and videos. We hope to run it so that it acts as a backdrop to any fluctuations in our classroom numbers. We could raise and lower this depending on classroom numbers. We could go nationally or even further afield. Last week I had to say how many students we would be recruiting on to it - because of the funding mechanism, if you over-estimate they claw back but if you underestimate you only get the exit funding part of the unit. We estimated that we could give three hours for each student for each member of staff. If we were successful we could grow it enough to secure our jobs. So it is to help secure our own jobs for the future with the falling numbers of A-level students, although the numbers (in the new school sixth form) have not been escalating as expected, and with the publication of the first results this year, there may be a backlash against the new A-levels in schools.

Here is a different subject at work, one with global ambitions. The speaker is engaged in attempting to reposition his professional identity in the discourse of distance learning so as to 'secure our jobs'.

Senior managers, meanwhile, in this particular college decided at the time of writing that in order to meet nationalised efficiency and 'convergence' targets, the unit return would have to be increased to 3.5 units per hour in 1997-8 - a figure that even the college accountant was said to have admitted could not be achieved. The college's curriculum director, however, proudly suggested that she had 'managed to get the senior management team to set 3.5 as the limit', although she also admitted that this was probably 'too far anyhow'. Programme co-ordinators and section managers across the college were highly critical of this efficiency drive. For them it was seen to be highly detrimental to college learning programmes, and is likely to lead to more redundancies - particularly in A-levels and particularly A-level science.

This example above shows how devolved funding processes station the senior academic and administrative post-holder as an accountable manager. They form a point of translation and enactment in a seemingly unbroken line of visibility and potential action from national funding body into the classroom/lecture theatre/ seminar room/laboratory. They provide the means by which resource consumed through each hour of teaching/learning time is made visible and thus equalised through various tactics, with the declining unit of resource available to fund that activity.

Meetings - putting 'flesh' on the bones of the paper structure

As a piece, then, the 'manager' can be said to be a station comprising a nexus of practices, vocabularies, norms and systems of judgement which form particular directionalities across the institutional terrain of further and higher education institutions. Each of these practices (e.g. budgetary, strategic planning and performance appraisal) include detailed guides for action, questions to be asked, decisions to make, solutions that can be suggested, forms of recording, listing and categorizations. These in turn are all embedded in yearly, six monthly, monthly, weekly and in some cases daily repetitions of forms of reporting and submission of results in various forms e.g. in person at meetings, in paper form, in spreadsheet returns. These form what one college personnel office called a college's 'paper structure'.

CP: What are the key documents for being put in those kinds of roles? You've mentioned Contracts, business plan, guidance notes, anything else?

Yeah, that is the paper structure, that's what your role is, these are the people that you've got under you, here's your contract, here's the contracts of the people you manage, this is the discipline guidelines and some notes of guidance but *if we left it at that we are bound to fail I think the other important facets are team meetings*. That is one of the things that [the principal] is very keen on, working as teams and then we support each other and *we work face to face rather than sending out pieces of paper*. So on the strategic side there is the team meetings. You could have a sector meeting, then there might be a curriculum meeting, which might be anything to do with say IT. That will cross over a number of sectors.

Here the personnel officer identifies the importance of the stationing of people physically and thus in particular social relationships to the construction of the manager. The quotation highlights the importance of body topography to the construction of the 'manager'. If this were left to the

'paper structure' - the knowledges, in other words - 'we are bound to fail', he suggested. Meetings, he argued, are the single most important aspect for stationing both the 'manager' and the non-manager within what is read here as imperialising knowledge practices. It is through these that the 'paper structure' is literally made 'flesh', as the personnel officer had earlier noted in the interview. He said that the principal had a current favourite saying: 'structures don't deliver courses, people do'. He then related how the principal himself was involved in personally elaborating this:

I mean we had a meeting, personnel team with [the principal], another good example of putting flesh on the bones of getting people to work at managing change.

He then went on to talk more directly about 'putting flesh on the bones' of 'managing change'.

How we interacted is finely tuned. It comes down to the key word - communication. You've got your structures, you've got your rules and regulations with the paper work and then it is about *making that come to life* and that is through knowing what your role is and then going out and doing it and communicating that. I think the meeting structures play a very central part. (my emphasis)

In sum, these quotations highlight the power-knowledge processes which construct the managerial station, and the managed college. As Foucault outlined in *Discipline and Punish* (1991), the first application of power-knowledge is enclosure - the physical enclosure of bodies in time and space. From these social relations and identities, those provided by in this case the 'paper structure', follow. The 'meeting', as the material from higher education above highlights, is a key site where power-knowledge practices are applied, and it is in these sites that particular identities found in the 'paper structure' are ascribed, reviewed and thus reproduced.

'Making it come to life' - managers and meetings - an example

Managing, as the above suggests, can be read as attempt to construct stations through which particular knowledges and practices can flow. These provide particular ways of being oneself and relating to others. The crucial translation of managerial knowledge and practices, that which involves 'putting flesh on the bone' of such knowledges, as the personnel manager above suggests, occurs at 'meetings'. The personnel manager, along with others across the sample, highlighted the crucial importance of multiple small-scale meetings as sites where the body topography of the station is constructed (see pg. 294-300 above for discussion in relation to higher education). In order to illustrate this, I offer here an account of one of these meeting. The example here provides a detailed account of the embodiment of the managerial station in meetings. The particular event described here was one of the weekly meeting a section manager in College A holds with the four programme co-ordinators (PCs) in this section. According to the PCs who were interviewed after this event, the particular meeting I attended (and report here) was very typical of section meetings. The following account is written from the point of view of an outsider 'listening in' on the multiple practices and knowledges that make up these meetings.

The Meeting

A FE college classroom mid-afternoon, late November 1996. Six people are sitting around a collection of tables joined together to form a square. One side of the square is occupied by M, the section manager, who has in front of her piles of folders arranged neatly in an order. Some of the folders carry the names of the four programme co-ordinators (PCs) who

occupy the other sides of the table. An administrator also sits at the table taking notes.

The meeting was jovial and punctuated by jokes, irony and sarcasm, supplied mostly by M. This overlaid, however, the main 'business' which was the distribution of a great many forms and requests from M to the programme co-ordinators. These requests and forms had in turn come to M from the meeting she attended with the college's curriculum director and other section managers in the morning of the day before. M punctuated her delivery of the forms with comments and asides which appeared to lighten the tone of this distribution process. For example, M made regular recourse to her intimate knowledge of what would make 'Big Sylvia' as the programme director is known, and 'George Bain', the finance director, 'happy'. The agenda was a mixture of reminders that such and such a process needed to be done/completed by such and such a deadline, overlaid with a raft of new paper based demands each with their own new deadlines. The monotony of this process and the loading up which occurred led one PC to mime banging his head upon the desk as yet another request for forms to be filled, and initiatives to be generated and inserted in the correct document was handed out. Another PC screwed up his face and the lines upon it appeared to get deeper.

M meanwhile ignored this. She ran the whole affair with a crisp, focused efficiency moving quickly from one element on the agenda to another. It was clear that this was also aimed at avoiding debate and critique from the PC's, who appeared to barely tolerate the requests and demands for figures, comments, plans etc. She clearly orchestrated the whole event. She kept the 'paper moving' interspersing it with almost constant, sometimes humorous, sometimes sarcastic comments about this and that manager or this or that deadline. She thus filled in verbal space which might have allowed comment to flow in the 'other' way. When some question or comment did come 'back' she often put the responsibility back on the PC. 'Oh I don't know that, ring so and so, you ask him'.

Again to smooth the procession of 'paper' M occasionally played teacher and mum. After she had handed over a pile of documentation she said to the PCs 'Now don't say that I don't ever buy you anything'. When another asked for something she quipped back: 'I'm not your mum!' 'YES YOU ARE' came the laughing pantomime-esque reply. 'I don't want to be your mum they don't pay me enough. I was used occasionally to deflect comment and potential criticism: 'You see what I have to put up with Craig', which followed a joke that had 'come back'. After the 'important' bits of paper were passed around, M also passed out brown folders for each of the PC filled with

more paper. (These include less pressing material, invoices and the like as well as newspaper clippings and information sheets from other institutions and were aimed at giving the PC's ideas for projects and actions. PC's themselves said at interview that they largely ignored these folders).

The main 'requests' meanwhile included: requests for updated taught hour plans (THP) and unit yields from the finance director. These had to be returned in two weeks' time. As these figures had been returned on an earlier form by the PCs two weeks before, M recommended simply lifting these figures for the updates.

The programme co-ordinators complained vocally at the PC's training event, described in the next chapter, about this duplication which they claimed was a regular occurrence. At interview a number said that they found this seemingly thoughtless duplication 'oppressive'.

The THP and the Unit yield updates meanwhile would be fed into the college's spreadsheets programmes and then returned to M (and other section managers) on disks so that she could see how the section's figures were shaping up against the target. As a way of encouraging a response to this request M reminded the PC's that this update would be used to 'convince George (accountant) to release the college wide performance related pay increase of 1.5 percent). 'I wouldn't normally push this, but when people's pay increases hang on it needs to be done', she said.

The strategic planning documentation was the next agenda item. Each of the PCs received a five or six page collection of papers upon which they were to insert, under the appropriate strategic plan objective, 'their' subject area's contributions. The first page was for new courses, the second for full cost work. M began her 'pitch' on this by softly shifting responsibility back to the programme director: 'You know what Sylvia is like with boxes. There are loads of boxes on this sheet. Now I don't expect you to want to or be able to fill them all in; if you can fill in one or two maybe that will be fine'. She was harder on full-cost work: 'We really have to go hard on this; if we don't then it is highly unlikely that the £3,000 on the budget that George has held back will be released to us, unless we can come up with something on this.'

'And some of us want £2000 of the £3000 anyway - looking at one of the PC - social sciences person'.

One can note here how the same hold-back process exercised by the secretary of state across the sector in relation to contracts had 'migrated' into colleges to enforce compliance to particular objectives. There is a connection here to the college's inspection report (1995), as it mentioned 'poor performance' by the college in generating 'full-cost' work.

One of the PCs later said , clearly bewildered by these instructions: 'So you want us to write something in every one of these'. 'As many as you can', M replied, and then covered: 'I could do it all myself and make it up, but then it would be you who would have to do it then, so what I suggest is that you put them in in the first place'. Although M shifted responsibility for this demand for initiatives and reporting to Sylvia, she herself had in fact been involved in drawing up the broad objectives for the section which were now being 'fanned out' to PCs who were required to 'fill in the gaps'. The broad objectives had gone to Sylvia and then once she had checked these they were sent back to M for her to 'cascade' to the PC for specifics, deadlines and people to whom responsibility for these would be attached. However, 'M' didn't put herself in the frame on this at the meeting preferring instead to take up a more collegial, facilitating position. She positioned herself as the messenger from Big Sylvia and implicitly denied her own direct engagement. In terms of a deadline, again, she used 'Big Sylvia': 'I have to have this to Sylvia by December 20 so I thought we could negotiate on when to have them to me', said M. 'What about Friday the 13th?' said one of the PCs. 'OK', 'Which means the 15th , OK?'

Through this one can hear how the programme co-ordinators are being progressively enrolled into the drive to increase course provision with higher income potential. The shift was directed toward full-cost recovery or higher earning courses and away from what a number of PC described as the more academically demanding by less well financed courses, namely A-levels.

Two hundred days: the lecturer's contract set a maximum of 200 days work a year of which 190 were teaching days. The extra 10 were for other events, particularly staff development and curriculum development events. M wanted each of the PCs to return to her a list of how these 10 days were to be organised in each curriculum area. This flowed into the next two agenda items.

Staff development action plans: this form asked for details on the staff development activities to be undertaken by each full/time member of the teaching staff. The form stated that this must be done 'in liaison with their line manager' (programme co-ordinator). 'Their line manager, that's you', said M emphatically to the programme co-ordinators. One of the PC's then asked whether this did not duplicate another form, previously 'transferred', which included staff development activities. 'I rang her this morning and tried to get clarification from Sylvia on that, but I haven't been able to find out', said M. 'If it is on the other form, then file it [PC] under 'D' for duplication - OK'. She then quickly moved on to the next item, anxious to avoid more criticism of duplication and overloading.

Curriculum development bids: 'You will see this is on a double sided paper so you won't be able to photocopy it as the photocopier doesn't like doubled sided copies without a lot of coaxing', said M. (Note that through this she was suggesting that the PCs distribute such forms to lecturers themselves, thus encouraging lecturers in each programme area to reposition themselves). These are bids for money to 'pump-prime' curriculum workshops. An example was given: money to investigate resource based learning materials for psychology and sociology. Deadline: December 12. 'The deadline for this is short, but that's because Sylvia 'knows' that you all have projects in mind that you have been waiting for the chance to write down', said M. This cajoling humour fell very flat at this moment.

Logging cover time: The lecturers' contract stipulates 801 teaching hours per annum. It is possible to transfer hours from one lecturer to another on the basis of sickness. The programme co-ordinators were reminded to make sure that this cover was noted and adjusted, and that it was for teaching not the supervision of classes.

Study reading weeks - M suggested that each PC give some thought to the idea of running study reading weeks on each course which would be used for staff development/curriculum development activities (In one way this could be seen as a way of structuring in the 10 non-teaching days in the lecturers' contract, of reconciling reduced teaching hours with curriculum, and also giving space for the teams to work on strategic plans, objectives and targets).

Part-time hours - there was a request for information on contracted part-time hours for each section, so that cross-college teaching hours could be scrutinised (Obviously this is being checked against the section's taught hour plans and unit yields).

All these items above show how programme co-ordinators are positioned so as to more intensively monitor teaching staff time and activities.

PC staff development updates: the college had block-booked a hotel conference suite for section manager and PC groups. for the following January. M had decided that the away day would be used to work on 'filling in the gaps' for new courses and programme area of the 1997-2000 strategic plan. Finding a week-day that suited all the PCs proved difficult however. One said: 'Wednesday is out - A level maths all morning'. Another said: 'Tuesdays out A-level science all morning'. Another said: 'Monday's OK - GCSE maths - I can give them something to be going on with'.

This highlights the tension between teaching and managerial work. The PCs on the one hand knew that they would be 'treated' to a day out and a free lunch by the college. On the other, they knew the day would generate large amounts of extra managerial work, as they would be made responsible for turning ideas and suggestions for courses into programme and outlines which in turn would further 'intrude' on their 16 hours a week of teaching work which does not include preparation and marking. PCs had been relieved of just three hours of teaching for their managerial work. Two and a half hours a week alone was taken up at meetings with the section manager either as a group or one-to-one. The seemingly obstructive comments above and the seeming difficulty of finding a day for the 'away day' reflects this ambivalence over these processes.

Management training: The PC's were told of their training days and that they had to attend two of them, December 13 or 19 and Jan 8 or 10. 'The last two are Friday afternoons!', said one of the PCs. 'No industrial organization in the world has staff training time on a Friday afternoon'. 'Would you care to support that statement?', said M challengingly.

This particular programme co-ordinator had previously held M's job in the 'old structure' but had decided against applying for a section manager's post in the new 'stream-lined' organization. He was particularly vocal in his criticism of the new regime, particularly in relation to its cost. The new

structure has been 'sold' to the college, he said, on the basis that it would save money. However, calculations he had done showed that such an argument did not stand up and that the new 'structure' cost the college more and diverted more energy into managerial work (and away from teaching), thus intensifying the requirements on teachers. M reported at interview that she and this PC worked well together and she often referred issues to him for advice. However, this small piece of dialogue illustrates tensions between them.

From the above it is possible to suggest that that meeting was used as a device for stationing programme co-ordinators as 'managers' of college activities. The multiples of forms and form-filling practices seek to control programme co-ordinators by providing ways in which their activities and prospective actions can be translated into categories which are then available for accountability. Such processes as monitoring staff hours require them to almost continuously monitor and codify their time, and their colleagues' time at work, ostensibly to maximise income. However, there is a sense in the duplication and intensification of these control processes that they are being extended because they can be extended. Imperialising power, as Fiske has shown (1993) is engaged in a continuous processes of seeking to know and control identities, relations and socio-political space and time. The 'meeting' is a crucial site for the extension and distribution of this control out across the college. It is here that the programme co-ordinators are intensively stationed, not just directly through the section manager's work of control of verbal, physical and spatial elements at the meeting, but also discursively through the overlapping positionings embedded in the monitoring, strategic planning and bidding forms that distribute and disperse the appropriate managerial identities and relations into related sites and spaces.

Managing, then, relies on the regularised confinement of bodies in meetings (small groups as above or individuated meetings with one's manager). It is at the same time a systemic exercise carried out through a cascade of paper-based discursive practices which seek to codify, report, categorise and prompt the programme co-ordinators to make particular remarks upon which they will be made accountable - upon which they can be judged.

However, while there was little overt challenge made to this stationing in this *particular* forum, there are elements at work that suggest that such events only partially succeed in stationing section managers and programme co-ordinators in this, and other colleges, as continuously 'managing'. There *were* points of contest, highlighted by the grimacing and mock head banging, particularly over the duplication and 'overloading' of programme co-ordinators. The following chapter addresses this in the context of the problematics, tensions and partiality of constructing the managerial station.

Section 3 Chapter 8.

'Just how managed is the New Further and Higher Education?'

Introduction

The argument to this point is that the 'manager' is constructed through imperialising management knowledges and practices. These can be read as attempting to establish managerial stations in FHE which comprise particular embodied practices (e.g. small scale, closely controlled meetings), social relations and ways of knowing and being oneself at work. In both further and higher education it is overlapping budgets, planning and audit processes¹ which are substantially engaged in constructing this station. Through these, senior academics and administrators are rendered more explicitly accountable as supervisors and organisers of academic and administrative labour and responsible for its 'performance' measured in largely quantitative terms e.g. research income, cost reductions, surpluses from income-generation work. Yet while the strategic intent of such processes can be identified their actual implementation and elaboration out across the social terrain of further and higher education is often highly problematic. This chapter explores these problematics, arguing that during the research period (between 1993 and 1997) a constant and ubiquitous state of hostilities exists between the managerial station and professional and administrative locales in FHE. There are, in other words, constant hostilities between the 'power bloc', in the form of imperialising knowledges intended to measure, reward and increase the productivity of further and

higher education, and 'the people', comprising identities and relations located within academic and administrative locales in FHE which are the objects of these knowledges. The chapter discusses this 'state of hostilities' in higher education, drawing examples from the chartered universities, the statutory 1992 universities and further education. However, before embarking on this I want to briefly note here how the 'Dearing Report' National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education (HMSO, 1997) addressed this 'state of hostilities'.

Unsurprisingly, the inquiry's major recommendation in this area was that it was managers themselves who need to be better equipped for their jobs, particularly in relation to making higher education more cost-effective through the use of information technology. The report noted that

too often, programme directors and heads of department have inadequate training and are not engaged sufficiently in the quest to achieve greater effectiveness in the use of resources. (HMSO, 1997: Section 15.12).

But in the detail of the committee's report there are clear tensions around this call for more effective management. The special report on academic staff noted that

In conversation with academics we sometimes found scepticism about the need for the present scale of management activity in higher education. (HMSO, 1997: Section 3.39)

In a different way the report highlighted the tensions between administrative and support staff and 'managers'.

Staff often reported that their working lives were made considerably harder because management decision-making was ill-informed and unrealistic. (HMSO, 1997: section 4.53)

¹ Such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) (which since the mid-1980s has ranked each department on a scale 1-5 every 3-4 years), and the Teaching Quality Assessment (TQA) process, and particularly the localised repetitions of these.

It is clear from this that management, managers or management activity is controversial and problematic in higher education. Therefore its possible extension or enhancement, as recommended by the Inquiry is likely to be not just contentious, but fraught with difficulties.

Making it happen ? The problematics of making managers in higher education

The key characteristic of this state of hostilities in FHE was succinctly put in an interview with a Pro Vice-chancellor in University 'B'. He noted that

What is going on is the product of *the need to change* deeply rooted *historical identities to manage very, very big business*.

Three points can be drawn from this. Firstly the categorical term 'need' is put to work. Through it, managing universities in new ways is made an imperative, rather than a choice. Secondly, the speaker uses the term 'identities'. This may alert us to the way people's work is undertaken through historically conditioned ways (knowledges and practices) of being oneself. In particular, the Pro Vice-Chancellor referred to the challenge of 'management' to traditional academic and administrative identities. 'Management language is certainly somewhat alien to traditional administrators', he said. In this particular University, management knowledge practices were identified with both the reforms introduced by the new Vice-Chancellor, and with the Vice-Chancellor himself. A particular target of these reforms at the time of interview was the University's central administration, which had been subject of a review of operations by management consultants promoting 'Business Process Re-engineering' methods (see Grint, 1994 for critical review). The Pro Vice-Chancellor noted that as a result

It is not surprising that central administration would feel very strained. [They are] traditionally very conservative. [Staff] not chosen for managerial abilities or expected to play managerial roles.

Meanwhile the Vice-Chancellor was said to 'read endless books on management and talk Mintzberg and speak the managerial language'. This resulted in a powerful clash with traditional administrative and academic identities. The Pro Vice-Chancellor noted that

by temperament and training 'thriving on chaos'² doesn't seem to make too much sense for people who have grown in traditional line management, particularly in finance and the estates part of the University.

Thirdly, the Pro Vice-Chancellor's statement reconstructs the University as a 'very, very big business'. This particular institution he said enrolled

17, 000 to 18,000 full-time equivalent students, employed more than 1000 academic staff and around 3000 other staff, operated more than 6000 residences and had an annual turnover of £160 million'.

And yet,

you have a very traditional way of managing it. The Vice-Chancellor and Pro Vice-Chancellors are not professional managers. I'm a professor of philosophy and I still technically spend a quarter of my time in the department.

In this we can hear how constructing the institution through management discourse (note the construction of the University through quantification, in the statement just above) problematises 'historical identities' - including that claimed by the speaker himself, at this point in the interview.

