UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

The Destructuration of Academic Life

How Managerialism Colonises Universities with Symbolic Violence

A Thesis submitted by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes to the current conversation and growing number of voices that call for a radical reform to the Anglo universities of the Australian, British, and American higher education system. This reform is a response to the claim that managerialism has colonised these universities to their detriment as these Anglo universities now serve private and commercial interests rather than those of the common good; they serve market fundamentalism rather than the flourishing of individuals. The setting for this thesis is that Anglo universities are 'managerialised universities' because they are occupied by a management class in the way that a hostile force takes control of a sovereign territory without legitimacy. Simply put, today these Anglo universities are corporate entities which only managers can run effectively; academics are unsuitable. However, there is a complication to this colonising project as it has not gone smoothly for many decades. Of concern to this thesis is the health and wellbeing of the university workforce, particularly that of academics. Within the literature there an interesting paradox, which is that academics are somewhat complicit in the handover of power. This thesis pulls on this thread of academic complicity as complicity is a symptom or indicator that symbolic violence is taking place, where the norms and values of the dominant group (the management class) become imposed on the subjugated group (the academics), such that the academics are unaware this is happening. As a course of action, this thesis reveals the subtle day-to-day machinery managerialism deploys to commit acts of symbolic violence toward academics in the managerialised university. It does this through a series of four journal articles with data drawn from two studies. The sum of this thesis embraces Bourdieu's logic of colonisation. Three of the articles (Chapters 4 to 6) take a Bourdieusian approach to the data of one of the studies to disclose the 'gentler' aspects of structural and symbolic violence that align with the four distinct mechanisms of colonialism; abandon to subordinate, control the system mechanisms, position agents in relationships of domination, and create conditions where the successful succeed further. The fourth article (Chapter 7) based on the second study, takes a systems thinking approach to the data to illustrate how abandonment is also deployed toward professional staff, such that they are driven to a state of burnout.

Key words: Managerialism, colonialism, Bourdieu, academics, professional staff, capital, habitus, doxa, symbolic violence, Australian Universities, burnout, systems thinking, decentralisation, university work conditions, role preparation, work integrated learning.

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

This thesis is entirely the work of Anita Louise Wheeldon, except where otherwise acknowledged.

The work is original and has not been submitted for any other award.

Student and supervisor's signatures of endorsement are held by the

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STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION

Table 1: Details of Contribution

Article Citation	Contribution of Authorship	Confirmation of Co-author
Admin School: Why professional staff can play the managerialised university game and academics are clueless *Under review in Higher Education Quarterly*	Wheeldon, A.L 80% Whitty, S.J 10% van der Hoorn, B 10%	Dr S. J. Whitty Dr B. van der Hoorn
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Wheeldon, AL, Whitty, SJ & van der Hoorn, B 2022, 'Centralising professional staff: is this another instrument of symbolic violence in the managerialised university?', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, pp. 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2022.2095993	Wheeldon, A.L 80% Whitty, S.J 10% van der Hoorn, B 10%	Dr S. J. Whitty Dr B. van der Hoorn
Burnt out by underinvestors: Why university WIL administrators suffer amidst the Australian WIL system *Under review in the International Journal of Work Integrated Learning*	Wheeldon, A.L 80% Whitty, S.J 10% van der Hoorn, B 10%	Dr S. J. Whitty Dr B. van der Hoorn

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My hope is that my labours in producing this thesis play a part in conversations that shape the future of universities and Higher Education. That my efforts support those labouring within university walls so they can continue their purpose driven work of realising the societal good and uplifting of all peoples through knowledge, wonderment, and education for a better tomorrow.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Academic	A scholar within the university responsible for knowledge creation through research and knowledge dissemination through teaching. Academics engage is a range of other activities associated with teaching and learning practice and the academic management of program and courses.
Academic Identity	A scholar whose identify is related to their subject discipline rather than the institution itself and who pursues research and knowledge creation through their autonomy, academic freedom, and collegiality with other scholars.
Australian WIL Industry	The network of universities and industry partners who provide work integrated learning experiences (WIL) for Australian university students.
Capital	Capitals can take the form of economic, social, cultural, or symbolic resources. Individuals seek to accumulate capital that provide advantage in the field. Certain capitals are considered valuable by the individuals within the field, which in turn drives competition to accumulate more valuable capital to dominate the field.
Centralisation	The positioning of university professional staff and the support they provide into one business unit, as opposed to a decentralised approach which allocates professional staff doing similar roles to individual schools/ faculties. Centralisation usually involves physical location of professional staff in one precinct, often away from academic staff. (Also see Co-location and Decentralisation)
Collegiality	This thesis views collegiality as a behavioural norm referring to the social and intellectual engagement amongst colleagues working respectfully together to achieve common goals.
Colonialism	The displacement and unequal relations where the coloniser moves to a new setting and establishes their ascendancy.