The Vice-Chancellor identified as follows the tension between what I wish to term here the problematic relations between the managerial station and established locales

If I have discovered anything in the last three years it is that the implementation is a lot harder than strategy. I think the difficulty of implementation at a departmental level is how to get beyond the likes of me making speeches, to action [which] will actually allow targets to be achieved on things like student numbers. . . .We have talked about implementation as though it is all neat. The other side of the coin is things going wrong all the time, *people won't take responsibility for it so it reaches up until it gets to me.* (emphasis added)

One can sense in this the frustration, even anger, produced by the hostilities between competing identities. In effect the Vice-Chancellor could be influential in setting targets with which he sought to station the activities of his staff, but their implementation depended upon mobilising or transforming the locales which maintained these competing identities. Yet it was clear from collected accounts of events at this University that 'hostilities' between the knowledges and practices of the managerial station, and the locales, constructed as the targets of such knowledges, were at work within the Vice-Chancellor's group itself. The Pro Vice-Chancellor (quoted on the previous page) said

The senior management team is a peculiar mixture of four Pro Vice-Chancellors, who do get on very well with each other but don't necessarily see a lot of each other, never meet regularly with each other and in a way there are good reasons for this because we might start to behave like colonels you know . . . the other members are the Vice-Chancellor, the registrar and the director of planning and it would be rather invidious of me to give examples but it is not a very comfortable group. [The Vice-Chancellor] has a rather didactic, non-dialogical style and I think all the Pro Vice-Chancellors have felt frustrated in some way; there is quite a lot of tension.

It is clear from the Vice-Chancellor's interview that this didacticism, which might be positively read as a determination to give clear messages, was informed by the Vice-Chancellor's positioning in managerial discourse as the University's chief executive. He commented:

² This refers to a big-selling management text by international management discourse circulator Tom Peters (1987), entitled 'Thriving on Chaos'. The subtitle of the book is 'A handbook for a Management Revolution'.

One of the things that complicates the Vice-Chancellor's role, certainly in the traditional universities, is that in the past it has been less executive than it is now.

Pro Vice-Chancellors at the University are currently appointed for a four year term. The Pro Vice-Chancellor who was just about to join the Vice-Chancellor's group at the time of interviews was well aware of these tensions and saw his contribution to the group as restarting productive dialogue at the 'centre' of the University. He said:

If you have got PVCs who don't talk to one another, and a VC who doesn't talk much with the group and a registrar, you might have as many as six people right in the middle who aren't much talking to one another. That might be difficult . . . I think that perhaps I can get people talking to one another a little bit more than they do.

These tensions at the 'centre', and the attempts to reconstruct the University's central administration explain the rapid departure (to a 'rival' University) of the University's Registrar just six months after arrival.

One aspect of these tensions focused on the practices of the University's strategic planning office. This had been established as part of the Vice-Chancellor's 'reforms' and controversially the Vice-Chancellor had appointed a close colleague of his, from the department of which he was formerly Head of Department, as director of this unit. While the director of the planning office refused to be interviewed for this research, her reputation was for aloofness. Her close relationship with the Vice-Chancellor meant that many considered her to be out of reach of criticism. The Head of a large University service department said

What we lack is any sensible input into academic planning which is done by a planning office which is autonomous and rather dictatorial (CP: dictatorial?). Yeah it's headed by a person who is a very difficult personality to work with and sees no need to discuss things with people. In fact she doesn't like discussing, doesn't like 'talking shops'

so I think that both myself and my financial colleagues have found this extremely difficult.

Clearly, there are a number of gendered dimensions at work in these comments (These will be discussed in the next chapter). It was clear that the 'planning office' threatened both traditional and academic identities, particularly the latter as it directly challenged academic control over the direction of academic work in what one of the Pro Vice-Chancellors described as a 'strongly departmental' University. The newly elected Pro Vice-Chancellor also mentioned the tensions around this:

We have got a planning office, as well as everything else. If you listen to heads of department, one of the difficult issues is where PVCs don't have control but planning [the planning office] does.

While hostilities between the identities constructed by the managerial station and the traditional locales punctuated relations at the 'centre' of the University, they were also keenly felt in relations with departments. While 'out' amongst the departments, there was some evidence of support for what was widely regarded as the Vice-Chancellor's strategy, there was also evidence of staff searching about for local tactics with which to resist the centre. A Head of Department said:

One of the present complaints is that heads of department are suffering from initiative fatigue. The Vice-Chancellor is issuing all these signals about yet another new thing and people are saying what the hell do we do to channel this, to limit it, to choose. Are we allowed to choose, *or are we going to be downgraded in the perception of performance* if we don't jump through every hoop that we are directed to? (emphasis added)

As a result of this, the same Head of Department opined that the Vice-Chancellor's 'reforming' efforts had

run into the sand, because it is too big an institution; there are too many entrenched positions for him to sort it.

The above comment ('what the hell do we do to channel this', emphasis added) also suggests that relations between heads of department have been strengthened as the corporate centre has become more active. In this and one of the other universities included in the study, 'heads groups' had formed and met regularly. Interestingly, the Vice-Chancellors in both institutions saw these formations as forums for 'management development', that is as stations, while many heads themselves understood these groups in more subversive terms - as gatherings through which resistant practices could be co-ordinated - as locales. Yet in these universities, this desire for resistance was often splintered by the competitive relations between department heads (e.g. competition between heads for extra centrally distributed research funds or extra student numbers. There was also a tendency for heads to keep to themselves valuable information which might benefit 'their' department.), and the individuating practices of the University itself. The key example of this from the post-1992 universities was the removal of heads from national bargaining and their 'placement' on individual, often very open-ended and locally negotiated contracts.

Nevertheless, in University 'B', and elsewhere, it seemed that 'messages' from the centre are handled tactically and as a result muffled as they 'cascade'. The diversity and the power of these departmental locales is well articulated in the observations of a Pro Vice-Chancellor at University 'B':

Departments have amazingly different cultures and these seem to persist through thick and thin rather like family identities - you know, incredibly democratic or very hierarchic or rather anarchic, just competent. . . or angry or very polite. They seem to have persisted because it is a departmental University and University departments have a lot of power.

It is important to note here that despite the willingness of interviewees in the chartered universities to read the statutory universities as intensively managerial and executively driven, similar relations with the 'centre' were

evident. A Head of Department in post-1992 University 'D' noted for instance that

Deans spend a lot of time with the Vice-Chancellor's group where they are definitely inferior. I think there is less mediation of instructions the further up you go. The deans get told in a fairly bloody minded way to do this by Tuesday; they mellow a bit as they tell us, ask us and so on down.

Thus strong managerial relations are problematic, particularly as information about departmental activities is often tactically handled. The Head of Department continued:

He (the Vice-Chancellor) might be quite surprised to find out how we fund things like study leave ha ha . . . I'm quite happy for [the Vice-Chancellor] to be very distant from it as long as he understands that he is distant from it which by and large he does, [but he] does say silly things occasionally.

This illustrates how the dynamics of change are complex and contradictory and mediated by embedded and emergent knowledges about 'how' to change. These comments illustrate for instance how some senior academics understand their task as buffering and protecting their colleagues from what they see as the demands of managerialism e.g. increased auditing and planning. Of course, whether this neo-paternalism is intended to preserve and/or boost a research-centred culture, or whether it is regarded simply as a condition of improving levels of measured performance, is a matter of judgement. As Fiske suggests, the relations between locales and stations is not necessarily fixed nor respectively imperialising and defensive.

The Head of a Science Department at University 'D', now a Dean, went so far as to suggest that 'managing' amounted to protecting colleagues and their existing professional practices. An unintended consequence of demonstrated success in this role was, for him, promotion and increased external recognition (chair of professional associations and research council).

Making no bones about what he viewed as the coercive imposition of disciplines by the funding council, he observed that:

You have got to protect the institution . . . the HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England) is a bully, the research councils are bullies, they know they have the whip hand and they bully you. You have got to jump partly because your institution's jumping so if your institution's jumping then it is passed down the line. What I have tried to do since I wasn't going to be able to do much research anyway, was to actually act as a sort of barrier and of course the better I was at that the better known I became in the (academic) community and the university community, the more effective you can be as that barrier.

Rather than viewing himself as a proselytising manager, this HOD preferred to represent his actions as protecting, or ameliorating the distress of his colleagues. Instead of seeing himself as administering the blow of the 'bullying' HEFCE, he portrayed his role as softening its impact by ensuring that his staff were well equipped 'to jump'. By portraying the HEFCE as a 'bully', he was able to suggest sympathy for rank-and-file academic staff and thereby secure a degree of support for measures that enabled the institution to be responsive to the demands of the 'power-bloc'.

A condition of playing this role effectively, according to this interviewee, is not so much the insidious weakening of the established (professional) values, as their active support. During his interview, this HOD gave numerous examples of the strengths of his professional locale. As a consequence of his protective actions, it was suggested, his department had adapted to the many changes demanded of it- which included semesterisation and modularisation in addition to the performance measures for research and teaching - without sacrificing the established culture of the department, which relied on field trips and close contact with students³.

³ On the other hand, this department had been a major beneficiary of the North Sea oil boom. In addition to providing equipment, oil companies had supported large numbers of doctoral and post doctoral students whose presence and capacity to publish are critical for a 5

However, this rosy picture of a HOD adapting successfully to new pressures without any significant erosion of traditional values and practices needs to be complemented by a recognition of how the department's student numbers had been increased and how pressures on department members to maintain research ratings were intense. As the Head observed,

The department has been subjected to ever increasing pressure as a level 5 department to keep at level 5. The result is that I find that some of my staff are stressed far more than I was at their stage, especially the young people. They respond in different ways. Some of them become frenetic and overactive which is sometimes detrimental to their families, sometimes detrimental to their teaching, certainly detrimental to the minimum administration that I expect them to carry out. Others become rather sullen and take refuge in teaching or in other displacement activities like being on committees or computing, which is the biggest displacement activity I know. It is much easier because computing suggests that they are actually doing something which they could do with a pen far more efficiently very often.

Here the degree of internalization of imperializing pressures by many members of staff is recognised. The HOD says that the self-discipline of these staff made it unnecessary for him to intervene to ensure that levels of research productivity, as measured by the RAE, are sustained. This observation suggests the extent to which academics have 'bought into' the disciplines of the power-bloc, assessing their 'excellence' in terms of the rating that they achieve rather than the value which they place upon their activity. But, of course, there is more to it than this. The rating received by the department influences the capacity of staff to attract research grants, their career prospects and the regard in which they are held by colleagues/competitors in their discipline. All these factors are relevant for explaining why academic staff are receptive and responsive to the imperialising discipline of the performance measures which, as the HOD indicates, displaces their effort from other activities, such as teaching and

rating on the RAE. A virtuous circle had developed in which staff had been successful in obtaining research council grants and the Head of Department had become closely involved

administration. As this HOD also observes, another important and overlooked effect of the pressures of the imperialising discipline is their divisive and potentially demoralizing influence upon a minority of staff (in highly rated departments) whose status and career prospects are weakened by such pressures and who, unlike the HOD, have no opportunity to move from research into administration-cum-management. Finally, this example again illustrates how imperialising management discourse is mediated by the distinctive locales and, more specifically, how senior post holders are 'made' (or destroyed) by these disciplines and how they represent their effects within and without the immediate locale.

Challenging administrative traditions

A further aspect is the differential positioning of senior administrative personnel by the managerial stations. Administrative senior post-holders also confront managerial knowledge and practices. As is clear from the Pro Vice-Chancellor's comments above, the reconstruction of the administrative/service senior post-holder as a manager meets the established practices that produce administrative identities. However, generally, but not exclusively, given their service-based activities and in some cases their background, senior administrative post-holders in the sample position themselves as managers. They understand themselves less as 'civil servants' to dominant academics, and more as managers in their own right of vital university services. Yet this repositioning, this investment in the discourses of the manager, produces tensions. While there are tensions in relations with academic senior post-holders who find administrative staff unwilling to take up the new practices (of not 'taking responsibility', as the Vice-Chancellor

suggested above), it is more likely that these tensions run in the other direction where academic heads are challenged by the newly empowered service managers. For instance, the estates manager at University 'B' , reflected on this

Given the age of this place, it has grown up with departments being very territorial. They actually consider the buildings that they occupy as *theirs*, that is completely contrary to the current ethos . . . some heads are extremely vocal about these kinds of things. So when I go to talk to those people, they will immediately jump up in the air and if I was equally volatile we would quickly have a head to head, which is what I seek to avoid. So I let them get it out of their system, and at that point they will start to talk a bit more rationally.

The current ethos is concerned with maximising the use of space. The rationalities of increasing the efficiency of the space use are in conflict with the investments of desire in the localised spatial practices that departments have constructed. Thus many academic heads of department find approaches from service managers on issues of space use, for instance, intensely emotional. From a body topography perspective, the 'getting it out of their system' could be read as a response to the potential severing of the patternings of desire, built up over years of use, which link academic presence with physical space. Alongside this is the challenge from the administrative staff, traditionally subordinate to academic work, who through investment in the discourses of the manager, present as equals of academic heads and come armed with, for example, the rationalities of corporate space use performance indicators but also the practices and knowledges of corporate finance, information technology and human resource management. This re-positioning of the administrative officer as service manager can be then highly problematic (particularly for women in such positions given the inherently familial and heterosexual character of further and higher

institutions, as the following chapter outlines). The Academic Secretary at University 'C' for instance said:

As a manager I feel that it is my role to make things happen, . . . to make sure that the policies handed down by the institution are actually implemented.

Yet he was particularly sensitive to the problematics of taking this position in relation to academic departments. Here he outlined his approach as,

you push a bit here, you push a bit there and you work away with people who are likely to be enthusiasts and bring them into positions where they can exert some authority often through the committee structure and you begin to effect change in that way um it is also to say that centrally directed initiatives in the academic area can sometimes come to grief if you can't get the reciprocal support from academic colleagues in the academic community.

What is clear is that the tensions and problematics of conflict between the managerial station and academic locales is constantly in flow. The 'centre' and the 'periphery' for instance are not solid bases, but dynamic sites where the knowledges and practices flow. At one point 'stations' are constructed, at other times and in other circumstances locales form. While the above suggests that departments operate tactically in relation to a radicalised 'centre', the following suggests that the opposite is also likely to be the case, as embedded administrative identities are challenged. The following comment is from the registrar at University 'C'. Here the Registrar, a member of the Vice-Chancellor's 'management group', which meets weekly on a Monday morning, offers one of the strongest defences of traditional academic and administrative identities in the sample. While the comments need to be read as a particular response to the interview in which they were recorded, they nevertheless are part of the flows of knowledges

that make up these sites. Just before this, a concluding comment from the academic secretary at University 'C' suggests that more traditional administrative identities had been overturned by those embedded in the knowledge and practices of the managerial station.

I think there has been a shift from the model of the university administrator as the civil servant, that kind of role, into the manager and certainly at the senior level one has to see oneself as having a managerial responsibility, without always having the managerial authority to carry some of the things forward.

Challenging Traditional identities

University 'C's Registrar meanwhile represents the imperialising discourse of management as directive and authoritarian, and sets this against what is seen as the natural collegiality of the university:

The culture is not one which welcomes the concept of direction. The whole culture of the academic community, and I support all of this, is focused on the individual excellence or team excellence (and) the right of the individual to pursue what they feel they want to pursue. That is why anything which smacks of management starts to leak into, either emotionally or in reality into that very important freedom of the enquiring opportunity so that even if the management were to be of what one might call, non-academic areas, it would still be seen as a beginning of a move to a different type of arrangement.

According to this Registrar, moves that are corrosive of the local autonomy of universities pose a threat to an established 'culture', or locales, in terms used here. Thus excellence depends upon preserving 'the right of the individual to pursue what they feel they want to pursue'. The new measures, imposed from above, are understood to exert pressure upon academics to do what will be good for the ratings (e.g. engage in 'quick and

dirty' types of research that has predictable but unexciting outcomes that will be readily published and/or attract further research funding). The Registrar continued, growing ever more engaged in the defence of collegiality.

I don't want our senior academics, and or any of our academics, to feel that they are working in an institution which is starting to relegate them to 'the workers'. Do you know what I mean? Er because, in the folklore, the opposite to management is 'the workers' and I have been in academic institutions where bluntly I have heard senior management staff talk about 'the workers' and I find that intolerable. In a university, particularly like this one, the academic staff are not just employees, they are statutory members of a Chartered corporation. And it's different. They are different - they have a status in the institute which needs respecting. And I'm very sensitive to anything which overtly and unnecessarily disturbs what I think is the important theory amongst the staff that they still work in an institution which puts their activity first, not the management first, not, not the 'corporate' as necessarily first.

The concern expressed is that the new performance measures will radically change the ethos of universities so that their members relate less to each other 'horizontally', as colleagues within a Chartered corporation, and more as 'managers' and 'managed'. As the new measures are applied, the worry is that corporate interests will come to take precedence in ways that subvert the activity of academics who, it is believed, must be free to pursue their agendas without interference. However, to make this point the Registrar is obliged to undertake a considerable amount of discursive work just to re-establish something that only a few years earlier would have been largely taken for granted. The volume of the background 'hum' of management discourse has become so loud that the speaker is forced to deal directly with it. This requires an appeal to freedom, to good taste and finally to an argument about the legal status of academic employees in a pre-1992 university.

However, it is instructive to counter-pose the Registrar's text with that of the Head of a Science department in University 'C'. This Head had

embraced the managerial stationing. As a consequence he understood the problematics of his position as an effect of the University 'centre's' inability to extend to his post the 'tools' which would allow him to become that 'manager'. The responsibilities attached to his role, he observed, were not matched by authority:

I don't have the ability to move as fast as the manager of a small business, but *that is what I am.* (emphasis added)

He went on:

There is a major disparity between the objectives they pass down and the tools that they pass down to carry them out. I have just written an extremely irate, not extremely irate, extremely measured but extremely lengthy and pithy letter to our personnel director pointing out the small influence a head of department has over promotion.

According to this Head of Department, the University had been complicit in increasing the degree of accountability shouldered by senior post-holders for departmental success, but had largely failed to provide sufficient support/tools to articulate this senior post-holders' investment in the position of manager. This was, he said,

endemic in the university system. It has tried to make middle managers, who are heads of department, accountable. It has tried to hold them responsible for the success or failure of their activity measured by research assessment rating, teaching assessment rating, our total grant income, numbers of students, so I'm responsible for the success of those things, but none of the devolved spending power has come down with that, so we have got a large can to carry without any of the power to do anything about it . . . if this department takes getting on to two million to run, I think I should have a say over 90 percent of that or whatever fraction is appropriate, a high fraction of it, and the centre should retain that bit which is necessary which it can sell to me as a service that I require.

In relation to this I am not arguing that these relations are fixed; that the 'centre' or 'departments' are either defensive or productive of the managerial station or the particular locales. These relations are dynamic and the outcome of the problematic and changing dissemination of management knowledge and practices across a terrain. The comments show that far from subordinating embedded academic and administrative identities, they flow around these. There is a sense, for instance in the Registrar's comments above, that one way to support and confirm traditional administrative identities is to confirm academic identities. As well as defending academic freedom, he also highlighted the need to defend 'non-academic' areas from management as this would be 'seen as a beginning of a move to a different type of arrangement'.

The above comments show the diversity of response to these issues. While some of the comments can be read as a confirmation that universities are being reconstituted as knowledge factories organised by managers whose aim is to intensify and commodify the production and distribution of knowledge and skills, the data suggests that this reconstitution is partial and is likely to remain so. This is because the stationing of senior post holders as managers is subject in many cases to a personal and professional struggle between existing localised practices and knowledges and those of the new imperialising discourse. Thus a recurrent managerial problem and challenge for these post holders, which is unlikely to go away, is to develop a sufficiently integrated 'performance'. Of course, this 'performance' is located within particular spaces and embedded with those discursive practices and conflicting knowledges that make up these sites, yet the challenge for senior post-holders is to enrol the support of 'the managed' by contriving to

reconcile embedded, largely localised and tacit discourses with the imperializing discourses associated with the new performance measures.

Business as Usual?

One way to attempt this is to emphasise the continuity of 'old' with 'new' practices, arguing for instance that the new disciplines could be used to support and facilitate established practices. The presence of the new managerialism is acknowledged but is seen as something of a puzzle precisely because it is deemed to be broadly congruent with an established ethos. For example, a Head of Department at University 'B' said that

we have introduced a system which frankly I think has helped very considerably to open up financial issues, but of course this has put much greater demands on the head of department as a manager of resources.

The need to introduce a 'system' which would 'open up financial issues' is a direct outcome of the introduction across the University of a devolved funding process, known in this institution as 'resource centre budgeting'. This, as the Head said later was 'designed to reflect what the UFC (university funding council) was then doing'.

In response to resource centre budgeting, the department's senior staff were reorganised into a 'management team'.

When I took over as Head of Department, because I had a number of other commitments which I couldn't relinquish at very short notice, I [took over] on the basis that I would set up a management team. My colleagues had already been thinking about structures in the department and ideas were developing which I pursued and implemented a couple of months after I took over, and that gives me a management team.

Through this each member of the 'team' had responsibility for areas such as department finance, planning, particular programmes and quality.

However, the Head of Department turned back to academic priorities when questioned about these processes.

CP: Was it just about money in these two periods?

No, No, No

CP: Were there other issues as well?

Surely. Lets step back a stage. We've all of us been producing departmental plans and statements of objectives and one of the things that I have tried to make abundantly clear in any statement of objectives that I've contributed to is that the objectives of the department are academic. They are there in terms of teaching and learning and research and dissemination and the development of the profession in our case, and finance is a constraint and really I see the finance objective as making sure that we have sufficient finance to allow us to carry out our other objectives.