Logic of Colonialism	Colonialism is viewed by Bourdieu as a racialised system of domination rooted in coercion. Bourdieu called his philosophical thinking about colonialism the Logic of Colonialism
Co-location	In this thesis, this refers to academics and professional staff being in the same physical space. (See Centralisation and Decentralisation)
Dawkins' reforms	John Dawkins was appointed as the Minister of Employment, Education and Training in July 1987. At this time, he removed the binary distinction between Higher Education providers (colleges and universities) and formed the Unified National System. This change reshaped the Australian Higher Education landscape. Twenty new universities emerged as a result of mergers between providers, doubling the total number .
Decentralisation	The positioning of university professional staff and the support they provide to individual schools/ faculties. This usually involves professional staff physically located with academic staff in school or faculty precincts. (Also see Centralisation and Co-location)
Destructuration	The breaking down of structures
Doxa	Pre-reflexive, intuitive knowledge that is shaped by experience and forms an individual's unconscious physical and relational predispositions
Early Career Researcher (ECR)	An ECR is an academic who has recently completed their doctoral studies and is building their research profile post doctorate.
Field	A boundaried social space in which individuals act. Bourdieu used the metaphor of a football field or battlefield upon which they 'play the game'.
Fish in water Fish out of water	Bourdieu uses this analogy to discuss a matched or mismatched alignment of an individual's habitus and capital to a field. When there is alignment, the individual is said to feel

	like a fish in water. Where mismatch exists, the individual is said to feel like a fish out of water.
Habitus	The ways an individual acts, feels, thinks, presents themselves in the world, and is a result of one's past and present circumstances including their educational experiences. (Also see role preparation)
Hermeneutical phenomenology	A qualitative research methodology recognising that individuals are 'thrown into' a world of objects, relationships, and language and that our being-in-the-world carries perspectives which are temporal and always in-relation-to something.
Higher education	Education at Universities or within the Vocational Education and Training (VET) sector. This thesis focuses solely on University Higher Education.
Illusio	The interest and competition actors have within the field. Individuals become 'taken in and by the game'.
Lateral violence	Lateral violence (or horizontal violence) results when the oppressed become a sub-oppressor as they internalise how the oppressor acts in the world and collectively turn on one and other. Organised and harmful behaviours result from the frustration and anger they feel.
Managerialism	A muscular management style which views core business as secondary to the primary concern of 'managing' the organisation. Managerialism emphasises accountability, market-orientation, attention on securing funding, increased concern for issues of efficiency and economy, performance management, quality assurance mechanisms, budgetary devolution, and departmental restructuring.
Physical presence	Individuals physically attending the university campus on a daily basis, as opposed to working remotely (usually from home).

Postmanagerialised university	The notion of a university which has shifted from its current managerialised state into a future, yet unknown state.
Professional staff	Professional staff occupy non-academic roles within the university which range from student support, administration, human resource management, marketing, to facility management. For the purposes of this thesis, professional staff refers to those engaged in administrative activities.
Proximity	Nearness in space, time, or relationship. In this thesis proximity is investigated in terms of physical co-location of academic and professional staff
Role preparation	The structuring, educative experiences of an individual in preparation to undertake a role. In this thesis role preparation does not refer to the more mechanical and material actions of workplace preparations such as workplace orientations, on boarding sessions, policy familiarisation, etcetera. (Also see habitus)
Rules of the game	The alignment of an individual's habitus to a field and how well they understand how to act and compete within the field. Habitus informs how well they understand how to 'play the game' and what is permissible and what is not. Knowing the rules of game also provides the ability to change the rules.
Settler colonialism	The accumulation of lands and resources and requires the dispossession, spatial confinement, and diaspora of indigenous populations. Usually involves the transfer of one population of people (the colonisers) to a new territory, where they live as permanent settlers but maintain their political allegiance to their country of origin achieved through global chains of command back to the colonial frontier. During settler colonisation, the indigenous population is violently segregated and/or assimilated.
Shared work	Tasks undertaken by a team. In this thesis shared work pertains to professional staff.

Social capital	Social capital is well recognised as 'who you know', referring to group membership and access to resources of trust, relationships, and networks.
Social interactions	Informal interactions that occur between colleagues, such as morning teas, going for coffee, informal work celebrations, etcetera.
Structural violence	Structural violence is an essential component of repression. It maintains the social domination, power positions and interests of the coloniser by controlling ordering structures.
Sovereignty	Sovereignty is an authority assigned to a person, collective body or institution, such that either of these have the ultimate authority over other people. Therefore, for sovereignty to be assigned, sovereignty must initially lie somewhere with the sovereign.
Symbolic violence	An unperceived form of subtle and invisible violence and domination of complicit, subjugated individuals within a social field. This form of violence is transmitted through institutions, ideology, language and discourse, and social relations. People play a role in reproducing symbolic violence through acceptance and internalisation of ideas, values, and structures that subordinate them and which are cultural, historic, and arbitrary.
The managerialised university	Universities where managerialised principles and practices are embedded. Extant literature identifies this as a problem impacting universities globally.
The Theory of Practice	The three main Bourdieusian concepts of field, capital and habitus that work together to describe the influence and interplay of each on an individual's practice.
Work integrated learning (WIL)	An umbrella term used to describe a range of approaches and strategies that integrate their with the practice of work in a purposefully designed curriculum (Australian Collaborative Education Network 2015). WIL is undertaken in a range of

	discipline areas. Universities partner with industry who provide placement and non-placement based learning opportunities such as internships, placements, cadetships, projects, etc.
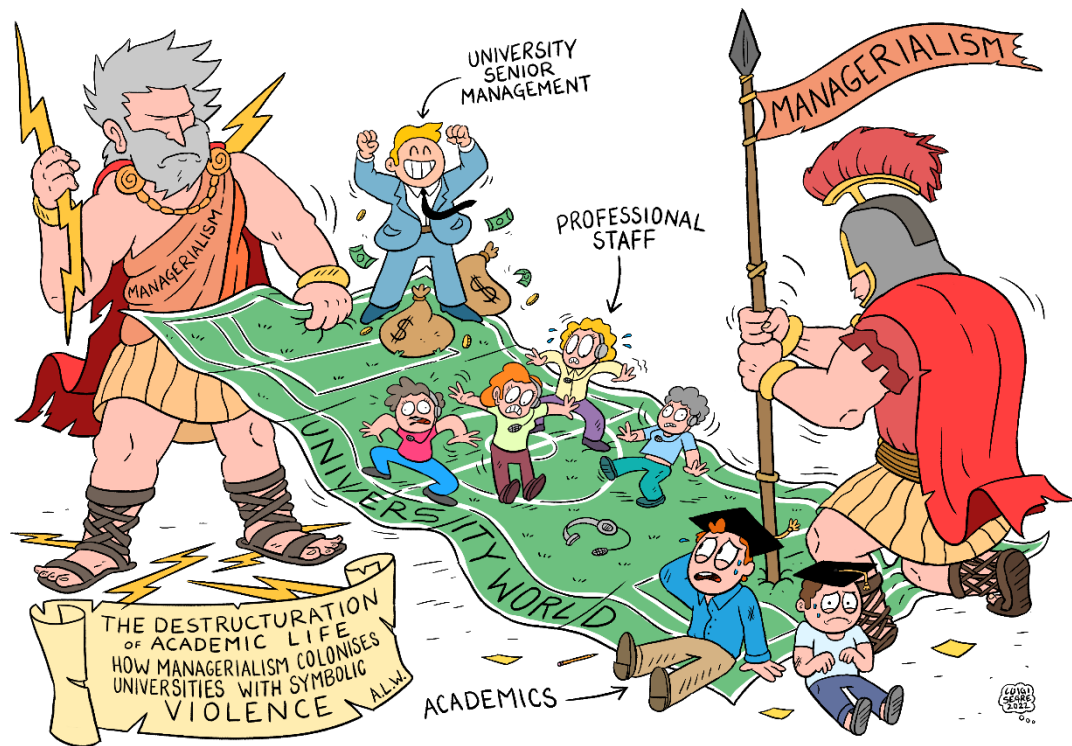
Plate 1: Manipulate the field to advantage management

CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

The human condition is driven by the search for knowledge that betters our society. The position of this thesis is that universities are vital to this pursuit. Changes to government regulations and structuring of the Anglo university sectors in America, United Kingdom and Australia have allowed managerialism to violently colonise these universities, causing struggle and suffering for academics and professional staff. Managerialism is destructive because it removes democratic decision making and upholds the tenet that the role of managing ought to be held by a group of people with superior codified knowledge and particular management know-how. Managerialism seeks the sole objective to serve power and dictates that managers are essential to the effective running of an organisation, regardless of industry or the experience of the manager to a particular industry or sector. Control and the sustainment of a management class are the primary objective, while the skills and expertise of the organisation's core business are relegated and subordinated as secondary.