Related to this issue of continuity are the questions of whether or not senior post-holders saw themselves as managers, and more particularly how this self-understanding should be articulated and enacted. In other words, to what extent had they come to know themselves through an imperialising discourse of management? And thus, to what extent had the demands and stationing of the 'power-bloc' been uncritically embraced? While this interviewee explicitly used the term 'manager' to describe himself, others seemed to agree that they were effectively managers but stressed the importance of *not* calling themselves, or presenting themselves, as such. For example one of the Pro Vice-Chancellors interviewed at University 'B' volunteered that:

It matters very much that you have got, *we don't call ourselves this*, 'managers', you've got a centre, a senior team that is in touch with what is going on and can give some suggestions as to developments. (emphasis added)

For him the acceptable face of management within the context of universities was that of an advisor who is well informed about local operations

and therefore cannot readily be 'fobbed off' by departmental heads. The favoured representation of such practice is being 'in touch' and offering advice rather than imposing requirements or controlling activity in an overt or explicitly managerial way. His fellow Pro Vice-Chancellor identified a similar approach:

I'm told by [the Vice-Chancellor] that I'm the very model of a modern manager⁴. I find that puzzling because I don't think of myself as a manager. I haven't read most of the books. I have very little direct authority with respect to most of the people who would nominally work for me, except I am prepared to take responsibility and prepared to cover for them and certainly not to blame them publicly, which is an elementary thing. As far as I can see if you want to be a major research university you have got to have something like the traditional untidy structure of deans, councils and senates with a fair amount of departmental autonomy. . . if you want to be a major research university you have to tolerate a certain amount of chaos and anarchy, you have to trust people.

Here, the view is expressed that 'a certain amount of chaos and anarchy' is a necessary condition of successful academic research activity. Since the Research Assessment Exercises do not prescribe how performance is to be achieved, there is no direct pressure to change 'the traditional untidy structure' and, thus, this pro Vice-Chancellor defines his role as facilitating established practices rather than disrupting them. Later he referred to himself as 'One who tries to construct lots of internal and external networks and keeps trying to put them together'. However, his allusion to 'people who nominally *work for me*' (our emphasis) and 'not blaming them publicly' suggests that, despite an avowed lack of formal authority, he is willing to intervene 'privately' in ways that are tolerant of 'chaos' *as long as* they deliver the goods for the corporation.

⁴ The reference here is obviously to Gilbert and Sullivan's famously incompetent Major-General in 'The Pirates of Penzance'. Yet it is not clear whether the respondent himself or the Vice-Chancellor is aware of the irony underlying the latter's description of the former as 'the very model of a modern manager'. The comments could be read as strikingly subtle or strikingly naive, or both.

Embracing the New Measures

Whilst some senior academic post-holders sought to work the new practices and disciplines into a continuity with existing locales, others interviewed are more readily identified as people who have been positioned and 'empowered' by these imperializing measures. The following quotation is drawn from a Head of School in pre-1992 University ' B', but it is perhaps more typical of some 'new' managers in post-1992 universities (Prichard, 1996a) where there have been restructurings in attempts to boost research activity as well as to devise courses that are intended to access previously untapped pools of students.

I had long felt for years before taking on this role that things were too loose, that things were under-managed, and things were not properly evaluated. X said he was doing his research even if the annual list of publications didn't seem to show any output. So what I was doing was picking up a School where its old residual staff were under performing in terms of research with a lot of new people being brought in.

In this case, then, the HEFCE performance measures are enthusiastically embraced as a way of justifying the introduction of disciplines that, in the assessment of this Head of School, were long overdue. He then went on to outline the steps that had been taken to raise the department's RAE rating:

So in order to take us up in terms of research I had to set the kind of level that would be reasonable. One of the approaches was to set clear targets for performance. We set a very modest one. The normal expectation was that each member of staff should produce at least one article in a refereed journal each year and people who were not producing that were seen to be under performing and were diagnosed for positive help. That has actually helped. The measure is crude but when I took over the school average per capita publication was about .4 or .6 of a unit per year which is treating each publication as the same, books, articles and anything else. In 1993 it was 3.8.

Whilst acknowledging that average per capita publications presents a 'crude measure' of performance, this Head of School argued that 'it is actually an enormous cultural change' accomplished 'by making it clear that research really did mean producing stuff'. To achieve this improvement in performance, the Head had introduced a system in which 'people through the divisions and through the professoriate were going to set up little networks which would drive research forward'. This move was described as involving 'good man-management, good person-management'. By this was meant the requirement of senior members of the School to take 'a direct and close interest in the performance of their colleagues and help them to improve it, which had not (previously) happened'.

I started this when I first became Head of School . . . during that year I arranged for myself with the relevant professor of the division to meet every single member of the non-professorial staff in the school to discuss teaching, research, life, work, everything. And actually several people in the long standing staff said: "I've been here 20 years and no one has ever talked to me about this before". So in a sense that's management which had not been there. It was a very positive outcome.

In the absence of a well established research culture, this Head of School exerted pressure downwards upon professors and staff to raise research activity as measured by the number of publications per member of staff, and to 'diagnose for positive help' those who were deemed to be under-performing. His account of this transformation suggests that 'good-person management', which could also be expressed as 'increasing the degree of surveillance and visibility of academic output' had brought about a cultural change. However, another and arguably more compelling explanation of the massive increase in publications, and one to which the speaker briefly alludes, was a massive change in the School's personnel. Between 60-70 percent of the academic staff had been appointed during this period and the professoriate had changed completely in that time. Whilst it might appear

that management in general, and the Head of School in particular, had successfully mediated the imperializing discipline of the power-bloc to raise the productivity of previously unproductive academic labour (e.g. through heightened surveillance and annual appraisal), the institution had recruited a large number of young, research-active academics. This is not to minimise the disciplining effects taking place, which of course included the strategic replacement of staff, but simply to note how claims about the effectiveness of local measures (e.g. close monitoring of individual research productivity) that directly parallel the imperialising disciplines need to be placed in a wider context. In this case, rapid expansion of student numbers and innovations in teaching programmes had presented major opportunities to recruit research-active staff.

Yet this Head of Department's investment in the 'manager' was not completely unproblematic. On the one hand, he identified the extra anxiety and insecurity induced by increased surveillance and discipline. He noted that:

No one is aware of the pressure and the nature of the job until they actually *sit in this office*. (emphasis added)

As well as highlighting the anxiety the Head of Department experienced in the job, the quotation illuminates how particular knowledges and practices produce the managerial station, with a particular body topography. The Head's office is dominated by these knowledges and practices. The desk and chair particularly act as devices for positioning the Head of Department's body in relation to the documents which carry the knowledges of budgets, strategic planning and audits. Through reading, reflecting and speaking about the relations of difference between particular norms and the department's performance embedded in these documents these relations of difference became 'folded into' him, or inscribed across

this 'body without organs'. Through repetitions of 'sitting in this office' these relations of difference become manifested in feelings of pressure and anxiety. Yet there are other, definitely subordinate, body topographies available to him in this office. Away from the main desk and chair is a side desk, filing cabinet and shelves which display his published books. The filing cabinet contains lecture notes and research materials. The desk carries a collection of neat folders which contain details of on-going research contracts and programmes. Here the body topography of the professional academic and subject specialist is available. While there are tensions between these two body topographies, it is the managerial station which dominates the office space and produces 'pressure'. The body topography of the professional academic can be understood as a locale in this space.

During the interview this Head of Department understood his work as 'managerial' and talked of how he was 'trying to produce the collective, to focus on the collective interests, but actually I'm leading it and directing it'. Here we hear how the positioning of academic manager is folded into him - in that he speaks of being and directing the collective. But this investment is problematic, not simply in terms of the tensions between the managerial station and the professionalised locale located in the office. The managerial station also clashed with the identities traditionally ascribed to heads of department. The Head noted this in the following comment.

In terms of a job description - there just isn't one. It's just institutional habit. The major problem I have had is getting people to be aware that this is not like being the head of the German department, of eight or ten people, you know, you actually are a business turning over £5 million a year with 100 staff - it's a very different kettle of fish.

This 'pressure', induced by the individuating effects of the managerial station was keenly felt by a Dean at University 'A'. Yet in response to stationing, and as a way of countering the effect, he had

deliberately turned the offices around his own into teaching and research space which produced what he termed a 'freeway' of students and staff.

When I moved in here it was quite deliberate to have a couple of teaching rooms and a research room there [next door to his] and a photocopier there to make it into a little freeway, a coffee machine and a common room down the hall and very often I can sit and chat with people there, and if I'm not having a conversation like this [with researcher] and I'm not desperate to do something that requires my full concentration, then I keep the door open and people pop-in and have a chat.

The Dean here had introduced small physical changes to ameliorate the individuating effects of the topography of the managerial station. Others however simply felt divided. A Head of Department at University 'A' for instance said:

Half of me at least is completely identified with their [colleagues'] feelings, because I still am, I hope, a genuine subject leader. . . but there are times one has to say: 'I'm wearing my associate dean's hat' . . . there is a sort of tension, sort of thing, that you have got to divide yourself in two.

Selling the 'power bloc'

In general terms however many senior post-holders across all four universities noted their suspicion of managerial knowledges and practices, principally because they posed an obvious threat to the ethos and self-identity of professionalism. However, it was clear that the *practices* of management may have a seductive appeal insofar as they offer a way of addressing the pressure and anxiety being experienced by senior post-holder. As a Dean in 1992 University 'A' observed, it is possible to gain

support for changes if these are perceived to reduce the pressures upon academic staff.

What you are about is creating structures which will make people's lives easier to bear. Everybody in higher education is increasingly stressed, is doing one and half or two jobs and what they want predominantly is *no longer just to be dismissive about management*, but if you have credibility as an academic and researcher and also you are fair, open, reasonable and friendly in your approach to staff, *then they see that as being efficient* (emphasis added).

In practice, forms of management may be welcomed, this dean suggests, when they are shown to deal with issues that are of immediate, local concern. In his assessment, this move depends upon preserving and mobilising a culture of collegiality in which 'you are fair, open, reasonable and friendly in your approach to staff'. What is counter-productive, he suggests, are more explicit manifestations of management in which changes are imposed rather than negotiated. What staff 'don't buy', he observed, is 'hard management, hierarchical management, which is this, "I am a hard manager, this is the most efficient way", kind of myth' - an approach which he judged to be 'incompetent' within the particular circumstances of his locale. This 'industrial model' is said to 'carry no force'.

Basically what staff are most critical of is the kind of management rhetoric -business goals and so on - which is seen to be hierarchical and simultaneously no more competent - in fact, incompetent and inefficient in very real terms, and they will just not buy it.

Here there is an awareness of the tensions between an established culture of academia that relies heavily upon co-operation and consent lubricated by the various 'sticks' and 'carrots' referred to below, as contrasted with command and control founded ultimately upon the capacity to hire and fire (found in the comments from College C's principal above). Instead of monopolizing and concealing information and imposing objectives, which is associated with 'the industrial model', the Dean commends the sharing of

information and the selection of objectives for which there is widespread support:

if you create a situation where you set certain kinds of objectives that they respect and endorse, like enabling individuals to do research, giving them access to budget figures, giv[ing] them access to staff funds, making clear in equal proportion (this is not necessarily in order of priority) that one of the things is to give the students the best deal we can in the circumstances.

Yet, whilst 'the industrial model' is criticised, it is more relevant to note how the more collegial approach to change is legitimised in terms of a productionist ethic; and it is defended not because it is ethically more defensible but because it is more likely to fulfil the demands of the imperializing disciplines:

It seems to me to be a much more productive ethos to create [than one] which means that the next day they are not going to find themselves at the top of a list of people who are non-people.

In these quotations, this Dean offers a spirited justification for the me-them (manager/managed) split in terms of identity and relations *alongside* a neo-paternalist discourse which glosses management with notions of support, fairness and the collegial spirit of critique. In the process a 'nod' toward shared academic identity is made. Yet, however it is dressed up, the relation of manager to managed is dominant. This relation is constructed through a discourse of empowerment, skills and growth identified above by Watson (1994) who coined it the 'roses' culture in which people are empowered to proactively apply their skills and competences in the organisation's strategic direction. The manager's job in this discourse is to create the environment in which people 'want to move in a constructive direction', as one of the interviewees put it.

In adopting this approach, it is less a matter of dissolving established traditions than recasting and reinforcing them in ways that can be shown to

be 'good for the department and/or the university' rather than, or in addition to, being 'good for the discipline'. Where such traditions are established and respected, moves to introduce 'hard management' are likely to prove counter-productive. However, it is precisely the knowledge or threat of such a 'hard' possibility that makes 'softer' forms of managerialism more acceptable and even benign insofar as they can actually deliver on the promise to create 'structures that make people's lives easier to bear'. It is precisely this which pervaded many accounts of managing in the pre-1992 universities. Highly elaborate stories of bullying managerialism allegedly underway in nearby post 1992 institutions were often put to work by pre-1992 senior post holders.

A Head of Department at University 'B', for example, stressed the discursive and consultative approach he took, and compared it favourably with the allegedly dictatorial approach at work 'up the road' at the local 1992 University.

Effectively I set a line, I set a lead and I expect people to talk it over. I expect people to challenge it, but I have set a sort of tone for the strategy of the school . . . I think there is a significant cultural difference between that kind of approach and the kind of approach that obvious people moan like hell about that they get from the place down the road where their system of deans, who see themselves as very much associated with the deputy directors, are essentially implementing central policy outwards.

And similarly the Vice-Chancellor at University 'C' had this to say.

I know the flack which comes from the other university . . . the staff are frightened as to what the hell is happening . . . decisions are taken - bang - do this week, two weeks later, change that, do this; now that really wouldn't happen here, and I would say that there is no decision that I wanted to take which hasn't gone through Senate and been agreed.

Becoming the 'Power-Bloc'

A further aspect of the problematics of the suffusion of the managerial station relates to the relations between heads of department and 'very' senior post-holders. One of the deans at University 'A' was keenly aware of being caught in the middle between the pressures upon him to be more of a manager, responsive to 'the executive', and a colleague responsive to the concerns of academic staff:

There is a constant pressure I think from the executive to try and draw deans more into them. And that I think would automatically put a line between me and my colleagues which I don't want there.

He continued:

I think that the executive would like to see deans as both academic and resource managers. To be fair, our executive . . . have moved a considerable amount of resource authority to me. I mean I have a one line budget really and there are certain things I can't do, but *there are a lot of things I can do that in the old days I couldn't do*. I think that they (the executive) are trying to shift the sort of academic (sic) and the resource decisions closer to the shop floor if you like, closer to the academic staff as can be done. (emphasis added)

This Dean's comments suggest tht the devolution of some resources from the executive gave him a degree of power to fulfil his responsibilities. But, in doing so, he is being constituted more directly as an arm of the executive with potentially negative consequences for his capacity to elicit support and co-operation from 'the managed'. The conflict between these aspects becomes apparent when he is asked to identify the issues that he was currently dealing with:

The biggest problem really is maintaining an attachment to what we were sure about in the past; that what we were doing was of general national value and we had a sort of shared view about the worth of

our work and colleagues. *Even though they really felt they were underpaid, they didn't blame the university for it.* It's a morale kind of thing really. I'm trying to succour a view amongst colleagues that we are professionals with skills. My own belief is that the government don't believe we are professionals with skills and they are consciously undermining us and trying to turn us into skilled shop floor workers who can be bought and sold at will (emphasis added).

Once more, this interviewee highlights the importance of traditional academic values in which there was a taken for granted sense of 'the worth of our work' and the status of academics as professionals. The Dean identifies erosion of these values as 'the biggest problem' - not just because it is demoralizing for staff but, arguably, because in the absence of such values there is a resort to managerial forms of control that further corrode traditional academic values. His claim is to be 'succour(ing) a view *amongst colleagues*' (emphasis added) who are all 'professionals with skills'. But, at the same time, he believes that what I have termed the imperializing discourses are consciously motivated by a concern to supplant professional values with a market ethos in which academics are turned 'into skilled shop floor workers who can be bought and sold at will'. Whilst apparently critical of this development, and presenting himself as a defender of 'what we were sure about in the past', this Dean positions himself as a resource manager who, effectively, does the bidding of the 'power-bloc'. Institutional post holders, such as this Dean, are positioned so as to accommodate the demands of the 'power bloc'.

Efforts to achieve an accommodation with these demands become (even more) problematical when long-established and often intimate relations with small well-integrated departments are at stake. For instance, the Dean said:

It's more difficult to play the sort of jackboot Fuhrer if you've known people for 20 years. I mean some of my staff I've known 27 years er,

and in the old days we would go off camping together and you know. With quite a few of the staff, I remember I was having my little babies and they were having their little babies and the wives know each other quite well. So there is a sort of network of human relationships that is very hard to pinpoint . . .

This shows how despite the relative success achieved in stationing senior post-holders as managers, extending the disciplines of the 'power-bloc' in the local settings of academic work is fraught with difficulty. The Head of Department who compared himself with the manager of a small business (see above) identified his problem as follows:

I have no sacking power. It is a constant bleat of heads of departments. I have actually no sanction over my staff. If they care to raise two fingers to me and go and do something else there is literally nothing (pause) I can do something about it. I can starve them of resources to some extent, not very helpful because they could also work to rule, give lousy lectures and do their administrative job badly. . . now I recognise that if I could sack people there would be a downside to it. I'm not saying (that) that is the panacea, just one of the tools which would enable me to be *taken more seriously as a manager* who could influence things" (emphasis added).

Here we glimpse the credibility problem that senior post-holders have when, or if, they take up a position within managerial discourse, especially when they are unable or unwilling to dovetail or mediate this with local practices. Yet even for those who seek to work within the local practices, the degree of scope available to them to 'do the bidding of the power bloc' , apart from those times when new staff are appointed, can seem limited, particularly given the capacity of staff to subvert managerial programmes. A dean in University 'C', for example, identified the use of inducements or 'carrots' to improve staff performance.

As with all these things, it's a mixture of carrot and stick. Um, there are a few carrots that we still have available um that one can give. Some of this is space, taking space away from people and giving it to others who will be more likely to (pause). There are still some funds available. . . we tend to keep a reserve back so we've got the odd few

thousand we can give to people who are being pro-active and moving in the direction we want, as a carrot.

Thus, the top-slicing of funds that can be awarded to those who are deemed to be 'moving in the direction we want', and which can be withheld from those who are not, is identified as a major means of control (and one which is likely to attract support for the local bargaining of salaries from senior post holders who would otherwise be averse to it). However, whilst the 'carrot' is preferred as means of control, other more coercive options are available, as this dean observed:

There are ways of making life slightly more difficult in terms of the occasional public comment or message to heads of department and so on. If they put in for particular things and (we) say well that is rather a low priority um. (However) I'm not the sort of individual who will sort of stand up and say this department by and large achieves nothing. This just creates enemies. I find it better by and large to try and encourage people to work with members of teams. Those people who are being difficult you sit down with, and if they are not prepared to work in that team then perhaps there is another team they are prepared to work in and I would say that by and large that has worked.

Whilst this senior post holder acknowledged that 'the size of stick is probably fairly limited', and excludes the threat of sacking (but not perhaps of redundancy, which has become an increasingly prevalent response from higher education institutions to worsening financial positions over the last two years). For example, there are a number of more subtle 'sticks' that he claimed to have deployed to good effect. In the main, these rely upon peer pressure - for example, by making the occasional public comment that is sufficiently understated to make its point without causing offence or alienating heads of department. Equally, encouraging recalcitrant staff to work with colleagues in teams relies upon peer pressure rather than direct supervision to discipline those who are ineligible for, or indifferent towards, 'carrots'. While 'management' has to some extent succeeded in selectively supporting

and disciplining 'the managed', this has been accomplished by selectively mobilising the identities, histories and practices of the locale.

Challenging the managerial station - the case of a Code for Management

A key point from the above discussion is that managerial knowledges and practices come to dominate particular spaces, thus constructing those spaces as stations. Managerial knowledges and practices thus come to dominate particular locations and prescribe particular identities, relations, embodied practices and knowledges. Through the discursive practices of the managerial station, people are not so much forced to take up such positions, but are drawn in and constitute themselves as the 'manager' or the 'managed' by having to deal with these knowledges and practices. In these power-invested, sometimes confessional-type arenas (appraisal for instance) it is extremely difficult *not* to take up positions within dominant managerialist discourses - that is to make a sustained challenge to the incursion of particular knowledges and practices (see Mumby and Stol, 1991; Fairclough, 1993; Willmott, 1993; Clegg, 1975 for examples). And, as Fairclough noted above, even if the particular language and practice involved feels like simply rhetoric, it soon become 'part of one's professional identity' (1993:153). However, this should not deny the possibility of questioning and challenging the ascendancy of a particular managerial station - particularly among heads of departments and services with a strong history of horizontal relation and of dissent from dominant approaches. This was precisely the problem, of being forced to take a position within an alien discourse, that heads of

department and service found themselves in one of the two 1992 universities in the sample.

The following is a short account of the intriguing political processes that surround both the construction of the managerial station in this institution, and the challenge to this. This institution, University 'D', has a history of aggressive senior post-holders who were prepared to admit, in the privacy of the research interview, to being too 'heavy handed' in their dealing with university personnel. In response to being positioned as managers within this context, some heads of department and service attempted to redefine and challenge the 'heavy-hand' application of management knowledges and practices. For this drew in liberal notions of care and elements from the knowledges of professional locales. This redefinition surfaced in a document called the 'Code for Management'⁵ (figure 6, appendix 3). I will briefly outline how this Code came into being, its effect, and then offer a brief summary to this section.