This thesis looks beyond the noticeable mechanics of managerialism, to understand the more concealed and veiled machinery managerialism uses to hijack the inner workings of the university to achieve its colonisation project. The concepts of French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu are well known in the higher education sector and are employed throughout this thesis. Much of his insight was developed from his experiences in Algeria during its fight for independence (1956 – 1962). His logic of colonialism, observed during this time of unrest, informed his Theory of Practice (Loyal 2009) (See Figure 1).

Non-physical symbolic violence that manifests as the privilege and power differential between groups of people (Grenfell 2014) is illuminated in this thesis. It is tied to how Bourdieu distinguishes the mechanisms of colonisation, namely abandon to subordinate; control the system mechanisms; position agents in relationships of domination; and create conditions where the successful succeed further. Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is an interplay between the three concepts of field, habitus, and capital. The field is a 'boundaried' social space in which we operate (Grenfell 2014). Bourdieu compares the field to that of a football field or battlefield. It is where we 'play the game' with others. The field has its own set of 'rules' which can be subject to change at any time, though not in an insouciant or meaningless way. Each individual or 'actor' brings to the game their own habitus and doxa,

which will have many alignments with others in the field, as this alignment constitutes what can be distinguished as a field. Habitus is the collection of our perceptions, thinking, feelings, evaluations, and ways of acting in and toward the world, which is formed from our individual experiences. Habitus informs how we make choices to act and so therefore influences the field in which the individual is playing (Bourdieu 1990).

There are varying degrees of match and mismatch between field and habitus. An individual experiencing mismatch may feel like a 'fish out of water'. Where habitus and doxa are attuned to the field, an individual will feel like a 'fish in water' (Grenfell 2014). Finally, capital is the currency of the field. What counts as capital are the resources that are valued within the field. Individuals can accumulate and use capital to gain advantages and benefits and become successful within the field such that they can influence doxa. The most common forms of capital are economic, social, cultural, and symbolic (Bourdieu 1986a).

It is well established that academics struggle in the managerialised university field for a range of reasons. Academics are experiencing increased pressures in terms of work intensification, increased pressures to teach, to research, and to keep up with a relentless tide of 'administrivia' (Anderson 2008; Gray 2015). Academics have a particular proclivity to build the cultural capital that they require to achieve success in the academic field. himself observed the need for freedom from necessity to be an academic. Amidst the intensification of academic work, academic time is often accessed by subordinating family and personal commitments, stealing hours from weekends, taking annual leave and using evenings to pursue scholarly activities. However, it is arguable that these actions serve the purposes of managerialism because an academic kept busy and away from the operations of the university is an academic removed from interfering in managerialism's university colonisation project.

In the university field, professional staff increasingly assume more authority and roles that would have been considered academic and they have influence and decision making abilities that academics do not (McCann et al. 2020). They can therefore influence the workings of the university field more easily and are seen as engaging in managerialism.

Amongst professional staff there is a new role emerging, that of the 'third space' professional (Whitchurch 2018c). These are hybrid specialised roles occupied by professional staff that straddle the boundaries of academic and non-academic work. These individuals appear to

have the skills and knowledge to move between both realms and their adaptability leads to increased amounts of collegiality, respect, value and understanding. However, the experiences of third space professional cannot be considered reflective of most professional staff who do not move across these boundaries. The experiences of non-third-space professionals remains important and therefore extremely valid in considering the experiences of working within the managerialised university.

Having outlined the central aim of this thesis, which is to illuminate how managerialism colonises universities with symbolic violence, Chapters 4 to 7 go about addressing this aim by uncovering the various aspects of the lived experience of this colonisation. Together, these chapters illuminate the mechanisms managerialism uses to colonise universities. Specifically, how managerialism achieves this through perpetrating symbolic violence rather than physical or structural violence, although structural changes are often required.