Codifying the locale, challenging the managerial station

By 1991 this former polytechnic, now a 1992 University, was in the midst of a series of major changes. Student numbers were being increased so that the University would double in size in four years. The University's catalogue of courses was being re-written in modular form. Heads of department and services had been 'forced' to sign new local management contracts which positioned them as 'accountable' managers within a strict line management framework. The 'carrot' in this process was a salary increase

⁵ The "Code for Management" is not the actual name given to the document at the particular institution. The name has been changed to protect the identity of the institution and those who provided material for the research work.

of some several thousands of pounds a year. However, many heads felt that senior management approach both to new contracts and to the range of other changes they sought to introduce was at best dictatorial. In response heads of department suggested the 'Code for Management' (see Figure six). It is divided into two columns, one headed 'responsibility', which might be seen as affirmation of the 'accountable' manager (discussed above), another headed 'respect' which draws notions from an idealised academic and administrative locale. It contained a series of liberal notions broadly along the lines of 'treat us as you would like to be treated'. At its inception, at a particular senior staff conference in 1991, the Code was an attempt by a group of heads to tie *the management*, which at the time referred to the polytechnic's director and his assistants, to a particular code of practice. The senior staff meanwhile understood it as a possible solution to a number of political problems they faced - improving relations with both 'middle managers', but more importantly countering staff and particularly polytechnic board criticism of senior staff conferences. The year before, the three day conference had been held in Montpellier in France. It is 'recorded' in the institution's unofficial mythology as an event of high entertainment, huge expense and expressive of a more extravagant era of the previous director who had recently been removed in a 'colonels' revolt'. The Montpellier conference was organized by a largely self-appointed group of senior staff, known colloquially as the 'rat pack', who were closely associated with the previous director. The conference reportedly cost the institution in the region of £25,000. While some regarded it as a 'public relations success', others across the institution generally saw it as a 'self-indulgent jolly', as one Head of Department put it, without tangible 'outcomes'. As a result of the alleged 'excess' the conference had been investigated by the polytechnic's board,

although nothing ever came of this. However, the new director was concerned a year later that a repeat 'performance' was unlikely to send the message to the board that he was now in control of the institution.

Yet during its history as a document this code *for management* (very senior staff) became a code *for managers*, that is, all those on management contracts. This included those who suggested the Code in the first place and who were uncomfortable at being addressed as managers, preferring instead a Head of Department or service or senior academic title. What occurred, I think, is that the Code, while initially a form of resistance to the managerial station, became another means of stationing senior post-holders across the institution. Yet because the Code was associated with the challenge to and the attempt to rewrite the 'hard accountable' 'manager' in more socially reciprocal terms, this shift from 'management' to 'managers' was accepted as a compromise. Did it work? Well yes, and no.

At interview many heads of department and service considered that the senior management had 'failed to live up to their side of the bargain'. *The management* had continued to fail to abide by reasonable standards of conduct, they said. Very senior post-holders, meanwhile, almost in chorus voice, positioned the Code as being 'for the troops', as one said. This Pro Vice-Chancellor suggested that 'the more pieces of paper you can have on your wall in times of rapid change the better'. Yet what was interesting was that both heads and very senior post-holders said that they found the Code 'useful'. It gave them a guide to relations with others. It offered them the rudiments of an identity in other words, an identity that was not simply that of the 'manager' as embedded in the performance measures and strategic planning documents, but was also linked with and provided some continuity with embedded practices. It thus provided an alternative discourse type, to

use Fairclough's term, which we might call the 'respectful' manager. This is not to suggest that very senior post-holders were now operating in this way, far from it. But through challenging the bullying dogmatism of the 'accountable' manager discourse type, its continued distribution in relations between people has been questioned and problematised. While its dominance as *the* way in which the 'managers' know themselves and conceptualise their world had not necessarily been overturned, the 'respectful' manager discourse type has broadened and diversified the discursive mix. Yet another 'outcome' of this Code had been that those voices of resistance are now more comfortable with referring to themselves as managers (from within the 'respectful manager' discourse type). Another has been that those at work at senior levels who were resistant to managerialism have positioned themselves in ways which ultimately supported the managerialist tide. And another has been that the 'respectful' manager is drawn on to add a 'respectful' gloss to potentially unpopular managerial manoeuvres.

Challenging the managerial station in further education

This section draws out the tensions and problematics that surround the suffusion of the managerial station in further education colleges in the sample. Broadly, it discusses these in terms of a series of 'difficulties', or points of return, which appear in the texts of the interviews. As might be expected these are very close to those found in interviews with senior post-holders in higher education institutions. These include: 'difficulties with getting 'managers' to manage', 'difficulties' with professionalism', and the 'difficulties of just managing', that is, the problematics of being positioned

between the 'power bloc' and the 'people'. I want to begin with this latter theme.

As the above suggests, with regard to higher education, many senior postholders have taken up the vocabularies and grammars of the business manager. Some come to read themselves as operators of small to medium-sized businesses with portfolios of products sold in an education market. The same is the case in further education. A Head of School at College 'B' who labelled himself as one of the 'new breed' of senior Post-Holder in further education (FE), described his job as

finding a market, getting into it, sucking it, satisfying it and moving on. The only way you can do that is by staying light on your feet. . . .what I do see in education is this problem which varies between democracy, letting everybody have their say, and actually getting things done.

Others, however, are less comfortable with this, in particular the 'democracy problem' as this confronts the embedded educational locales, in which they are also embedded. A programme co-ordinator at College 'A' highlighted this:

I find it at times difficult to line-manage people that I've actually worked with on a same basis. . . I've now got to be aware of how many hours they are doing in terms of the 801 they should be doing. I've got to monitor their attendance. I've got to ask them to come in for different things. . . I had to tell [a colleague] that she had to do [some particular teaching]. She didn't want to but she had no choice.

Here the programme co-ordinator is constituted as a 'manager' through the newly invigorated surveillance and enforcement practices of the College which address particularly the relationships between the teaching contract and the work done. This transition or shifting back and forward between locale and station is uncomfortable and problematic. In tandem with many senior post-holders in higher education those interviewed in further education also outlined how they were caught between the competing knowledges and

practices of the managerial station and the 'people' found in the localising knowledges and practices. Another Head of School at College 'C' put this succinctly:

We are in the middle, so, to put it bluntly, we get dumped on from above and we get dumped on from below. There is very little support for us in the middle, and this is confidential. Because above us my line manager has six other heads of school to line manage; he has a very big job now that there are only two vice-principals, a massive job. So I don't get much support from him. Below I'm suppose to be supporting my staff and helping them. I'm having to say to them, 'I want to look after you I want to make sure that you are not stressed and not off work with stress-related illnesses, you are doing the right job in the classroom, your students are happy so that they stay with us' [but] then on the other hand, 'sorry but we've got to do this on a shoe string budget', you know, so 'I've got to ask you all to work up to the maximum hours and you've got to come in in the summer, you can't have a month off or five weeks off, you've got to come in'. It is that sort of balance. The pressure from above is to be economical and efficient, the pressure from below is, not to give them an easy life; that is not what they want, they are all hardworking people, but to give them a reasonable standard of life which involves life outside the College.

Within the relative openness of the interview, this Head of School outlines here how the managerial stationing is reconstructing her relations to 'education', others, and her self. She uses snatches of dialogue, each with an embedded 'you' and 'I' to construct the changing practices and knowledges.

In the following quotation she achieves this by accenting the term 'care' in a number of ways. The quotation also highlights how the stationing of the 'manager' is built upon the changed contractual terms upon which senior post-holders exchange their labour for cash.

I care about education, I care about my staff, but I'm paid to care about the economic plight that all FE colleges are in . . . it is difficult to be the sort of manager I want to be because the manager that I want to be is not the manager that I'm almost being forced to be.

Embedded in this however is an implied challenge to the managerial station. It is here mounted by distinguishing different types of managers and

privileging that which is subordinated. The pattern is similar to the challenge mounted to the managerial station in University 'D's 'Code for Management' discussed above. Yet as highlighted in Chapter 3 above management discourse itself has its own subordinated form, 'human relations' or 'people skills'. As the following quotation shows, the division between the professional locales and relations with fellow teachers has been re-written in management discourse as a division between 'people skills' and the 'balancing the budget'. While one could argue that the former resonates with the head of school's identity as teacher and and colleague (and also, one might suggest, with her as 'woman') , it is the ethos of 'people-centred management' which this Head of School wants to promote.

I see management as being about people skills. But I don't see that ethos as being within this College. Management is about efficiency, economies and balancing the budget. I would prefer to see it the other way around, but I think that is the nature of FE now.

But how is this Head of School being 'forced' to be a particular kind of manager, as she notes above? Where does this force come from? It is 'done', I have argued above, through the distributed discursive practices of audits, planning and budgets. Within these there are verbal/symbolic processes that position bodies within a 'paper structure' of charts, budgets, and spreadsheets. These are embodied, spatially and physically, in the new vertically integrated management teams and in the one to one audits and performance appraisal processes. In the midst of this are investments of desire in the identities of the 'manager' as an agent in the education market place, responsible, as College 'B's' principal said:

for delivering a volume of work on an annual contract at the right quality, set out in each area's business plan.

However, subjectivity is, as I have argued, a disseminating and diffuse phenomenon. It is going on in a number of different spaces and places, in

different discourses and practices, at the same time. The same Head of School who nevertheless positioned her self as a 'manager' recovered her identification with the professional locale at another point in her texts.

I was a part-timer 10 years ago, then assistant lecturer, then a maingrader then team leader. Then suddenly (at the time of incorporation) I'm Head of School and this is all within 10 years or so. I come out of that background and *I know what they are feeling and what they think*. It doesn't make it any easier for me because I think they now see me as having 'gone over', as it were, um but I'm always trying to balance the two sides.

She noted how uncomfortable this had become for her, when positioned within her now subordinated professional identity.

I'm always saying to staff when they come to me, 'How much does it cost'? You know in a way I don't want to do that, but I have to. I have to make them aware. They don't want to know about the funding methodology. They don't have to know that one student on a 10 hour course will bring you 14 units, something like that, but I do, I have to know how much that student costs me and how much income they are going to bring in and balance the two. If I don't my budget goes straight through the ceiling . . . So I must seem money pinching and nitpicking all the time, whereas I want to say: 'Yes, I think that is a wonderful idea, go with it.'

Here the Head of School has translated the subjectivity constructed by the managerial and professional stations, the different 'I's' into a dialogic situation. This translation allows her to reflect on the different ways she is positioned by the competing discourses. Note, also, how the embodied practices are drawn in. '*They*' (the teachers) come to 'her' in the narrative. The imagery here is of her being in her office, at her desk, embedded in the 'paper structure' and thus positioned by the body topography of the managerial station. Through this she is stationed within 'her' budget, within the funding methodology, which produces this 'I' - an 'I' that she finds troubling, when she evokes herself as a lecturer.

Yet at another point in the discussion, this Head of School finds some interdependence between the 'I' of the managerial station, and that of the professional locale. She said that performance appraisal for her was

A very useful way to get to know your staff. We focus on our objectives. I'm very keen on objectives and targets and focusing.

Clearly the way 'she' comes to know 'her staff' in the latter comment is within the knowledges and practices prescribed by the managerial station, that is, within the imperialising knowledge practices of 'performance management'. Yet particular aspects of these imperialising knowledge practices might be said to resonate, interconnect, and also re-shape existing localised practices.

However for 'very' senior post holders in further education the problematics of this positioning, between the 'power bloc' and the 'people', tends to be read not as produced by the uncomfortable intersection of competing knowledges and practices, between conflicting identities, but as a problem with 'getting managers to manage'. As Randle and Brady (1996) point out 'very' senior post-holders tend to assume that the problematics of managing are down to 'too deep, too fast' reforms and a lack of expertise among academics now occupying management positions. Yet this is only partly the case, as it underplays the political problematics of competing identities, and the confrontation with existing professional locales in which the senior post-holder, re-positioned as 'manager', is also embedded. The following comment from the principal of College 'C' is perhaps typical of this kind of response although the text is sophisticated in its approach. It draws on the prescriptions of management 'guru' theory, but at the same time distances itself from such theory. In doing this it presents the processes of internalising new processes as a series of seemingly natural progressive steps, and not

as a political battle. The principal suggests that at the time of incorporation, it was

unreasonable to expect middle managers to be the propagandists of change because they themselves have no experience to build on. They themselves didn't like it so later *you* bring people through these experiences, *you* bring facts to bear on it to demonstrate what is going on and *you* build back *your* processes of getting people to internalise that; so occasionally *you* do um actually go through processes of upsetting an institution, an organisation, and then rebuilding it in a sense. I don't like the phrase; the Americans coined the phrase 're-engineering', I don't like the phrase but there is something in that. Um one has got to accept that some of those changes are traumatic. (emphasis added)

In this text the principal uses the pronoun 'you' in a series of phrases which suggest some kind of naturalised formulaic way in which people internalise a particular 'change'. But he also uses the term 'your processes'. This suggests that such methods are aimed at wresting control of people from other processes. The quotation thus highlights the hostilities involved but denies these through its insistence on the seemingly unproblematic method by which people can be 're-engineering'. Yet such 're-engineering' is partial. Far from being reconstructed, many senior post-holders talked of simply coping with being 'caught in the middle'. In College 'D' a section manager found this highly problematic.

I find I'm constantly caught between supporting the staff and thanking them and encouraging them and then some memo comes around and it's like snakes and ladders, you are right back at the bottom again. I have them all worked up and then someone in SMT (senior management team) sends a thoughtless memo around and you are back on step one.

At the time of the interviews these 'memos' frequently addressed issues surrounding the monitoring and 'appropriate' use of staff time. These can be read as the attempt to confine and intensify the work practices of lecturers. Yet the close and long history of relations between the section manager and

lecturers problematised this attempt to reconstruct professional practices.

The section manager said that the 'paper structure' of monitoring forms carried

an assumption that everyone is a skiver; that is not the way that I would look at people. I can't understand that way of thinking at all. The thinking is 'if they are not here what are they up to' that kind of thinking, it's hard to articulate. The personal performance review is fine, but the annual leave and classroom time [is not], it's just the way it's tackled. I have not had a problem with self-directed time, it's from the top, that time is not being used properly. I know my staff do hours of prep at home that has to be taken into account.

This clearly outlines the tensions and problematics of actually managing.

The section manager has not got a problem with self-directed time - senior management have. The section manager is required to work *with* the embedded practices of the professional locale, around these issues, while top-down management practices attempt to more intensively station academic workers with regard to self-directed time. This leads to senior post-holders 'bending' and tactically resisting certain stationing practices, like monitoring forms and staff hours.

Another section manager in College 'D' put this strongly in the following comment

I'm not a great fan of giving things new names and trying to change the culture. It's the same people, the same human beings. If I'd have been Roger Ward (former leader of the college employers forum) I would have pushed the atomic button and got rid of everyone. He didn't so we have terrorists beavering away at the foundations who won't change.

A senior official in the lecturer's union, NATFHE, interviewed during the study, argued that the FE college locales were particularly intransigent.

The FE lecturers are a particularly difficult group of people to manage. There is a strong tradition of independence and autonomy and they don't take kindly to being told what to do. And these other people who are on management spine identify with that. You can get them [the

lecturers] on the contract [the employers' contracts] but to actually get them to do the things that you want them to do when you want them to do it is quite hard really.

As a result, she argued, the newly 'empowered' managers have only very limited 'success' in reconstructing locales, outside of redundancy and dismissal, and end up relying on the 'work horses' of institutions.

They pile more and more stuff on those sorts of people who largely do things that you give them to do . . . but it doesn't help with groups of people that have always been quite difficult to manage and motivate, and to deal with if things go wrong. None of this is proving quite as easy as they might have thought at the excitement of incorporation aside from the fact that they [the new 'managers'] were getting new posts and promotions.

The need to work with and transform locales was highlighted by a Head of School at College 'C'. The story he tells here is very reminiscent of that told by the dean of 1992 University 'A' (page 365). What makes it particularly interesting here, is how he presented the locale as being undermined by the top-down pressures, in which he is deeply implicated, but also presents himself as defending and seeking to maintain aspects of locales which are productive of work relations.

When I joined the College there were three people in the school who all joined on the same day 26 years ago. So the thing is, they have gone to each others' christenings, and they have all been at the same age and they have all gone through the same phases, so the sort of thing was maybe 15 years ago when it came to the summer holidays um 15 caravans went away from here because they had all bought caravans because they had all got young families and went away to be together. And that was the level of family-ness if you like that existed and the bonds that existed. So when I came it was exceedingly difficult to be part of that, it took a while to become part of the family. What has happened is, I got into that family, and we've introduced a few traditions that seem as though they were working well. What we try is to close the school from 9-10 am on a Friday morning. In practice it has never happened. There is always one or two missing. Um we have the school meeting, we're now into cups of coffee and mince pies, but what we're finding is that the workload of the new members of staff is so great they exist in isolation. Umm we try to bring the lecturers into this little clique, so I don't want us and them, I regret that. It means that we are going to miss out on a wider

team spirit. I now don't know of any of my crew that meets socially, which is sad

'Family-ness' can be read-off as the practices and knowledges of the locale. The Head's comment 'introduced some new traditions' highlights the importance for 'managers' to work within the practices of the locales, and the importance of locales to the running of the school. In this case it meant retaining aspects of past meeting practices in the new 'team' meetings. The Head also outlines how such locales are being undermined by those practices and knowledges that produce the increasingly intensified, isolated and individuated FE lecturer. Intriguingly at this point in the text he denies any involvement in this undermining. Yet the following comment shows explicitly how the new 'manager' is deeply implicated in producing the individuated, intensified FE worker, which appears out of the loss of familial locales. He suggests, that there were 'people' who '*needed*' to be 'restructured out' - those who were both expensive and unlikely to contribute to the new performance objectives - unfortunately the same objectives which produced the isolated lecturer.

Some people we do need to restructure out, there are still people still within this part of the world came into education 20 years ago, they spent their first year learning the job and preparing their prep and if they were really good they spent the second year refining it and for the last 18 years they have been delivering the same old rubbish (CP: Whereas the regime now you have to be constantly changing). Absolutely. And those people tend to be not only sucking the money in that area but sucking it in other areas as well. 'My timetable finishes at 5 and at 1 minute past five I will be gone'. We do need to be shut of that mentality, but just because people have been on old contracts here doesn't mean to say that they can't take on board the new requirements of *our enterprise*. But we've had the old sledgehammer: if you are over 50 you can go if you want, and everybody has gone and it has left some gaping holes (emphasis added).

Yet while this suggests that the deeply embedded locales are being slowly destroyed by the combined aspects of redundancy, increased workload and intensified surveillance, I want to argue that new locales are constantly being produced. New knowledges and practices aimed at the 'power bloc' which tactically evade its directives, or undermine its discursive force, are constantly underproduction. As Rose and Fiske suggest in chapter three, people are multiple and discursive resources and practices are constantly being turned from one set of interests to another. For example, the resources provided by the 'power bloc' are constantly being turned to other ends. This takes multiple forms. It might for instance take the form of simply 'forgetting'. The Finance Officer at College 'A' for instance discussed 'forgetting' in relation to 'cost-consciousness'.

People now are probably much more concerned about cost, but it's going to take time. We have a lot of problems trying to instil this in people. Last year the principal had to step in and freeze budgets in some areas. It may not be the person's fault. Very often it's about communication, but they still need educating in how to manage their own budgets. The main problem is that they just don't seem to be able to understand finance or they don't want to know anything about it, they just want to get on with educating people, they are not worried about the cost. Some people are very good but others just seem to forget about it.

A number of programme co-ordinators at College 'A' offered examples of how this 'forgetting' was put to work. One recounted how much of the material she received from her section manager in 'little brown files with our names' was ignored. At the interview she pointed to a wire tray on her desk overflowing with such files.

I don't read it; it's a good job this is confidential, no, you can't, and a lot of it is bumph. . . Some things you know you have got to do. And other things you feel well you will put them to one side and if nobody asks you in three months, what's the point.

At the programme co-ordinators (PC) training session discussed below another PC said

I'm sure we've all got memos on our desks that have been there for months and every time we look at them we think I wonder how long it will be before I can shred it.

The construction of locales, that is the construction of spaces, knowledges and practices which tactically challenge imperialising knowledge and practices takes numerous forms. The example below shows how the space and time provided by the power bloc for 'management training', was turned by section managers and programme co-ordinators in College 'A', into space for the critique and challenge to top-down management knowledge and practices, that is, the managerial station. The account can be usefully counter-posed with the observational account of the section manager's meeting with her programme co-ordinators discussed at the end of the previous chapter (page 325-330). What is intriguing is that these meetings discussed below involve the same people. The section manager in the meeting discussed in the previous chapter (page 325-330) was a vocal contributor to the meeting below. The management training event, while ostensibly set up to transmit imperialising knowledge and practices to the section managers, was effectively subverted, and used as a site for working through the group's tactical relation to the senior managers. And yet in the meeting discussed at the end of the previous chapter, the section manager drew on and reproduced the managerial station. This difference shows how it is not the people but discursive practices involved in particular events which are of key importance. These come to dominate particular spaces, configuring them, in the terms used here, as either stations or locales. These carry with them embedded identities, relations and knowledges. The

accounts here simply draw out some of the multiple practices and knowledges at work in these spaces.

Section Managers' Training Event

The 'set': A large committee room in the main office block of an East Midlands further education college (College 'A'). At one end of the room in front of a large oval table surrounded with chairs stood the College's staff development officer (L). Beside her was an overhead projector pointed at a large white screen. To one side was a folder containing overhead transparencies inscribed with lists of bullet points. These addressed issues like 'objective setting' and 'performance management'. It was 1.40pm. The staff development officer was waiting for the College's six section managers (M, C, R, S, G and T). They were ten minutes late for 'class'⁶. The staff training officer used this time to tell me about how she was currently in dispute with the College over pay and contracts. Her job had been scaled back and she had been offered another contract with reduced hours at a lower grade (this helps explain to some extent her somewhat ambivalent approach to the management training event she is about to 'run'). By 1.45pm five of the six had arrived. It was clear that if the meeting had been with the curriculum director they would have all been there on time.

By being late the senior managers were in effect signalling on the one hand their position *over* the staff development officer. But they were also signalling that this meeting was to be constructed, not as a management training event, where they would be stationed as 'manager', but as a meeting where other subordinated identities could be articulated and affirmed.

It emerged that the section managers had already taken control of the agenda. L had given the group some topic options for the event. The group had all chosen 'performance management'. Yet they were all very familiar with the College's performance management approach. They had thus engineered this space to talking about other issues.

⁶ Access to this meeting was organized through the staff development officer. At this point in the research programme I had already interviewed three of the section managers. They were happy for me to sit in on the meeting, my having already established a degree of trust with them. This reassured the other three section managers, although 'C' quizzed me on whether I would be reporting back to senior managers prior to the arrival of the three whom I had already interviewed. I tried to reassure her over this. She did not mention this again. Perhaps she noted the familiarity with which I was greeted by the three section managers I had already interviewed.

Indeed L struggled all afternoon to take some control of the session, that is, to station the group as managers. For instance the group were constantly diverting the session's activities into other issues. Alongside this were interruptions, high-spirited comments, jokes and teasing. Her presentation became more like a break between bouts of engagement with related but more detailed issues. The jokes and teasing drew materials from the College's strategic planning and funding processes, but also involved stories about the senior managers which undermined their positioning as authority figures. In general the management training event provided a space where the section managers reaffirmed their identities as middle managers who tactically responding to senior managers and 'their' demands on them.

Locales, as Fiske argues (1993), are largely pleasurable spaces, or where pleasure is used to deconstruct particular identities and relations. Yet this does not mean that the locale under construction here was unstructured. There was an excess of structuring discursive practices at work. In part the pleasure of this locale is found in this multiplicity and the possibility of moving through a number of discursive practices. As might be expected discursive practices associated with gender and sexuality provided pleasure points in the meeting. For instance,

when the staff development officer (L) put a bullet point list on the overhead M said: 'All the women have started writing it down'. 'It's a sex thing,' she said. 'Don't you mean a gender thing?' said T. 'It's a sex thing,' she repeated, drawing attention simultaneously to the men's lack of courtesy shown to L, and the women's 'automatic' response to the teaching situation. Yet it was the women who interrupted and interjected most of all during the event with examples and issues. It was they who tended to maintain control of the verbal space and managed the boundary between the locale and the station, that is between a support meeting for section managers, and a training event. M particularly controlled movement between the locale and the station. As comments, jokes and stories subsided she would say to L 'go on'.

Later in the meeting it emerged that two of the men and two of the women section managers worked closely together (S & T were the odd ones out of these 'couples'). Later in the meeting these two 'couples' wanted to display the joviality and warmth of these relationships, and the way they used to these to alleviate the top-down processes. C and G work closely together and rely on each other. G said: 'When I get in the morning I'm on the phone to C [and say] "Have you done this?" "Oh my god, " she says'. "That's OK it's not due until next month" - laughter. M and R meanwhile share a large office. They related a similar story of their seeming ambivalence to the 'paper' structure'. M said: 'I'll say [to R] "Have you got that piece of paper that Sylvia gave us three months ago?" 'He goes rummaging through this pile of paper on his desk', "No. Was it important?". ' More laughter.

However, while the section managers worked to maintain the space as a locale, this was always going to be a fragile, temporary construction. While they berated, criticised, joked about and on occasion praised the senior managers (who were in one case sitting in an office just one door away), the senior managers on two occasions exercising their control by 'reaching into' the locale and repositioning the group as 'managers'.

The telephone in the room rang a couple of times for G. The second time it was his secretary with a message that the curriculum director wanted to see him. She was in fact sitting in her office which was just two rooms away from the committee room where the meeting was being held. G got up and rushed out. He came straight back for his suit jacket. Someone said jokingly 'It must be one of *those* meetings'. 'G, you not suitably attired?', another one said, mimicking the curriculum director's voice. G came back two minutes later. He looked across at one of the other section managers: 'C, you too, to see F(the principal)'. They both hurried out. They came back in about 15 minutes. G was carrying a huge piece of computer paper with lists and figures on it. Nothing was said about this event.

One possible reading as to why nothing was said about this would be that it would have disrupted the locale with the knowledges and practices of the managerial station. Being called out demonstrated the individuating managerial station, while the locale was concerned with the common, horizontal and also diverse identities, and not simply that of the 'manager'.

A central point of discussion at this 'management training' event was a meeting that morning with the college accountant, which all the section managers had attended. At this meeting the College accountant who had 'opened up the books' to them and run through their budgets in detail. There were, as one of the group said, a lot of 'bombshells' in the presentation. The section managers had not as yet had time to discuss the 'bombshells' with each other. Yet discussion focused not on 'their own' budgets. They talked about the senior management team's salaries and particularly their 'personal' budgets. These budgets had apparently not been included in the accountant's figures and, it was assumed, had been 'hidden away' in 'reserves'. A copy of the accountant's budget statement was tabled by one of the group and they proceeded to dissect this, looking for places where the senior manager's personal budgets could be located. These budgets were thought to be £16,000 and £18,000 respectively for the curriculum director and principal. They also discussed money that had been 'borrowed' from their own budgets. 'You won't get that back', said one.

Here the discourse of the beneficiary manager as discussed in chapter 6, is drawn on. The senior managers were read as self-interested beneficiaries of the current circumstances. They were read as the most highly rewarded, the most out of touch with the difficulties of actually managing the College, and also duplicit in their relations with section managers.

The section managers read themselves in this as 'charged with earning the College income and meeting particular targets on units earned', as one said. The 'hiding' of personal budgets showed that senior managers were unwilling to subject themselves to the same surveillance mechanisms that the section managers had to endure. In the midst of this the section managers challenged the competence of the senior managers. They also wondered aloud whether the finance director/ accountant really understood the funding mechanism. M said: 'I find [the accountant] very hard to follow' - everyone laughed in agreement. 'He doesn't finish his sentences'. Budgets, along with a discussion of the disciplining practices of strategic management processes became the key elements of the discussion.

The section managers had all submitted their strategic plans with detailed operating statements to the curriculum director a couple of weeks before. The section managers criticised the SMT position on these. They suggested that senior managers could afford to set 'woolly', 'motherhood' and 'apple-pie' targets, because they were not involved in actually translating them into work on the ground. The group also admitted to 'filling-boxes' with 'made-up' targets and objectives simply to make sure that each of the boxes was filled. M said: 'Take for instance the objective to work toward a 'modular curriculum? What do they know about a modular curriculum? Have

they ever taught on a modular curriculum? When was the last time they ever taught? It looked to them like something that would add up to more student choice, but it has to be weighed against the costs.' Sylvia had read each of the section managers' plans and sent them back some with 'revisions' marked on them. For instance R found that the 1997-8 date he'd set alongside some objectives had been changed to 1996-7. They questioned why they were working on strategic plans for this year when they were clearly in this year.

Also the SMT, according to the section managers, did not know how hard it was to get staff to engage with things like the strategic plan - or individual operational plans. R mentioned the engineers in 'his' section. He described them as: 'cynics through and through; after they hear what I want from them, they find all the problems with it and reasons why it would not work. I have to be prepared for all this', he said. M suggested that she thought now (December 1996) was totally the wrong time to take the strategic plan to the staff. 'They were tired and looking forward to the Christmas break. They are like a sponge that will not take any more water. They will just say, "Oh yeah we'll do it, ", and not do it', she said.

At another point in the meeting G attacked the audit culture. 'I just about have to write down something about everything that is said to me or I say to others, so that it can be used in evidence for this or that'. The pendulum had swung too far the other way, he said. 'We used to work on a professional trust basis; now it is all justification and evidence, and the amount of time that goes into it is ridiculous'. He asked the question: 'What are we in business for?', quite unconscious of the use of the word 'business'. M replied: 'We are in business so that we can still be in business this time next year'.

Right through the session, however, the figure of the curriculum director, Sylvia, was very present. At one point when Sylvia's name was mentioned, G began to force his pad down the back of his trousers saying, 'It wasn't me, miss'. At another point someone said as G spontaneously got up to leave: 'If Sylvia were here she'd have said "Where do you think you're going?" '

Sylvia was positioned as the authoritarian school mistress, who enforced deadlines and required justifications if these were missed. But another construction was also drawn on.

M and S, who had been curriculum co-ordinators under the old structure, played the 'old lags' and told stories that compared her approach to the previous curriculum director's approach. 'She's much better than we've had and we get along with her' said one of the group. 'I'm not saying that she's not doing her job or that I don't like her,' M had to correct. M, went on: 'I find it very hard to say no to her;

there are not many people that I find it hard to say no to, but she is one of them. Every time I go in (to her office to see her) with one thing, "Can you tell me about this?", I come out with four other things to do'. R said: 'She's a very strong woman'.

In the first comment, from M, there are elements of the charismatic (discussed above). 'Sylvia' in this statement has special persuasive abilities. It is unclear whether gender is implicated here. The previous curriculum director, a man, was criticised by the section managers for using section manager meetings simply to 'report what senior management were doing'. The College's re-organization, introduction of the taught-hour plan, a more disciplined strategic planning processes and the appointment of Sylvia as curriculum director with her tight control over meetings and reporting all overlay and are intertwined with her gender. At interview Sylvia largely denied gender as a basis for explaining her 'style'. Yet R's reading of Sylvia as a 'very strong woman', rather than say a 'very strong person', or 'a very strong manager', highlights the importance of gender to the reconstruction of managing in the College. However the dominant narrative of the afternoon was one of being in the middle and 'done unto', rather than as the doer. While the curriculum director was respected and constructed in the familiar and feminised position of 'class teacher', 'SMT', as a group, was constructed as out-of-touch, variably incompetent and somewhat deceitful. The section managers read themselves then as caught between this and a tired, somewhat recalcitrant staff. Yet, as the following comment illustrates, this narrative of the locale was potentially problematic outside the confines of the reconstructed 'management training event'.

When I left the meeting, just before it wound up, G was standing in the corridor outside the curriculum director's office. He was leaning on a radiator, talking to the curriculum director's secretary. 'It's more like a therapy session in there,' he said to me as I went past. I smiled back.

G's use of this term, 'therapy', can be said to illustrate a number of aspects about the meeting. It could be interpreted as a way of distancing himself from the meeting - saying in effect - 'I'm outside because I don't need therapy'. It could also be read as a way of protecting himself, the section managers and even the College from unfavourable assessments by an outsider (me, the researcher).

To name the meeting as 'therapy' is a way of drawing a line or setting a frame around a 'thing', thus creating that object and creating an inside and an outside. Thus the meeting is constructed as different from the outside which is normalised. This framing allows the meeting to be read in such a way that it does not challenge the normalised outside, but as subordinated to it. It thus reaffirms and protects the normalised identities of G, himself, the section managers, as 'managers', and even the College.

As I mentioned, some of the section managers were a little unsure about my presence. While this uncertainty subsided, I still represented a possible threat to the locale. Despite my assurance to the contrary, I may have been about to make a report on the meeting to senior managers.

'Therapy', also, carries with it the possibility of a positive and legitimate reading of the meeting. G was suggesting that while the meeting might have seemed extreme to the outsider (me, the researcher), it was a chance for section managers to go through a sanctioned, psychologically necessary process, of getting things 'off their chests', which would reaffirm the normal. Using the term 'therapy' can be read as implying that the meeting had a functional relation to the health of the College. 'Therapy' suggests a planned controlled approach to healing or the alleviation of distress. The term suggests that the section managers' meeting was planned and executed either by senior managers or the section managers themselves

as a way of alleviated the problems and dilemmas of managing. That is one reading. It glosses the event with the functional aims of the power-bloc, in other words.

Another reading, the one suggested here, is that the meeting is a locale, a space where the individuated managerial identity, produced by the knowledges and discursive practices of managing, is challenged and undermined temporarily, pleasurably, and where other identities can be articulated. The locale can be read as therapeutic but in a political sense, not a functionalist, medical one.

The second event I want to discuss in terms of the managerial stations and locales in FE colleges, is set in the same room two weeks later. This time is the turn of 10 of the College's 30 programme co-ordinators for 'management training'. Programme co-ordinators (PCs) in College A represent the new layer of management in the College, created just six months prior to this training event in a reorganization. In the reorganization the College was divided into six sections which each comprise up to six programme areas. Each programme co-ordinator was made responsible for up to ten full-times staff and part-timers assigned to the programme area. In exchange the PC's were given a new job description, but not a new contract, three hours 'off' the normal full-time teaching load of 801 hours - down to 753 hours per year - and a flat £750 per year salary increase.

Programme co-ordinators Training Event

Despite involving a different group of 'managers', this event was in many ways a carbon copy of the above. 'L's' presentation was different, but the response from the group was similar. Broadly, the 'management

training event' aimed at stationing the programme co-ordinators as managers was reconstructed as a locale in which the knowledges and practices of 'management' were challenged, and professional identities, among others, articulated and reaffirmed. Another difference was that the ten programme co-ordinators who had opted for this event all arrived on time.

The event began with L asking the group of ten PCs to split into two groups and construct a collage of what it was like to be a PC: 'What the role was about'. The groups spent about 20 minutes cutting, pasting and drawing and then re-grouped to look at the two posters. Both collages were thematically identical. The words and images depicted doom, lack of time, falling quality. The detail of this emerged when each group was asked to comment on the posters. It is worth mentioning that this was the first time that many of the PCs had met and discussed their jobs together as a group. What arose from this was a two and a half hour discussion of a number of key issues. Firstly, and centrally, all claimed that the three hours allotted to them to carry out their PC's duties was grossly insufficient. This led to statements like: 'I'm either incompetent or the job is impossible', as one woman said. Others mentioned feelings of not wanting to come to work, not wanted to turn up on particular days (especially those days on which sections met - at which more work was unloaded from senior managers to them). There was a tense moment immediately after the woman PC said: 'I'm either incompetent or the job is impossible' when one of the very outspoken men in the group responded: 'It's probably both'. But neither speaker took this further and the group pursued the narrative of the 'impossible' job. It was 'impossible' principally because of lack of time, the PC's said. This lack of time, however, varied. Some of the PC's were acting as course team leaders, and personal tutors, while others were not.

It is worth noting here how the imposition of managerial knowledge and practices had the effect of problematising who one was at work, and what one did, which was articulated as 'incompetent' or 'impossible'. A second aspect, hinted at in the tension of the response to the 'incompetent/impossible' remark, was that the meeting was highly gendered, with the men dominating the verbal space quite unlike the section managers meeting. The group was made up of six women and four men. The men, particularly S, J and B, dominated the conversation while the women, particularly the group of middle aged women from the business services

section, made significantly less input. The women were, indeed, implicitly discouraged from speaking. Their comments were frequently left undeveloped, while the men 'egged' one another on, and in the process dominated the verbal space. The 'training session', however, was quite literally displaced. 'L' went with this and tried to formulate what she termed 'achievable objectives' from the meeting. She suggested that the PC's concerns be codified and put to senior managers. In effect, she tried to translate the meeting into management discourse. However the group's discussion tended to 'stumble' over this and would quickly return to spirited discussion of the problems themselves. One response was put repeatedly: that a full meeting of PCs, section managers and the curriculum director be held 'soon' to thrash out the 'role of the PC'. But this suggestion was not developed or taken forward. The meeting returned repeatedly to a number of core problems/ issues:

There were repeated calls for 'someone to define the (programme co-ordinator's) role', or to 'create a structure'. In general the meeting worked at constructing the position of the PC who had been 'conned' into a post that had turned out to be 'impossible'. PCs were required to run and organize courses, deal with paper systems and were said to be distrusted by senior manager who were never seen in person. But the biggest issue was that they did this while teaching just three hours short of a full-time table.

A key issue was excessive paper work. This took PCs away from their teaching which, as a consequence, suffered. 'We are constantly pinching time from teaching to feed the paper system', said one. 'This paper system is leading to the demise of quality. Would you deliberately allow quality to slip on courses so that the students think it is rubbish and leave?' one asked. 'You wouldn't, you would continually improve it or work at doing things differently.' Another said: 'SMT need to know about this because the quality is slipping and the students are going to walk'. 'Things are at breaking point', said another. 'If you put this to senior managers they will say this is how it is in FE now', said another in response.

This was related to the College's drive for increase activity, and cut staff numbers. 'Eventually you reach a point where the thing collapses, the students realise what is going on and they walk, you

can't meet your strategic plan targets and the whole thing collapses'. 'Staff are beginning to leave, students are beginning to catch on - if you take 20 minutes here and 20 minutes there, the quality of staff/student relations is going down'.

A number of programme co-ordinators said they felt the squeeze on their time personally as the professional relations with students suffered. One said: 'I'm always 2 minutes late for everything. I go into a class, set them a task then I go out again to organize the photocopying for later in the session. In the past I would have been able to go around the class, chat to them and find out how they were getting on. And then there's always the telephone. You start to do something and then someone rings up from examinations or whatever and that's half an hour gone'. The 'paper work' was frequently counter-posed to the sanctuary of teaching: 'I don't think it's moaning, it's just the admin., not the teaching, I go in to a teaching room and it's a sanctuary, and come out refreshed,' said one. Another said: 'Just teaching is really refreshing, I come out of a class and think that was good, that's what I like doing, but after half a day of paper work where I don't make any headway I go home frustrated, and don't want to come back the next day to more of the same. I feel sometimes that there has got to be more to life. I don't feel like coming to work, I don't enjoy it anymore'.

One aspect frequently mentioned was the collecting of statistics on teaching, staffing and classes. It was unclear, the PCs said, whether these were 'really' needed to keep the College going. In some cases the programme co-ordinators resented this because it led to strained relations with teaching colleagues in their curriculum areas. One said: 'I was in a meeting with my team the other day, there was an agenda but I said that there were things that I needed to deal with; I came out with form after form after form and someone said: "what is all this shit? Can't we get back to talking about students and progression?" '.

It was clear, however that the PCs were not blindly following up all these requests for information and action on paper based systems. They were prioritising them and finding ways around others. 'I'm sure we've all got memos on our desks that have been there for months and every time we look at them we think I wonder how long it will be before I can shred it?' one said. 'Everything seems to be urgent and a priority, but it not clear what is a priority.' It was the repetition of demands for the same information that infuriated some. 'We're also doing all this doubling up. Why should I fill in these absence forms. If I want to find out I ring up personnel and they tell me who's been absent. I even wanted to find out when I was absent so I rang up personnel and they told me which day it was, ' laughter.

It was this that led the discussion to address the possibility of action: 'What we need to do is to decide what we (as a group) are going to do and what we are not going to do. Has anyone every been pulled up before a disciplinary hearing for not doing the paper work?' said one.

Yet despite these problematics two in the group highlighted the 'positives of the post'. In one case this was clearly at the expense of professional colleagues: 'I'd rather be in a position of having some control rather than have the shit always dump on me'.

The above is an account of some of the key elements discussed at what was ostensibly to be a 'management training event' for new managers in College A. It, along with the account of the section managers' meeting, shows how locales which variably contest the managerial station are constantly at work in colleges. As in this case, they frequently take up the resources provided by the power-bloc, turning management training for instance into mutual support and critique of management. The imperialising knowledges are thus temporarily turned back on themselves, and the identities they produce are problematised while those identities, relations and knowledges subordinated by the imperialising formations are reaffirmed. The PCs reaffirmed their subordinated identities as lecturers. Yet despite these events, the knowledges and practices of the locale only briefly and temporarily hold the space available. There was strong reluctance to take these knowledges outside this space in any co-ordinated way. In the cases above, the locales are fragile structures, which might be said to simply support the tactical response of senior post-holders to top-down pressures, but which are generally subordinated to these. This might not necessarily be the case. It is possible to identify ways in which such 'fragile structures' might come to take up dominant imperialising positions themselves. However, in the cases above, this seems unlikely given the dependence of the College on state funding and the suffusion of managerial stationing knowledges and practices at work in dispensing such funds.

Out across the College the sentiments of the above locales are weakened and displaced by the pragmatics of compliance with the practices. This induces, as the following quotation shows, a sense of ambivalence and

detachment. The following piece of dialogue between myself, the researcher, and this newly positioned 'manager', a Programme Co-ordinator in College 'A' in this case, illustrates particularly how our multiplicity and fragmentation, inherent in our ability to live out and work with different identities and relations, both provide the conditions by which locales can be produced and survive (thus underwriting points of contention and challenge to imperialising knowledge - those spaces where imperialising knowledge becomes slow moving and 'stodgy') and also underwrite the suffusion of dominant practices and knowledges themselves. When confronted with the contradiction of the two positions outlined below, the speaker's response is to label the condition 'ambivalence', thus to confirm this condition of multiplicity. This is of course, it could be argued, an outcome of the interview process itself which has a tendency to privilege and produce a coherent 'I'. So, as a final point in this chapter, I want to show through this quotation how it is *not* people that are at work, but discursive practices in the problematic suffusion of particular forms of knowledge.

CP: How do you match up these two [aspects]? On the one hand you identify with the teachers and the problems of the increased control over their work, and on the other you are engaged in keeping that control going.

I guess it's just ambivalence (he said with a shrug). There is a sort of ambivalence; on the one hand *I can see how they control my time. I spend more time filling in forms than I do actually teaching.* But then from a programme co-ordinator's position, people have signed a contract which says that they will do such and such and these forms are a significant way of following that through.

Here this senior post-holder's knowledge about himself (identity) and the teachers in the programme area (relations), and his use of time and space (the station), is constituted through the practices embedded in the 'forms'. His comment suggests an awareness of how through this 'they', and by this he means the senior managers (but I might suggest, the 'power bloc',

come to constitute 'their' interests through control over 'his' time. *In effect the programme co-ordinator is saying here 'I can see how they control my time; it's my time but they control it.* In this implied comment, the PC constructed himself as largely power-less to do otherwise. The pedagogical and professionally-orientated knowledges which were drawn on to rebuff managerial knowledge at the PC's training event had been stationed by managerial knowledges and practices. Comments such as the 'paper system is leading to a demise of quality', and the suggestion that PC's should deliberately and as a group refrain from 'feeding the paper system' were not translated into this particular programme co-ordinator's work. Yet this is not to suggest that currently subversive practice, such as ignoring paper work, will not form the basis of alternative procedures at some future time. The PCs admitted to each other that they currently ignored elements of their 'paper work'. The section managers noted above that they were currently struggling to get PCs to produce strategic planning document returns. In future the PCs as a group may put their question, 'Has anyone ever been pulled up before a disciplinary hearing for not doing the paper work?', to the test. Through this the managerial station will be challenged by the reinvigorated knowledges and practices whose identities the stationing processes have subordinated. To conclude, this shows how 'managing' is far from smooth and productive. It is a struggle, and a constant state of 'hostilities', not in relation to intransigent people, but as it confronts the multiple and fragmented elements of embedded knowledge and practice. College 'management' is at its most simplified the distribution, completion and return of particular 'forms', through which bodies are stationed in time and space. Yet even this is a problematic and uncertain process which is confronted and challenged by other forms of knowledge and practice.