To foreshadow the findings and claims of each of these chapters, Chapter 4 reveals how the role preparation of academics leaves them feeling abandoned as their habitus is misaligned to the managerial university field. Managerialism exploits this misalignment by choosing to recruit professional staff with an aligned habitus rather than growing professional staff 'in-house'. This means that the university field becomes flooded with professional staff who have similar role preparation experiences who help, somewhat unwittingly, to reproduce managerialism. This way managerialism is valorised as the 'correct' order of things.

Chapter 5 reveals how managerialism creates field conditions that shift the operational knowledge into the hands of professional staff and away from academics, as academics are using their time to accumulate their cultural capital which is not valued in the operational field. Consequently, academics feel they are unable to cope with handling administrative and operational decision making and willingly transfer these powers to professional staff. Accordingly, academics are unable to influence and shape the field conditions of their home university field, and their privileges are shipped to professional staff who establishes themselves as dominant in the field.

Chapter 6 reveals when professional staff can control the field they succeed, and moreover managerialism supports them to continue to succeed further. Centralisation has an efficacy ring about it, particularly if one is of a managerialised mindset. It rings of economies of scale,

cost effectiveness, and value for money. However, the findings of this study showed how this restructure excluded academics and weakened them in the field, to the point that they felt clueless, frustrated, and feel the operations of the field are a trap to trick them and control them. Again, for academics, it is easier to surrender and hand over control of roles that would normally be considered academic to professional staff than to continue to struggle.

Finally, Chapter 7 illustrates the egocentrism of managerialism and how professional staff suffer at the hands of managerialism too. Even though managerialism wields the control of professional staff to subjugate the powers of academics, professional staff must also be made to feel inferior to the management class and academics in the university field.

To sum up these points and transform them into a form of postmanagerial art, which might help both academic and professional staff deal with managerialism's invasion, I have commissioned cartoons (Plates 1 to 6) that reveal managerialism mechanisms for inflict symbolic violence. Though not drawn by me, they are conceived through my research. *Plates 1 to 5* are stated in the form of managerialism maxim: Manipulate the field to advantage management, Conscript managerial values, Consign operational knowledge to professional staff, Incite segregation through centralisation, and Set impossible targets. *Plate 6* reflects managerialism telos in the university sector and is titled: Managerialism's colonial endgame has begun. To provide a place for pause and contemplation for the reader, these plates are positioned at the start of the chapter they set out to illustrate.

1.1 Why we must care

This thesis supports the position that managerialism has no place in universities because managerialism takes away the primary responsibility of the university to society as an agent for knowledge creation and dissemination. This misdirection has significant impacts to society, knowledge, students, and the workers of the university labouring within to bring about this societal good.

The struggle and suffering experienced in the managerialised university is described throughout this thesis and in extant literature. Academics feel anxious, terrorised, bullied, and commodified. They feel increasingly diminished in their professional identity and targeted by managerialism's domination (Alvesson & Szkudlarek 2020). They are pressed into treating

their students as consumers who are 'sold' degrees, bypassing the quest for knowledge or wisdom, but the outcome of which adds to managerialism's objectives of rankings, league tables, and competition (Smyth 2017). Researchers are engaged in the unethical academic game of chasing H-Index and journal impact factors under the threat of losing their jobs. To survive, academics are forced to publish more and more research, developed, and accepted with lowering standards of research quality and peer review rigour (Chapman et al. 2019). Their research keeping predatory journals operating and profiting, with questionable academic scrutiny.

1.2 Why this thesis should matter

From Aristotelian times, universities have been places of enlightenment where knowledge for societal development is produced. It is where people learn to solve the problems of our society – known, emerging and yet undiscovered. Whether they be academics working on knowledge creation within university walls or the graduates who take their university enlightenment and learning out into society. But managerialism is 'dumb' in that it does not have a drive to know. Under its embrace, university curriculum is reduced to fashionable and popular programs that only care for a direct line from 'study this, to become this'. Accreditations dictate and assist in the marketing of degrees but simultaneously asphyxiate academic freedom. It is how managerialism maintains its marketized, massified agenda. All operations are 'managed' towards achieving a metric of some kind.

Crucial knowledges such as history, archelogy, the study of society, culture, philosophy, literature and the arts are lost in the race for market share and profit. Without these disciplines and the loss of academic values, society is reduced in that it runs the risk of being unable to discern right from wrong – to learn from the mistakes of the past for a better tomorrow. Without thriving, intellectual universities, society can go unchecked. Universities owe it to society to produce students who flourish as human being and can flourish in their jobs and in and for society. And society should expect no less. But to do this, universities need to flourish and under managerialism's rule this is not possible. Under managerialism, universities are unsustainable as this thesis will go on to show. Managerialism harms the very workers it relies upon to be a university, which shows just how 'unknowing' and distorted managerialism is.