Section 3 Chapter 9.

University and College management; Is it men's work?

The most obvious, but often unreported, feature of the management of universities in all three countries (Britain, Canada and Australia) is the sheer dominance of men and masculine styles. (Miller, 1994: 30)

It is wholly unacceptable that the centres of modern academic teaching and excellence in Britain should remain bastions of male power and privilege. (Hansard Society, 1990:11)

Introduction

The discussion in the preceding chapter highlights how professionalised and traditional academic and administrative identities embedded in knowledges and practices which construct academic and administrative locales can be said to be engaged in a 'state of hostilities' with ascendant managerial identities. Managerial identities are embedded in and dispersed by imperialising knowledges and practices which attempt to construct managerial stations across the terrain of further and higher education. Alongside this, the discussion above has touched briefly on some of the other aspects of this 'state of hostilities'. There are other 'axes of difference' (Fiske, 1993) which should be addressed, particularly issues surrounding ethnicity (Page, 1997; Davidson, 1997), sexuality and disability in relation to further and higher education management. However, in this thesis, I want to address gender and further and higher education management and leave these other issues for further research. In this chapter I shall address gender and the associated problematics surrounding the constitution of managers in further and higher education.

The key reason for making this move is that gender difference, I want to argue, is a core factor in the 'doing of managing' (Mangham and Pye, 1991). For example, when

University 'D' is described by a male Head of Department as a very '*man-managed*' institution with 'tough males [are] running the place',

or when

committee meetings at University 'A' are described by the Academic Registrar as spaces men use to 'make statements about their own power',

or when

the Principal of College 'C' is described by the College personnel officer as a 'brave man'

or when

the Curriculum Director of College 'A' is described by a Section Manager as a 'strong woman',

then it is clear that gendered practices and management practices are deeply interdependent. Furthermore, current academic debate around the character of management, and education management in particular, makes it imperative that the problematic interconnections between gendered identities, relations and knowledges, and management knowledges and practices be explored (Blackmore, 1996, 1993; Hall, 1997; Ozga, 1993; Whitehead, 1997a; Maile, 1995, Brodeth, 1995).

As the review of this field in Chapter four indicated there is now a reasonably coherent body of work that addresses the gendered nature of higher education institutions, particularly the gendered distribution of work in these sites (recent examples include Brooks, 1997; Heward et al, 1997; Clark et al, 1997). Following the trajectory of the discussion in Chapter Four, I shall adopt a poststructural approach to exploring the interconnections between gendered identities, relations and practices (Weedon, 1987; Butler,

1990b, Calas and Smirich, 1996; Flax, 1995; Knights, 1997) and those of management.

Poststructuralism and gender - a brief overview

A poststructural reading of gender suggests that difference between men and women is not located in or reducible to biological sex. A poststructural account is concerned with how various knowledges and practices make biological sex socially significant. Put simply, gender is understood as various sets of practices and knowledges which constitute and ascribe male and female bodies as 'men' or 'women'. Gender, in this reading, is neither invariant nor interior to such bodies, but is performed through culturally and historically specific discourses (Butler, 1990a: 339). As Butler notes, gender is a series of 'acts' which 'create the idea of gender' (1990b:140). Gender then, in this reading, is not 'natural' but the effect of differing sets of practices and knowledges which can be said to have histories of their own. Thus at any one time or in any particular space, 'to do one's gender right', as Butler argues (1990b:140), is a cultural and political production which works to 'humanise' individuals in that particular social context (Butler, 1990b:140). Such 'humanising' processes are not simply productive, but are at the same time regulatory and political. Ann Game highlights the political character of gender in relation to management and higher education when she recounts (1994) how when she took up the position of head of her academic department she became aware of attempts to position her in feminine subject positions, for instance, as 'secretary who cleans up the academic mess' (1994:48). She suggests that while 'father' and 'manager' are perhaps the dominant alliance, such feminine positionings as

'mother' are also likely to 'go quite smoothly in management' in work organizations (1994:48). This is discussed below. However, as Game notes, to refuse the position of 'mother' is 'unsettling: for many men, and I suspect for some women' (1994:49). One effect then is that bodies that do not 'do "their" gender right', may be challenged or excluded. Alternatively, in other sites bodies performing gendered practices which were previously excluded may be drawn in and put to work in the construction of, what I've termed here, particular stations. It is the tensions and problematics that surround the drawing of the localising practices of the feminine into managerial stations in further and higher education, at a time of major reconstruction, which is the subject of this chapter.

Gendered work organizations - gendered locales and stations

Work organizations draw on and reproduce dominant ways of 'doing men' and 'doing women'. The dominance of men in management posts can be said to be an effect of the alliance between dominant ways of 'doing men' and imperialising knowledges, particularly scientific knowledges. Traditionally, what I've termed here managerial stations have been produced as masculine by what Cockburn (1991), drawing on Pateman's analysis (1988), describes as a 'fratriarchal compact' between men over women in work organizations.

Cockburn suggests that in detail this is accomplished through two strategies: women's work is partitioned off from, and awarded lower value than men's work, and where women achieve senior positions they supervise other women, or their executive management role is identified with the 'feminine' aspects of the organization's work, such as personnel management. One effect of this, as Coleman's study shows (1991), is that

women frequently experience themselves as being 'different' in their organizations from the prevailing male norm' (1991: 47).

But this is not necessarily the case, and, as I argue below, the reconstruction of public sector post-compulsory education has challenged some of the fratriarchal practices which conspire to produce the managerial station as masculine. I want to suggest that as new management knowledges and practices have been introduced, those which require more intensified and competitive responses, so the fratriarchal compact, articulated as it has been through a paternalistic masculinity (Collinson and Hearn, 1994), has been challenged. In part it has been replaced, as Whitehead argues in relation to further education, by a form of masculinity which emphasises competitive, instrumental and rationalistic knowledges and practices. However, I want to suggest that the practices and knowledges of the feminine locale, traditionally subordinate to the managerial station, have been drawn in in various sites both as a way of challenging the fratriarchal practices, and as a way of strengthening imperialising management knowledge and practices as they seek to construct stations. The argument here is that relations between localising and imperialising knowledges and practices are not necessarily antagonistic. As Fiske suggests, localised practices which enlarge workers' terrain of control in the work place may, at times, be complicit with corporate aims (1993:81). Thus the highly gendered practices and knowledges which have traditionally been drawn upon to resist dominant masculinities, may at different points and in different circumstances be drawn on to both challenge traditional managerial knowledges and practices and to increase the control and dispersal of managerial stations.

***Front-runners and 'people' persons - conflict, reconstruction
and women managers in FHE***

Drawing on empirical material from both the four universities and four colleges, I want to explore below what seems to be two particular issues in relations between gendered locales and dominant masculine stations. The first involves the re-positioning of women in highly masculinised social spaces as part of the distribution and dispersal of the managerial station. The second is the problematics and tensions that surround this position of 'woman' and 'manager'.

The first issue is highlighted by Yeatman (1995) in relation to higher education management when she argues that women's relative outsider positioning, their lack of loyalty to the 'established ways of doing things' means that they 'become highly valued managers for change in a new environment' (1995: 201). Thus the feminised dispositions that actual women bring may challenge the deeply embedded fratriarchal compact of masculine identities, relations and embodied practices which make up organizational sites. Yeatman suggests, drawing on her research on the 'femocrats' of the Australian public sector, and her experiences at Waikato University in New Zealand, that women are likely to be used by established male elites as 'front-runners' in attempts to change these organizations. To call attention to 'all the fustian, patriarchal inefficiencies of the old institutional culture' (1995: 200). Yeatman argues that in the contemporary managerialist, competitive, results-based environment, which is ascendant in contemporary further and higher education, opportunities are and have opened up for women to take up these change-agent positions in education management. Men, of course, are not simply defending their traditional privileges, but, as Yeatman

outlines, 'their fratriarchal loyalties [lead] them to deny how entrenched the sexual contract is in organizations' (1995:204).

It is this aspect of 'loyalty' which makes women attractive to elite men. For example, in two of the four universities in the sample women had been 'elevated' by new Vice-Chancellors to senior positions as directors of strategic planning offices (in one 1992 and one pre-1992 university). In both cases the appointee was a close colleague of the new vice-chancellor. This seeming 'elevation' of a close female colleague evoked both explicit and implicitly sexist criticism from some men members of staff. In 1992 University 'D', the vice-chancellor was ridiculed by some senior men in the University. The vice-chancellor's close relationship with the director of planning and one or two other women who had taken up senior posts was problematised. One long-serving senior member of staff suggested that the vice-chancellor was being 'hen-pecked'. The comment suggests that the Vice-Chancellor's masculinity was being compromised by the women he had positioned in senior posts. A number of respondents argued that these close relationships put these women beyond criticism and made them 'fire-proof', as one male finance director suggested. Both these criticisms suggest that the Vice-Chancellor might be said to have breached fratriarchal relations which would be suspicious of close work relations with women.

In pre-1992 University 'B' the fratriarchal problematising of the 'elevation' of a close female colleague to a senior post was projected onto the particular woman herself. It was her 'personality' which was identified as the problem for senior men service heads, and not, as I would suggest below the effect of her problematic positioning in a tense and highly masculinised environment.

At interview, the director of a major service department complained that 'we', meaning himself and his fellow service department heads, who were almost exclusively male,

lack[ed] any sensible input into academic planning which is done by a planning office which is autonomous and rather dictatorial (CP: dictatorial?).

In response to my query, the service head personalised, objectified and projected the new practices and knowledges of strategic planning, which the vice-chancellor had attempted to introduce at University 'B', onto the new female head of the planning office.

Yeah. It's headed by a person who is a very difficult personality to work with and sees no need to discuss things with people.

In this comment the service head constructs himself and his colleagues as liberal, open and constructive, attempting to work with a difficult 'personality'. However, in the process he denies any suggestion that the way he and his colleagues work might also be rigid and difficult.

The head of planning was the only woman in the 'vice-chancellor's group', and one of only two in the wider senior service post-holders group (the other woman was head of the University's personnel department). Relations among senior post-holders at University 'B', as the previous chapter highlighted, were tense and 'difficult', a state of affairs brought on by the Vice-Chancellor's reforms which had identified the University's central administration (that is its central service departments), particularly, as in need of restructuring. At the time of the interviews many of the University's service departments were being prepared for a compulsory competitive tendering process, where they would become contractors to the University, and pit themselves against external competition to provide services to the University rather than be part of it. The University's strategic planning office

was intimately involved in these reforms. It is unsurprising then that the senior service head's group was likely to have been a particularly difficult space for the head of planning, who was both a close confidant of the Vice-Chancellor and one of the architects of the 'reforms'. She also identified as a 'manager' rather than an administrator, had an academic, rather than an administrative background, and was a woman among the men of this group. The effect of the conflict between these different knowledges and practices, including the fratriarchal loyalties among the group, was that the group 'lacked any sensible input into planning', as the senior service above suggested. He said the one of the problems with 'planning' was that its head

doesn't like discussing, doesn't like 'talking shops' so I think that both myself and my financial colleagues have found this extremely difficult.

The discursive practices of 'discussing', as this thesis argues, are highly politicised. Discursive practices carry with them identities, relations and knowledges which position speakers in different ways. The locales identified by the service head in this quotation as 'talking shops' were clearly repetitions of particular identities, relations and expert knowledges which, I would argue, positioned the new female head of planning, who was from both an academic background but also read herself as a manager, as an outsider. She thus directly challenged in a number of ways knowledges and practices that reproduce sites such as the the service department head's group. While the new head of planning, as the previous chapter suggested, represented the new management practices, the gendered aspects give this tension between managerial and administrative identities further 'edge', and highlight the fratriarchal elements which are implicated in such gatherings as this University's senior service heads' group. Locating the tensions as an effect of the head of planning's 'personality' draws attention away from those

practices and knowledges that are the targets of reform. It also illustrates also how women are positioned in some institutions as 'front-runners' to challenge the embedded relations between entrenched academic and administrative knowledges and practices, and the fratriarchal compacts which support and reproduce them. Turning now to further education, the example of 'Big Sylvia' at College 'A' offers perhaps a 'successful' example of the way women have been drawn into senior posts in FHE to challenge and overturn not just traditional knowledges and practices, but the gendered knowledges and practices which support them.

In April 1996 college 'A' finalised a major restructuring programme. As noted above, thirty programme co-ordinator positions were created in this restructuring. The job descriptions for these posts made the post-holders responsible to six section managers. These managers were in turn contracted as responsible to the new curriculum director. Prior to this the previous 'structure' had contained 12 programme co-ordinators, responsible to one male curriculum director. One of the new section managers described the former group as riven with factions. 'As long as this continued to exist we would not be going forward', he said. The former curriculum director was understood as unable to co-ordinate this group and was said to spend meetings 'simply passing on what senior managers had been discussing'. A faction, in the terms used here, would be a locale. The identities, practices and knowledges of these factions or locales would likely preclude 'going forward', as the section manager suggested. 'Going forward' here means increasing efficiency and reducing costs.

'Big Sylvia', the new curriculum director, had a reputation as being keenly efficient, 'impatient with time-wasters', as she said herself, and in a similar way to the above, opposed to 'talking shops'. However at College 'A',

'Sylvia's' positioning as curriculum director, and the depth of the reorganization into a more hierarchical 'structure', meant she did not have to face or directly challenge these localising powers in the way that the director of planning at University 'B' was required to. According to 'Sylvia' the 'old FE management model' was 'all drawbridge and defences', and full of the 'games of the old FE'.

It was a complete waste of time, as it neglected the client and the strategic direction. In terms of the old FE we had four (senior post-holders at curriculum director 'level'), people all doing their own thing, four different styles. It was difficult to move things in any time-scale. It took three years to do anything and get it into action.

She suggested that one of the reasons why the new section managers worked well together (see section managers' meeting in previous chapter), was that they

understood that this was the new FE, and they were not about spending time defending the old FE. It has been agreed that the meetings (weekly section managers' meetings with the curriculum director) are about problem-solving, not whingeing.

Interestingly, when she was asked about the differences between her approach and that the three other curriculum heads (all men) whose jobs had been collapsed into one (her new job) at the April restructuring, she said the key difference was that she was a 'people person'.

First and foremost it's about increasing the confidence and self-esteem of people. I'm constantly working at valuing people, recognising people's different contributions and getting on well with the team. If you haven't got your people behind you, you are not going anywhere.

As is clear, the College's reorganization led to a significant change in personnel in senior posts. It shed a number of men from the middle manager positions and positioned a single woman, 'Sylvia', in place of this group. It also drew in four new section managers (two women and two men)

to form the new section managers' group of six which replaced the larger and more factional programme co-ordinators' group of 12. A more hierarchical pyramid replaced a matrix pattern, in other words. Also, the selection of the new section managers appears to have been on the grounds of their loyalty to the 'new FE'. Alongside this, of course, are the newly invigorated strategic planning and monitoring practices, discussed in Chapter 7, which 'Sylvia' was substantially responsible for dispersing across the College. It was clear from the interview with her that she was particularly engaged with these.

The taught hour plan allows two aspects of the job - curriculum and resources - to be given to staff. Staff know where they stand. In the old system there was a lot of slippage between available hours and total hours used. We wanted to make that part of the normal activities of programme co-ordinators and section managers. The aim is to get optimal performance, so that I can report to senior management team the difference between hours used and hours available. Obviously I'd like there to be no difference.

In sum, this shows that 'Sylvia' was deeply involved in dispersing and elaborating the managerial station across the Colleges. She and the section managers were effectively stationed by these practices and knowledges and the surveillance embedded in the senior management team's reporting process. Thus it would be a mistake to overplay the importance of the particular discursive practices of being a 'people person' which the curriculum director said she had brought to her work to her new post. However her identity as a 'people person' is clearly part of both significant restructuring and the newly intensified 'paper structure'. Compliance with the 'paper structure', was clearly enhanced by those discursive practices 'Sylvia' identified as including 'constantly valuing people' and 'increasing the confidence and self-esteem of people'. This was confirmed by the story 'M' told at the section managers' training event.

I find it very hard to say no to her; there are not many people that I find it hard to say no to, but she is one of them. Every time I go in (to her office to see her) with one thing, 'can you tell me about this?', I come out with four other things to do.

This story attributes assertiveness and strength of character to 'M' *and* greater assertiveness to 'Sylvia'. It also identifies 'her' as a tactically skilled 'manager' of people. It is here that the knowledges and practices of feminised locales, I want to argue, are being drawn into managing (at some cost, as discussed below). Of course, these practices are not simply attributable to women, but such practices are often highly prized elements in woman's locales (Ferguson, 1994). The ability to establish mutual, co-operative, broadly equalized relations, while at the same time being able to get people to 'come out with four other things to do', as 'M' noted, is illustrative of this. It is instructive here that at the section managers' meeting 'R', read 'Sylvia', not as a skilled tactical 'people person', a valued aspect of women's localising processes, but as a 'strong woman', that is as masculinised and able to hold her own with men.

Again, it would be a mistake to overplay the tactical discursive practices which 'Sylvia' drew upon, and which I would argue are drawn from feminised locales both inside and outside the College. The importance of these is interdependent with the restructured College, *and* the intensified 'paper structure'. This latter aspect shifts the emphasis away from the embodied 'manager' and embeds the 'manager' in the demands and requirements of for instance the spreadsheet technologies of 'taught-hour-plans' 'staff hour plan', budgets and audits¹. As 'Sylvia' herself noted, 'the taught-hour-plan allows two aspects of the job - curriculum and resources - to be given back to the staff'. What she leaves out is that when control over curriculum and resources is 'given', as she put it 'back to the staff', it comes

framed, embedded and largely locked into a raft of guides for action, prompts, and requirements, all of which are, to a large extent, monitored from the desk of the curriculum director or accountant. As Fiske suggests, the control may have been given back, but the knowledges and practices which constitute the 'staff' and the 'manager' to whom it is given back are very closely defined and controlled.

These examples of 'front-runners' or 'womanagers', as Ozga and Deem describe them (1996), are however exceptional and also in part made visible because they are set against a background of highly masculinised management in FHE (Whitehead, 1996b; Stott and Lawson, 1997; Morley, 1994). In order to give a sense of balance to the discussion here, I want now to return to discuss the masculinised character of the managerial station in FHE drawing on empirical material and also other sources.

Making managers in FHE - re-making men?

In relation to the 'doing' of 'men' in the context of managerial work in post-compulsory education institutions, I want to begin firstly by drawing on the following accounts from Michael Roper (1996) and Melanie Walker (forthcoming) which offer succinct elaboration of these issues. This is then followed by material from the higher education institutions in the sample.

In a recent paper (1996) Roper addresses the importance of masculinised physical performance to being identified as both 'man' and 'manager'. He uses empirical material from an ethnography of an Australian

¹ See Meadmore et al (1995) for an account of the interdependence of gendered practices and devolutionary practices in primary education management.

business school. In the following quotation Roper's informants are discussing the performance of one junior manager.

In seminars he was a joy to watch. He used to command attention by showing his body off. He would walk up to the window, sit on the ledge, back straight, chalk in hand, making these expansive gestures . . . Then he would pace up and down at the front of the room, stop, put his hands on his hips like this [Gestures] . . . Seeming to say all the time 'look at me, look at me'. (Roper, 1996:216)

Roper goes on to describe how the seductive and erotic aspects of this performance influenced the head of department and other senior departmental members. They began to mimic the junior manager's gestures and body postures, thus 'confessing unconsciously in the process to their seduction' (1996:217). Roper comments,

Paul's sexually nuanced displays certainly do seem to have influenced senior staff. This is suggested by a story which both my informants told me about a meeting they had attended. Paul himself was absent, but halfway through it the head of department rose from his chair and began pacing up and down the room, moving and gesticulating in precisely the manner that Paul usually did. Soon his senior colleague - responding to this vigorous display - also got up from his chair, and began imitating the head of department. (1996:217)

Roper suggests that unspoken economies of homosocial desire, known colloquially as 'male bonding', work to form Yeatman's 'fustian patriarchal fabric' of university management (1995). In the terms used here, such 'unspoken economies' are those localised masculine practices which support and produce the managerial stations, in this case. Roper's example also suggests that such stations are in the process of being reinvigorated by some of the new masculinised practices the junior manager 'Paul' has been, perhaps inadvertently, responsible for introducing.

A further example of this, but one which works in the opposite direction to re-buff the managerial station, is suggested by in the faculty dean's comments from University 'A'. He talked of how the close, long-term

relations between himself and his colleagues made it largely impossible for him to be an autocratic 'jack-boot Fuhrer' of a manager. This suggests that embedded in particular locales are relations between men which revolve around homosociability or the male camaraderie of being 'mates'. The masculinity here is woven with a strong egalitarian ethic between men which flattens overt institutional differences, such as being a dean or a manager, and enforces an ethic where members don't 'get above themselves'. What this suggests is that fratriarchal loyalties are part of a 'cocktail' of resistances to the construction of the managerial station.

Yet the effect of these 'unspoken economies' in establishing the dominance of men and particular masculinities in particular sites is that those who do not share such knowledges and practices are excluded. The new female director of planning at University 'B's' seeming refusal to join the 'talking shop' of the senior service department heads, in ways that would reproduce these locales, was just such an exclusion. Melanie Walker, as outlined in Chapter Four, has addressed this neatly in a recent paper (forthcoming). She suggests that while overt sexist practices have been removed, the exclusionary character of relations between senior male post-holders remains.

The dominance of men in management in organizations is not the 'natural' then, but an effect of the imperialising political and historical processes which inscribe managerial stations with masculinised practices and knowledges. Among these practices are also aggressive and authoritarian masculine practices. A Head of Department in University 'D' suggested in the case of that institution that the further 'up' the organization one went, the more aggressive and compliant the masculinity at work became.

The sort of brutalist approach gets more obvious at the top. What is very obvious is [that this is] a very *man-managed* institution.

CP: What do you mean by *man-managed*?

Well I mean whatever the pretense and actually whether we talk about men or women it is very much a traditional image of tough males running the place. (emphasis added)

'Man-management' seems to mean here that management in this organization relies heavily on a mix of what Collinson and Hearn (1994) describe as authoritarian and entrepreneurial masculinities. The head of department's comment suggests that masculinities at work among senior post-holders, particularly in relations between deans and the senior team, are based on aggressive and dictatorial relations overlaid with perhaps a concern for organization targets, performance levels and efficiency. This was confirmed by comments from other heads in the institution. For instance, a long-serving head of department suggested (also noted on pg. 297) that

[the Vice-Chancellor] is very rigid in his approach and extremely inflexible. The [deputy vice-chancellor] is a very difficult character to deal with. He will not allow conversation and unfortunately I don't even think he is aware of it. He makes very pejorative remarks and statements like 'You are all academic heads so I'll explain this to you twice'. You know, is that supposed to be funny?[The Vice-Chancellor's group] is very male dominated. They seem to be very task orientated people. Perhaps they are overworked, perhaps [the vice chancellor's group] is insufficient [in number] but I think there is a definite need to have a more human relations-orientated type of person in at that level and we also need to have a team of deans who are stronger than the current team we have now.

Men managers here can be said to exercise control through particular discursive practices. In contrast to 'Sylvia's' tactical discursive practices drawn from feminised locales (what this head of department might describe as a 'human relations-orientated type of person'), these include displays of inflexibility, unwillingness to listen, unwillingness to allow others to

talk, patronizing humour and derogatory remarks. All these serve to organize and reproduce managerial stations in this organization. This material from University 'D' confirms Whitehead's argument, for the 1992 universities, that authoritarian, aggressive and competitive masculinities are engaged in challenging modes which are more paternalistic, or 'soft' to use Trow (1994) and Ainley's (1994) terms. Yet in some institutions this challenge to the paternalistic masculinity may also come from the practices of the feminised locale, as in the follow example.

The following comment from a Pro Vice-Chancellor at University 'A', suggests that a paternalistic masculinity was at work at a senior level. This positions men as the bread-winners (academics in this case), women as housekeepers (administrators) and students as the 'children'. Yet in this case these relations and identities were being challenged. A Pro Vice-Chancellor in University 'A' said, for instance, in relation to senior administrators, that

we are trying to treat them (the service heads) as equals, but they are unequal. The service people provide services and are therefore subservient in that way. They are not initiators or developers of the institution. They may develop new systems of finance or academic registry, but they don't see themselves as leading the institution. The deans meanwhile, leading the schools, certainly do and should do because everyone else is dependent on them bringing in the students.

One vital piece of information left out of the foregoing statement is that all the deans at this institution are men and the service heads have among them a high profile group of women. One of these women had this to say about relations between these groups.

Two or three years ago the heads of service felt that they were on the periphery and were not being taken seriously. It is such a contrast that we are now just mainstream management. We are all affected by this and it has been quite a 'sea change' (CP: 'right, in whose eyes?'). I think both, you know, the heads of service now have much more confidence in themselves. If you feel inferior you tend to act in that way and I

think the deans recognize the importance now of the infrastructure.

Clearly there is some contradiction between this and the above comment from the male Pro Vice-Chancellor at the same university. The two comments reveal a struggle over positioning in ways of knowing the relations between university personnel. The first statement places academics, who are largely men, over service heads and service department workers, who are in this case women. This view reflects and reinforces assumptions about a traditional nuclear family which is 'close-to-the-surface' here. The second, competing way of knowing relations found in the service head's text draws on management discourse to challenge the traditional arrangement. The generalizing and equalizing aspects of management knowledge (highlighted here by the service head in the comment: 'We are now just mainstream management') are drawn upon to help re-position this group of women senior post-holders in an equal relation to the dominant group of male academic heads. This also attempts to re-write the assumptions of the paternalistic nuclear family narrative of the organization. The Pro Vice-Chancellor's comment on the other hand suggests that he is both struggling with and ultimately resistant to this re-writing. He begins his comments by firstly 'flagging-up' this equalizing aspect of management knowledge, for example 'We are trying to treat them as equal'. But then he quickly re-positions service heads as unequal by returning to the notion of the academics as the 'natural' leaders of the institution and ascribing to administration a subservient position.

The service heads were clear meanwhile that they were not just challenging the way management meetings were done, but the masculinised,

fratriarchal, practices in which meetings were embedded. A senior service head said for instance:

The deans are all men at the moment. The interesting thing is probably that [the differences between them] depends on their academic background. The dean of arts and the dean of the business school, which has the professional women's development unit in it, are the softies if you like. And then you've got sciences, you know, real hard tough and yet he (dean of science) is in fact very good with his staff. Er and then you have got the mixture in between. But yes I think one of the problems is that because they are all men there is a tendency for them to sort of [be] the boys together, the gang, and you know we should all drink Newcastle Brown and pints.

The social spaces in which these masculinities were reproduced (of 'being the boys together') were senior post-holder committee meetings. It is no surprise that these sites became the 'battle-field' between these differing gendered knowledges of the institution. Another service head describes how she saw these meetings:

It has to be said that deans dominate these meetings because they're the ones who are used to spouting off and they don't think twice about whether their point is valid. And once one has said something the other deans have got to say something . . . And heads of services tend to see that it is a game and think oh . . . I have got more important things to do back at base, you know.

Such comments reflect an, at times, overt conflict among senior post-holders over the way power relations are exercised across the institution. To some extent the arrival of a woman Pro Vice-Chancellor to the University in the late 1980s helped to clarify the gendered character of this conflict. A service head offered some background to this:

We have a woman Pro Vice-Chancellor who has an academic background. I work very very closely with her and we just have different ways of doing things. I think until she came [here] I hadn't realized just how uncomfortable I felt about some of the

ways the committees worked and hadn't really had an opportunity to look at other ways of working because there was nobody else to work with in that way . . . She has a very open way of chairing meetings and a very different kind of way. The first meeting she had she ordered sticky buns and things like that, you know ha ha, like people were just taken aback, didn't know what to do with it. It is sort of a very disarming kind of role a kind of um um leadership style which she has which is very interesting. It's very interesting seeing it work, much more relaxed and informal and yet still getting the work done.²

Here the service head is referring to how the normalized hierarchical formality of organizational practices was challenged to some extent by the Pro Vice-Chancellor's more open informal ways of operating. These more informal ways of operating allowed the service head to be more 'herself' as a woman in these settings and to experience how the previous practices operated to position her as subordinate. These helped to define and reinforce paternalistic managerial relations. In effect the University's traditional meeting practices [as Walker (forthcoming) suggests is the case in South African universities] positioned the service head as different. Yet the open, informal and deconstructing practices of the new Pro Vice-Chancellor served to open up this space for some reflection, and later challenge.

University management: Is it really men's work?

In the UK at the time of writing all but five of the 115 vice-chancellors (VC) were men . Those with women VCs were Bournemouth, Teeside, Staffordshire, Manchester Metropolitan and Keele Universities. Perhaps as an indicator of some change, three of these women have been appointed in the last three years (see Williams, 1995) and four of the five to 1992 university vice-chancellorships. Heward and Taylor suggest that the rise of

² The quotation is used above on Pg. 136 in the discussion of locales and stations.

women to senior post in these institutions is due to their conforming to early local authority equal opportunities policies (1992). Yet more suggestive of this trend, however, is the argument here that it is the suffusion of a managerial station in public sector higher education that has opened up space for women. In this vein, Brian Booth, vice-chancellor of the University of Central Lancashire (formerly Lancashire Polytechnic) noted in 1993 that :

The style of management in the former polytechnics has changed radically over the past three years through specification, via the articles of government, of the responsibilities placed on the head of the institution. The delegation of these responsibilities through clear line management structures and, in some institutions, the use of permanent rather than rotating posts at middle and senior management levels, has enabled significant career development for both women and men, in particular for women, who do not seem to get elected or nominated to rotating posts. (Booth, 1992)

Alongside this also is the development of women networks aimed at supporting women engaged in taking up senior posts. As King (1997) and Powney (1997) outline, these networks are not simply involving in helping women to 'get on' in institutions but to create different patterns in the way these organizations are articulated and practised. The assertion here is that the UK's 1992 institutions include groups of women engaged in challenging traditional masculine, particularly paternalistic, dispositions which are engaged in organizing and managing. Of course it is also possible to find men who are challenging these taken-for-granted dispositions as well. But I would argue that given the strength of the fratriarchal knowledges and practices, it is *around* these groups of women in post 1992 universities that the challenges and patterns are being worked out (King et al, 1993; King, 1997; Farish et al, 1995).

Women's Challenge to Management Masculinities

Above the discussion noted how the more open and informal approach to chairing meetings brought by the arrival of a new Pro Vice-Chancellor at University 'A' helped to create the conditions for a challenge to the discursive practices surrounding the running of university committee meetings. These practices, it can be suggested, both excluded women and supported dominant masculinities. Part of the challenge to these practices was through the 'new' management discourse of teams or 'team ideology' (Sinclair, 1992). However, this came not from a coalition of men and women senior post-holders but from a group of women who numbered just five among the senior tier of twenty seven deans, heads of services and executives at University 'A'. In early 1993 this group made a formal challenge to existing meeting practices. They proposed that committees in the university be replaced with task groups and special project teams. It was argued that these would be both more effective and more flexible ways of working at senior levels. They suggested that on a trial basis all regular committee meetings should be cancelled in the autumn term in favour of working groups and special project teams.

While this particular proposal was rejected by other members of the senior staff tier, since then the practice of questioning the existence of committee has become embedded at senior level. The new Vice-Chancellor said in a published account that

it was always interesting to hear what was said when the question was put as to whether the committee should continue.

But at the time one of the proposers of this trial project-team programme related: 'It was just thrown out. [They said they] "couldn't possibly entertain that suggestion".' The woman service head said:

Interestingly, those who chaired the senior committees were totally against it. There was actually no way that they were going to allow that. You know 'what would we do? We would have half a week not in committees, oh dear me'.

CP: There is a temptation to suggest that men have got their identities very much tied into the committee structures. The 'chairman' and that kind of thing, whereas the women in the institution are happier working in a looser more informal way. Is that a fair, or is that too. . ?

SH: My experience is that men use committees more to make statements about their own power and their own power base and to make statements about themselves whereas I think women actually want to make (pause), you know perhaps we are just naive, I don't know. We (the women) tend to go there thinking this is the agenda, this is what we are going to talk about. I think often the senior management here have other agendas and they are trying to prove other things to other people and that is one of the problems with meetings. They don't actually talk about (pause) some of the agenda items just get side-tracked because somebody has got a personal agenda for that day and they are determined that whatever the meeting is about they are going to make their point about something and so lots of it is used very much as a power base.

It is clear from this that the women service heads could be said to be challenging not simply the meeting practices, but the masculine identities and relations which underwrote these. Ian McNay, now professor of post-compulsory education management at the University of Greenwich, drew attention to this, though not directly, in his account of events at University 'A'. He had been contracted to provide 'management training' for senior staff at this university at the time of these events. He notes³

3 Drawing on Weick's understanding of educational institutions as 'loosely coupled systems' (1976), McNay suggests that universities can be described as: a 'collegium', 'bureaucracy', 'enterprise' or 'corporation' depending on the extent of

In one former polytechnic with which I have worked a (female) pro vice-chancellor (PVC) described how a group of women set out to colonize the committee system believing the institution to be in quadrant B (bureaucratic); they found, when they succeeded, that like a mirage, power was still beyond them - in the senior management team in quadrant C (corporate). Decisions were effectively taken outside the formal arenas which simply endorsed them. One PVC (male) acknowledged this. He countered by claiming that the collegial democracy had been delegated to departmental level, but 'the heads of department couldn't manage democracy so there were two levels of corporate state, the greater and the lesser' (McNay, 1995:110)

McNay hints at the gendered aspects of the changing managerial relations and identities, but, like many others engaged in the management development 'market', seems unable or unwilling to address this directly (Middlehurst, 1993; Warner and Palfreyman, 1995). Yet in the reading provided here, the above example illustrates that changing the managerial identities and relations is likely to also require challenging the gendered character of these relations. In this case the women, who to some extent drew on a feminist reading of this organization, together with a set of alternative meeting practices, were able to present their proposals by drawing on management knowledge. By putting the imperialising discourse of management to work they sought to challenge one of the organization's control mechanisms (committee meetings) which reproduce particular gendered relations. If established in place of committee meetings, the suggested 'informal task groups' and 'special project teams' would have challenged the overlap between masculinities and management, to some extent. For instance, the dominance of male chairs would likely have been challenged. The committee meeting practices which allow academic men to speak more, and draw on off-agenda subjects (which work to maintain the link between masculine identities and control) would likely have been challenged. In other words, the body topography of the committee meeting

control over 'policy definition' and 'implementation' of policies. This produces a two-by-two 'box' where each organizational type forms a quadrant.

would be challenged by a new more informalised regime of relations between male and female bodies. In a related but perhaps more elaborate way, similar tensions are at work in reconstruction of further education. It is to this that I now turn.

Further Education management : Is it men's work too?

Chapter 7 above outlined how both further and higher education have been engaged in a broad reconstruction principally through the suffusion of what has been termed here managerial stations. This station is centred on new funding, planning and audit methods which articulate State pressures to 'do more for less'. This suffusion has the effect of positioning senior post-holders in colleges as responsible for the problematic processes of increasing the level of education activity while funds to support such increases have been progressively reduced. One response to this is that the gendered character of FE colleges has shifted from an environment marked by 'gentlemanly paternalism' (Whitehead, 1997b) to one punctuated by an aggressive, competitive masculinity. Whitehead argues that further education management 'has become a more masculinised work environment', (1996b:165; Kerfoot and Whitehead, 1995; Whitehead, 1997a, 1997b, 1996a) where the positioning of men as 'managers' in a more insecure and competitive work environment reinforces and validates men's sense of having to know themselves and become more competitive and instrumental 'men'. Whitehead also suggests that this more insecure and competitive work culture in further education also requires women to construct themselves in a masculinized fashion (1997b). Yet this, as Whitehead suggests, is likely to be variably problematic for those involved

(Upton, 1995). For instance, Ruth Gee, former head of the Association for Colleges, noted in an account of her previous four years as a principal how initially the 'feeling of liberation at being at the top was real and exhilarating' (1994:133). However later in the account she notes that she

often underestimated the subtleties of being a woman in a man's world. In a small and sometimes small minded community these can lose their subtlety. (1994:140)

Below I want to briefly discuss some of the problematics involved in the positionings of 'women-manager' in further education. In relation to Whitehead's work (1997a), the examples seek to complement and extend his analysis. It seeks to show how, alongside this apparent re-masculinisation, there is an equally present and interdependent process that could be read as the possible feminisation of management in further education. This takes a number of forms. Firstly the number of women principals has increased significantly in recent years.

In 1990 Department for Education figures reported just 13 women FE college principals compared with 394 men principals (Department for Education, 1994). By 1995, however, there were 63 women FE college principals (Ward, 1995) in a sector of 452 colleges - one in seven headed by a women (Stott and Lawson, 1997; Utley, 1994a,1994b; Ward, 1995). The dramatic shedding of principals through early retirement since 1993 - more than a third of principals - has opened up posts for women. Figures published by the FEFC in 1996 noted that one-fifth of principal-ships were going to women candidates (Ward, 1996).

However, it is at so-called 'junior' levels in colleges that the reconstruction of colleges in ways that link the challenges of managerial knowledges and practices with the gendered knowledges and practices could

be said to be most strikingly under way. Survey material from the Further Education Development Unit's recent large-scale management training needs survey highlights these changes. This survey (Brownlow, 1997) sampled more than 3000 'managers' in 250 of the 452 FE colleges in England and Wales.

The survey shows that women have taken up a significant number of the new management posts in colleges. Mick Fletcher, FEDA's head of training, in commenting on the FEDA survey, said it showed that

women are more heavily represented than men, in younger age groups and levels of management, and [are] more recent recruits to management posts. (1997, personal correspondence).

The survey shows that while men continue to hold disproportionately more of the 'very' senior post in colleges in the sample, women outnumber men in 'junior' or as the survey notes '4th-tier' management posts - particularly 'programme manager' positions (371 women compared to 348 men in the survey). Here significant amounts of teaching are mixed with managerial work. A breakdown of the figures in terms of years in management, shows that women significantly outnumber those recruited to management posts in the last four years since incorporation on April 1, 1993 (554 women compared with 410 men)⁴. This reconstruction, I want to argue, is far from a coincidence. It provides a rich and elaborate example of the complex interdependence of connections between the knowledges and

⁴ Of course these figures can only be treated as guides and relate simply to those respondents who completed questionnaires. Nevertheless, as Mr Fletcher noted, the size of the college sample and the rate of response alongside 'more impressionistic evidence about what is happening in FE, gives one confidence that it is not too different' (1997, personal correspondence). The Further Education Funding Council collects figures for its staff information record which could illuminate this trend; however the width of the categories employed in this record, and the lack of up-to-date figures (1994 are the most recent published figures) means that these do not allow analysis of the number of women positioned as 'managers' across the sector in recent years. Similarly Murray's survey of a sample of colleges in 1993 is unable to address the changes taking place since incorporation (Murray, 1997).

practices of gender and the managerialisation of the public sector generally (Newman, 1994; Itzin and Newman, 1995) and public sector post-compulsory education specifically (Morley and Walsh, 1996; Deem and Ozga, 1996, Prichard, 1996).

Of course as Chapter seven showed it is at this post of 'programme manager' (where more women are now positioned) that the new demands on the sector are being translated, articulated and experienced. In particular, it is at this interface where the new disciplines of the Further Education Funding Council in terms of funding, planning and auditing are engaged in attempting to 'reach in' and reconstruct the teaching and learning spaces of FE colleges. Thus it is at this interface that the complex patterns of embedded, localised practices and knowledges are being progressively challenged by the commodifying, standardising, intensifying and deskilling processes that are potential outcomes of new top-down knowledges and practices. It is at this interface that the prolonged conflict over the new lecturers' contracts has also been most keenly felt. Thus the 'feminization' of 'management' posts, significantly at 'junior' levels in FE, has a number of dynamic and elaborate characteristics. The following extracts from interviews with women in such positions highlight some of these characteristics. These texts elaborate something of how the problematic positioning of 'women-manager', at the interface between the top-down practices and the locales of colleges, is articulated and thus experienced. In terms that mirror Ruth Gee's remarks above, a woman Head of School from College 'C' made the following comments.

It really is more exciting now than it use to be because there is more chance of innovation and enterprise, whereas before, funded by the LEA, they just sort of went along. . . . I feel it is

more exciting being a manager than it was three years ago. I don't think I could go back to teaching to be quite honest.

Here the Head of School draws on the ever-present discourses of enterprise and innovation (du Gay, 1994) to articulate her new relations to the college and herself. Yet the section manager also highlights how this development of the 'manager' also involves problematising relations and identities embedded in the deeply feminised locales of colleges. What appears to occur is that 'she' is required to take up more masculinised relations and identities, as 'she' is stationed by managerial knowledges and practice. This is articulated below in the shift from 'mothering' the staff, to 'giving them the ability to think for themselves'. Being stationed as a manager induced her to re-write what might be heard as previously intimate and locally negotiated relations, as unhealthy dependency and the 'mothering' of teaching staff.

I can remember going through with the change of contracts . . . I was anti, and lots of the staff were as well. It was fine if I was in control of the management of my staff. It [was] open ended if you like. I felt that was fine as long as I could negotiate with my staff what we were going to do, that was OK. But I always felt that that could come from above; that they would put constraints on me; that I would have to say to my staff, 'look I'm sorry I can't do that'. So I argued against the contracts to start off with and it was put to me quite firmly [that I should change my view]. . . . but then you appreciate the need to do this. I guess the explanation of it wasn't clear enough at the beginning. I tried to not take it back to the school. I didn't want them to be anti, because they were extremely co-operative and supportive, very caring, too caring to the students, because we were in an annexe. Because it was predominantly female it was [a] very very secure environment. I tended to coax them along. I didn't want them to feel that it wasn't anything against the college. I did keep a lot from them and try and protect them if you like and that wasn't good for them, because they saw me then as the one to come to at all times. So I didn't give them the ability to think for themselves, if you like, which is what I should have done, um it wasn't good for them and it wasn't good for me. We had an excellent inspection report and the inspector said, what a very nice environment it was, how caring everybody was, and I never wanted to take that away. Inevitably the times have changed and they had to move on, and they are. I think

they had a bad year last year. I wasn't there for them to knock on the door because the person that took over gave them the responsibility themselves. And of course I realised then that I had not given them the space and had probably mothered them too much. I feel that to a certain extent that was right at first; they needed protecting.

This suggests that prior to the change of contracts, teaching duties, hours and responsibilities were locally negotiated and subject to the localised conditions of a highly feminised locale ('an annexe' - separate geographically from the main college buildings). Repositioned as a manager, and told 'very forcibly' to change her position on the top-down contractual processes⁵, required the Head of School to reconstitute these complex and supportive relations of the locale (the annexe).

Meanwhile, as this Head of School attempted to 'uncurl' her identity from that of 'mother', other women senior post-holders *drew* on this positioning in attempts to finesse a path between top-down pressures and localised identities and practices. 'M', the section manager, discussed in Chapter seven drew on and half-heartedly rejected what Game has referred to as the 'comfortable feminine position' of 'mother'(1994:49). One reading of this is that as more women are positioned as 'first-line' managers some of the traditional heterosexual nuclear family positionings in colleges are being reinforced. As the reader may recall (pg. 326) at 'M's' meeting with the programme managers in the section,

one of the programme co-ordinators asked for something else and she quipped back:" I'm not your mum!'. 'Yes you are' came the chorused laughing reply from the group. 'I don't want to be your mum; they don't pay me enough', M replied smiling.

This shows how the shifting back and forward between the positionings of 'woman/mother' and 'manager' works to reproduce the managerial station. However, this relies on a certain ambivalence. The

'woman-manager' is drawing on the practices of the locale to appease the requirements of top-down managerial practices. Other research with women-managers in further education colleges by Deem and Ozga (1997) suggests, as the above examples demonstrate, that while the knowledges and practices of the feminised locale are drawn into the construction of the managerial station, they like the paternalistic masculinities before them quickly become expedient and productive aspects in the construction of particular historical constructions of the 'manager' in this sector.

Summary and Conclusion

The above has sought to address the implications and problematics of the changing gendered identities and relations which is interdependent with the construction of the manager in further and higher education in the UK. The material drawn from the eight sample institutions (four higher education and four further education) suggests that in a number of instances women, because of their previous 'outsider' positioning, have been drawn into 'management' in part to challenge the existing gender order of these institutions which is interdependent with traditional academic and administrative identities. Furthermore, it also suggests that in those institutions with entrenched paternalistic relations between men and women at senior levels, where women have actively articulated themselves as managers of both administrative or academic services, then they, with the active and often close support of 'very' senior male post-holders, have been repositioned and engaged in challenging established academic and administrative locales. This is not an unproblematic process. As some of the

5 In this case by a college principal with a reputation for an aggressive, competitive and macho approach to staffing issues.

latter comments suggest, and recent research in this sector supports (Deem and Ozga, 1997), previous alliances with other women in professional locales frequently become strained and in some cases undermined as the practices of such locales are drawn upon and put to work in the construction of what I have termed here, the managerial station.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

This chapter concludes the discussion. It firstly provides an overview of the conceptual framework put to work in this study and then draws out a number of key points from the discussion above. It discusses these in the context of possible futures for further and higher education, and then suggests on the basis of this some directions for further research work.

Key points

I began the thesis with the aim of specifically addressing *the nature of the problematics surrounding the formation of the manager* in UK FHE. This involved questions of how and to what extent managerial knowledges have suffused the terrain of further and higher education in the UK. Following on from the discussion in chapters one to three, which illustrated the move to a postdualist or poststructural conception of knowledge, I turned to a conceptual framework substantively developed by John Fiske (1993), in order to explore the development of the 'manager' in the sector. The key conceptual notion at the core of the thesis is **discursive practice or knowledge practice**. I have argued that such practices and knowledges are actively engaged in 'materialising' social relations, social identities and are reproductive of broad social alliances. However discursive practices are not, as some poststructuralist writers are prone to suggest, simply multiple and contradictory. They have encoded within them and are broadly reproductive of variably dominant and subordinated social, political and economic alliances. It is this distinction between forms of discursive practice which forms the second key conceptual element of the thesis. In order to

signal this difference, and following the lead of post-marxist scholars (Hall, 1980; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), I have taken up Fiske's distinction between localising and imperialising discursive practices. As noted above, imperialising discursive practices are productive of what Fiske, drawing on Gramsci's work, terms the 'power bloc', while localising discursive practice are productive of what Fiske terms 'the people'. However in order to articulate these distinctions in a way which allows empirical material to be addressed I have further borrowed Fiske's concepts of 'station' and 'locale'. These can be understood as differing ways in which particular sites are thought about, talked about and enacted via imperialising or localising forms of knowledge. However in order to explore aspects of embodiment left undeveloped by Fiske, I have suggested that it is important to address 'station' and 'locale' through a further pair of concepts, 'surface' and 'depth' (which as I note in Chapter two is linked to the problematic of limited sensory reversibility).

This then is the conceptual framework I have used as the basis for reading the empirical material generated by interview, observation and secondary sources. So that the reader can easily grasp this framework, I have provided a summary of the framework below (see also Appendix 3 figure 2). So as to give the reader a grasp of how this is put to work in reading the material from further and higher education, I have also inserted below a brief description of how a university or college department might be constituted drawing on, on the one hand, the imperialising management knowledge practices, and on the other, localised professionalised knowledge practices. It is worth noting here however that such a conceptual framework is not engaged in mapping an actual reality. The framework is simply a way

of ordering and organizing research materials and relies on these to bring this framework to 'life'. No claim to the contrary has been made.

**Imperialising
discursive/knowledge
practices** of the '**power
bloc**' produce '**stations**'
(with verbal, physical,
spatial surfaces and
affective depth)

**Localising
discursive/knowledge
practices** of the '**people**'
produce '**locales**' (with verbal,
physical and spatial surfaces,
and affective depth)

College or university department or section as:

Managerial STATION

Professionalised LOCALE

*Managed by manager
Customer-focused
Quality-Assured
Corporately Orientated
Strategically-Focused*

*Administered by elected chair
Student-focused
Peer Reviewed
Professionally Orientated
Tactically-focused*

Through this framework, the 'evidence' assembled and presented in the discussion in chapters six to nine suggests that managerial knowledge practices have been relatively successful in reordering *some* of the multiplicity of spaces which make up contemporary universities and colleges in the UK. Yet the character of this is mediated by localised practices and knowledges. I have argued also that these knowledge practices have been relatively successful in stationing senior post-holders as managers. Of course it is possible to refute this. The registrar's comments at University 'C' (pages 347-348) suggest that this repositioning is, even at the most senior level in universities, a partial and problematic one. Similarly the cases of the 'Code for Management' at University 'D' and the 'management training events' at College A (pages 367-399) highlight how in post-1992 universities and further education colleges these knowledge practices are readily

challenged and undermined when space and conditions are available. Of course the relative durability of these forms of resistance is highly variable. The managerial station is thus constantly 'under threat' from the incursions of other knowledge practices which carry with them different identities and relations. Yet as the discussion in chapter 8 highlights the managerial station is threatened in part because in many sites it is the reproduction of these 'other' identities and relations which have a crucial bearing on the relative success of the 'unit of activity' the senior post-holder is constructed as responsible for. Improved performance paradoxically relies to varying degrees on the knowledge and practices of the subordinated professional locales.

Using a conceptual framework strongly influenced by poststructuralist thought I have argued that as a result a 'state of hostilities' has tended to exist in this education sector (during the period of the study) between the ascendant managerial knowledge practices and those embedded and variably subordinated, but not erased, academic and administrative knowledge practices. This 'state of hostilities' takes on a number of forms given, as I have suggested, that knowledge practices are, mobile and constantly in the processes of colonising and constructing spaces, surfaces and depths (particularly the affective, sensuous and emotional 'depth' of human bodies). When one set of knowledge practices meets others there may be brief moments of tension before one is displaced. What appears to happen is that those displaced knowledge practices 'appear' elsewhere and re-inscribe other spaces. The account of the various meetings at the end of chapters seven and eight highlight how knowledge practices of the locale produced 'management training events' which were significantly at odds with power bloc constructions of such events. However in other spaces, the

section meeting between the section manager and the programme co-ordinators for instance, the managerial station is reproduced. Thus any answer to the question of the extent of the suffusion of the managerial station, must consider the variably ambivalent, but also tactical, nature of relations between these competing knowledge practices.

At the core of this of course is the demonstrated point that at a more micro level, this 'state of hostilities' between competing knowledge practices is embedded in the details of the work of senior post-holders themselves. The reader may remember for instance the Dean who turned the offices around his own into a student 'freeway' to alleviate the individuating isolation of the body topography of the managerial station. Or, there is the Head of Department who maintains a side desk where the body topography of his subject specialism can be reproduced.

Yet, as the last chapter has suggested, rather than being subordinated and displaced *some* knowledge practices have been drawn in and productively put to work to both appease top down pressures and to reproduce the managerial station. The women principal of highly successful College 'B', for example (see page 290), whose 'style of management' was praised in the College's FEFC's inspection report, said she had

done a lot to try and involve managers as much as possible. I tell them I want to share my problems with them. My excuse is that I want to share my problems. We've encouraged managers to think corporately.

Here the micro practices of a locale, a feminine locale based around the practices of 'sharing my problems', are drawn upon to make up and reproduce the managerial station - one which identifies with the college's corporate identity. Of course there are other aspects of the college's circumstances which make up this principal's 'management style', but in such a relatively small institution (between a quarter and a half the size of a small

university) these micro-practices appear to have a significant contributory effect on the suffusion of managerial knowledge and practices. These compare favourably for instance with the stories told of the senior management team at College 'C' who were described as harsh, bullying and authoritarian, as the principal himself admitted (see page 290-291).

Conventionally the final 'Conclusion' chapter of a thesis assesses the weight of evidence for and against a particular hypothesis which is being advanced. This thesis given its differing epistemological commitments and ontological priorities does not address the problem of the formation of the manager in this way. Its aim has been to develop a qualitatively rich discursive form of analysis of a particular issue. However, I should like to make a series of concluding points which I hope sum up the argument presented here.

- At a conceptual 'level', I consider that the study demonstrates the importance for studies of management and organizational work to reject strong epistemological commitments to *division* between 'objects' e.g. managers- professionals, men-women, self-other, and to focus instead on an epistemology of multiple and competing discursive practices which have the effect of attempting to 'holding' these 'objects' in place, and subordinate others.
- At an empirical level I consider that the 'evidence' presented demonstrates that the 'hold' that managerial discursive practices might be said to have on senior post-holders is unstable rather than inevitable (as implied by Parker and Jary (1995) for instance). This 'hold' can be said in the approach taken here to be the result of the repeated inscription of managerial identities by the knowledge practices of the managerial station. These practices produce managerial identities through the mimetic effects of positioning particular bodies in relations of difference between various norms and accounts of performance. Thus the extent of the suffusion of managerial practices is an effect of the relative salience of these relations of difference in particular institutional settings.
- Lastly, at a political level, I consider the study demonstrates the importance, with regard to challenging managerial relations and identities, that this challenge be articulated not at 'the people' themselves, but at the discursive practices that constitute managerial identities and relations and which inscribe particular spaces, surfaces and depths.

Possible managerial futures

Given these points it is important to ask what possible futures might be available regarding the 'manager' in further and higher education. As chapter six argues it is possible to see the development of the manager in further and higher education simply in terms of a response to changing funding conditions and mechanisms. At the time of writing however the financial conditions for further and higher education institutions continued to worsen (Utley, 1997). This will inevitably intensify the problematics for senior post-holders, positioned between institutional demands for increased performance and departmental constraints. Calls for better and more effective management of resources continue to be made (Dearing Inquiry, 1997), but there is wide agreement that more resources are required to 'square the circle'. Yet nationally at the time of writing higher education appears to be losing out. A significant proportion of funds from compulsory student fees which are due to be charged from 1998-9 is likely to be diverted to further education and possibly other Government educational priorities. Meanwhile, the Government has blocked the threat from elite institutions to charge top-up fees by outlawing this in its first higher education bill. Cumulatively this suggests that the 'pressure' on senior post-holders to 'square the circle' institutionally is likely to continue to intensify. This is likely to lead, I would suggest, to variably uncomfortable or destructive relations within services and departments [painful redundancy and re-organizations, following various attempts to intensify efforts e.g. increased casualisation (Court, 1997)]. This will inevitably have the effect of further isolating senior post-holders from the identities and practices of their colleagues and

paradoxical solidify the identities produced by the managerial station. Of course this is locally conditioned by differing circumstances. So perhaps one somewhat pessimistic possible future would be the increasing distance and difference between those stationed as academic and service managers, and academics and administrative staff.

Further research

Given these points, I should like suggest a number of possible directions for future research in this field. As noted at the beginning of the last chapter, further research needs to be done to address relations between other axes of difference (race, ethnicity, sexuality, ability/disability, age) and the construction of the managerial station. I have I think demonstrated the importance of the interdependence of gender practices and the development of managers but in my view I have left a 'roaring silence' with the omission of accounts of other axes in the construction of the managerial station.

Secondly, I consider that in many ways I have been studying traditional academic and administrative sites. Funding pressures are likely to intensify the relative fragmentation and dispersal of further and higher education itself. Using the conceptual framework advanced above, future research might be directed at considering the tensions and problematics of the dispersal of managerial knowledges and practices and the construction of new organizational forms.

The deputy Vice-Chancellor at University 'A' highlighted this in an early interview for this study.

If I was looking five years hence I would not expect those schools to exist. I would expect to have maybe broken them up into something like thirty school units smaller units without

another superstructure. In other words not breaking the schools into units and retaining the schools but actually breaking them down into much smaller self managing units. One of the things that will happen to us is that we will move from the degree of specialist management structure that we have now, specialist financial advice, specialist personnel advice and so on to embedding much more of that in operational small units with shared responsibilities.

Thus the study might require exploration of how the further dispersal of the managerial station dispenses with the relatively expensive embodied manager altogether. Similarly if life-long learning requires the broad dispersal and fragmentation of the university and the college, and by extension the embodied managers of these organizational sites, then it is the tensions and problematics that surround the construction of managerial identities in non-traditional spaces, surfaces and depth which could be addressed. Substantively, this might involve an exploration of, for instance, the controversial franchising arrangements in further education. In higher education meanwhile computer-based distance learning activities or research programmes might be considered. These may be sites where the development of new organizational forms demand that the discursive practices of managing be not simply reproduced but reconstructed.

Appendix 1

Interview Questions:

1. Can you tell me something about your current experience of work in this university/college
2. Can you briefly outline the work you have done previous to your current work
3. Looking back say over the last five years or so do you feel that what you do, or your experience of work, has changed?
4. How has it changed?
5. For what reasons has it changed
6. What have been the consequences for you and others at work here?
7. Looking forward, say five years, do you anticipate what you do changing in anyways? If so how?
8. Why?
9. What are the consequences? For whom?
10. What expectations are there of you in this work? Does the university/college communicate an ideal person for the role that you carry out?
11. On what occasions do you (and others) get the chance to talk about your work?
12. Do you have responsibility for over budgets, recruitment, timetabling etc.?

Appendix 2.

Examples of 'local management' and 'management spine' contracts.

A. University 'D' Duties and Responsibilities - Dean 1993/4

General Responsibilities

- To ensure the corporate aims and objectives of the University are met through contributing to the formulation of and implementation of policies
- - the achievement and maintenance of the highest possible quality of delivery within the resources available
- - the effective and efficient use of resources
- - effective liaison and co-operation with other managers

Responsible to the Vice-Chancellor for

- Leadership, management and development of the Faculty in line with the University's purposes, policies and plans
- -preparation and implementation of the Faculty Plan consistent with the Mission Statement, the Corporate Plan and the Strategic Plan
- - ensuring the quality of the design, implementation and review of the Faculty's academic programme within the allocated resource package
- - ensuring the delivery of the curriculum and the development of appropriate teaching and learning strategies, having particular regard to the student experience
- - ensuring the effective and efficient administration of the Faculty's academic programme within the allocated resource package, in particular ensuring appropriate arrangements are made for the enrolment, assessment and examination of students
- - ensuring good communications with students and ensuring matters raised by students are appropriately dealt with
- - development and enhancement of appropriate research and income generating activities
- - promoting external relations-promoting a supportive environment for all the activities of the Faculty
- Liaison with other Deans and with other managers to ensure:
- - effective oversight of the development and operation of courses and the delivery of the curriculum in Associate, Licensed and other partner colleges
- -development of initiatives which span faculty and/or service boundaries
- - effective co-operation and relationships with other faculties and with services
- Management of all staff in the Faculty and related personnel matters
- -ensuring an appropriate programme of staff development for the Faculty
- - ensuring staff appraisal is carried out for all staff in the Faculty
- Allocation of and accountability for all budgets for the Faculty and for effective and efficient management and use of all resources allocated to the Faculty.

- Production of reports on appropriate matters to the Academic Board
- Production of management reports as required
- *Other activities as determined by the Vice-Chancellor*

Line Management Responsibilities

- In line with the University's purposes, policies and plans, the leadership, management and development of
- Departments in the Faculty
- Any Faculty based Centres
- Faculty Office
- Any Faculty based activities not within Departments or Centre.

B. University 'D' Duties and Responsibilities - Head of Department -1993/4

General Responsibilities

- To ensure the corporate aims and objectives of the University are met through contributing to the formulation of and implementation of policies
- - the achievement and maintenance of the highest possible quality of delivery within the resources available
- - the effective and efficient use of resources
- - effective liaison and co-operation with other managers

Responsible to the Dean of Faculty for:

- Pursuit of the aims and objectives of the Faculty and the implementation of the Faculty Plan
- Academic leadership of the Department
- Effective management, development and appraisal of staff allocated to the Department
- Ensuring the quality of the design, implementation and review of the Department's academic programme within the allocated resource package
- Ensuring the delivery of the curriculum and the development of appropriate teaching, learning and assessment strategies, having particular regard to the student experience
- Ensuring the effective and efficient administration of the Department's academic programme within the allocated resource package, in particular ensuring appropriate arrangements are made for the enrolment, assessment and examination of students
- Ensuring good communications with students and ensuring matters raised by students are appropriately dealt with
- Development and enhancement of appropriate research and income generation activities
- Promoting a supportive environment for all the activities of the Department
- Effective co-operation and relationships with other departments, centres and services
- Production of reports as required by the Dean
- Faculty-wide activities as required by the Dean

- Other activities as required by the Dean
- Other Activities as determined by the Vice-Chancellor

Line Management Responsibilities

- In line with the University's purposes, policies and plans, the leadership, management and development of
- Department
- Any Centre assigned to the Department

C. College 'A' Section Managers Duties and Responsibilities - February 1996

1. To contribute to the strategic planning process and to respond to the declared objectives in the Strategic Plan of the College

2. To develop, implement and monitor a section Business Plan which is flexible and responsive to client groups and effects the necessary internal developments

3. To manage and lead a team of Programme Co-ordinators. In particular these duties will include: setting objectives, performance management, appraisal, staff development and staff discipline

4. To review continually the operation of the section and to make recommendations on the most effective and efficient deployment of staff, equipment and premises to meet the business needs of the section.

5. To manage, monitor and control resources delegated to the post holder on a regular and consistent basis in conformity with internal requirements to ensure that the resources are efficiently and effectively utilised in line with agreed targets.

6. In consultation with the Director of Resources and the Director of Programme Support to establish and use sectional planning and monitoring systems.

7. To develop and management the curriculum portfolio of the section with a strong emphasis on curriculum design and curriculum growth.

To undertake appropriate cross-college curriculum leadership roles to support a cohesive curriculum portfolio

8. To liaise with external verifiers, moderators and other representatives of awarding bodies.

9. To liaise with external agencies and organisations, including work placement providers.

10. To establish, and continuously develop open, flexible and resource based learning.

11. To be responsible for the management of student care and discipline and to liaise with the Directorate of Programme Support as necessary.

12. To be responsible for the management and implementation of tutoring, recording of achievements and induction procedures within the Section in liaison with the Directorate of Programme Support.

13. To be responsible for generating new business for the section in liaison with the Marketing Section.

14. To be responsible for the achievement of the quality standards within the section.

15. To undertake a teaching programme of 216 hours per year.
16. The post holder will be responsible for the efficient allocation of rooms/space on a specified site and for making recommendations on any necessary alterations required to improve the learning process or meet relevant quality standards.
17. To act as Duty Principal as required
18. The post holder will be the designated Building Officer for premises responsible for effective liaison with the Directorate of Resources and the Health and Safety Officer over all matters concerning the use of building.
19. Such other duties commensurate with the responsibility and grading of the post.

Personnel Specification- Section manager- February 1996

Experience

- Recent appropriate teaching experience in an area covered by the section
- Recent curriculum development experience with a knowledge of developments and trends

Qualifications

- Educated to Degree Level or Equivalent

Aptitudes/skills

- Ability to lead and manage people
- Ability to plan and manage budgets effectively
- Good communication skills to all levels with an ability to influence people and motivate others
- Open minded and an ability to drive change
- Ability to teach in one area of the section
- Ability to provide curriculum leadership
- Ability to identity issues/problems and to provide the framework for resolution

Personal Qualities

- Commitment to continuous professional updating and training
- Commitment to the design and implementation of a cross-college timetable
- Self-motivated and enthusiastic to achieve agreed targets.

Knowledge

- Knowledge of various funding regimes and how to maximise them to achieve College objectives

Experience

- Relevant recent commercial and industrial experience if appropriate

Qualifications

- Teaching Qualifications
- Professional Management Qualification.

D. College 'A' programme co-ordinators Duties and Responsibilities - February 1996

Administration and co-ordination

1. Deploy and manage staff and resources within the programme teams. Carry out staff appraisal and performance management in liaison with the Section Managers.
2. Undertake time-tabling in liaison with the Section Manager and provide advice on the resources needed for the effective delivery of the programmes.
3. Ensure that full and accurate records are kept for all courses and MIS information provided by agreed deadlines.
4. Support team members in their role and promote and maintain team awareness/identity and effective communication within the teams.
5. Identify staff development needs and produce individual staff development plans for team members.
6. Implement and monitor the College's Programme Review and Evaluation system.

Curriculum Leadership

7. Contribute to the college's strategic planning process; lead teams to achieve curriculum objectives and growth targets; produce, implement and monitor team action plans.
8. Advise the Section Manager on changes to existing courses and make proposals for new ones.
9. Introduce and embed flexible learning initiatives and monitor programme content and delivery.
10. Develop and assist in the implementation of a marketing plan for their programmes and provide information for publicity materials.
11. Ensure that assessment guidelines are adhered to and implemented.

Students

12. Support teaching staff and Personal Tutors monitoring student progress. Deal with day to day disciplinary issues reporting serious problems to the Section Manager.
13. Liaise with the additional support manager to ensure that students additional support needs are identified and provided for.
14. Ensure that staff implement records of achievement, student contracts and learning agreements.

Other

15. An agreed workload to include teaching and other relevant pedagogic duties identified in the contract of employment, and such other duties commensurate with the grade.
16. These posts are full-time and subject to annual review with the Section Manager.

17. Any other duties which are commensurate with the responsibility and grading of the post.

Personnel Specification Programme Co-ordinator Posts

Essential

1. Teaching experience in the area applied for.
2. Experience of co-ordinating relevant learning programme/s.
3. Involvement in curriculum development in last 2 years.
4. Ability to lead a team.
5. Commitment to equal opportunities

Desirable

1. Advanced Qualification (level 4) or working towards.
2. Knowledge of timetabling.
3. Knowledge of resourcing issues.
4. Commitment to development of flexible learning.

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