This thesis matters because it uncovers the very real symbolic violence and harm managerialism inflicts when it colonises universities and the nuanced mechanisms it uses to achieve these objectives. This thesis is a heterodox illumination of the daily interactions of the university field that show how managerialism controls and hijacks these interactions to reproduce managerialism and accelerate its colonisation.

Why does it matter to look at these daily inner workings? By understanding these interactions and how managerialism uses and possesses them, symbolic violence is revealed. But in this revelation a space for reflection is created. In this space there is illumination and the opportunity for escape from the symbolic violence managerialism inflicts upon academics and professional staff under these colonising conditions.

1.3 Research contributions

The research developed through my candidacy contributes to the current literature in the following ways:

- Illuminates the use of symbolic violence as managerialism colonises Anglo universities
- Uses the comparative experiences of academic and professional staff to better understand the field conditions of work within the managerialised university and the impact of managerialism on working lives
- Contributes to an understanding of the lived experience of professional staff in the managerialised university

CHAPTER 2   LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis represents my research directed towards understanding the symbolic violence managerialism inflicts when it colonises universities. This literature review begins by examining the two ideologies of managerialism and colonialism, and both of their roles in capitalism. It then spends time understanding how Bourdieu's service in the French military during the colonisation of Algeria shaped his logic of colonialism and his theory of practice. From here, Bourdieusian field mechanisms and conditions are delved into, before finally looking into the current thinking about the future of universities.

Identified as ideologies by their nomenclature of 'ism', we start by discussing managerialism and colonialism. But first it is first important to understand how they as ideologies differ from other knowledges and why they are dysfunctional, deceptive and false belief systems (Essers & Flory 2012). They are in fact informal and derogatory (Klikauer 2013a).

There is an important distinction to be made between ideologies and philosophies and that is that philosophy exists for itself – for the creation of knowledge, truth and wisdom, whereas ideologies exist to fulfil a specific purpose (Klikauer 2019, p. 425). When ideologies become pervasive enough, they invade and distort sense making activities. As Minogue (2007) puts it, ideologies ferociously protect their ideals through a collection of devices with the persuasive objective of achieving power in order to transform society for their own purposes. The characteristics catalogued in Table 1 demonstrates these devices or ingredients, showing how ideologies work to mislead, maintain order, mitigate against emancipation, establish false consciousness and mystify.

Table 1: Characteristics of an ideology

Organisational	ideologies are generated in organisational settings
Sympathy	ideologies create sympathy for business
Science	ideologies use science
Inversions	ideology creates an inverted, upside-down view of business
Consciousness	ideologies establish false consciousness
Misleading	ideologies mislead while remaining linked to reality
Mystifying	ideologies mystify by using beliefs and fantasies
Interest	ideologies represent a sectarian business interest as universal
Status quo	ideologies maintain the current order
Defensive	ideologies defend business
Wellbeing	ideologies mitigate against human wellbeing and emancipation
History	ideologies are a-historical, asserting eternal values

Source:

2.1 The intertwined ideologies of Managerialism and Capitalism

Managerialism needs to be understood alongside its ideological pair, Capitalism (Murphy 2020). The scientific management techniques developed by scholars such as Frederick Taylor (1856-1915), Max Weber (1864-1920), Henri Fayol (1841-1925), etc in the 18th and 19th century helped develop capitalism and managerialism as ideologies (Klikauer 2013b). The term managerialism is an American term (Klikauer 2013b), and during this era the reputation and status of the American businessman could have been no higher. This was the "Gilded Age of American capitalism" and the rise of business titans such as John D. Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, and J.P Morgan (Scott & Hart 1991, p. 41). As the human-machine relationship evolved and machines took over more and more, workers were deskilled so that labour could be eliminated. The meaning of work was displaced and rank became the thing that mattered, not productive output (Murphy 2020). And so rose the era of the manager.

Both capitalism and managerialism as ideologies instil in the minds of individuals a common set of ideas that cloak reality through normative and confirmative thought processes (Klikauer 2013a). Capitalism's imaginary purpose is to develop productivity, whilst managerialism pursues imaginary procedural rationality. Compliance through socialisation ensures individuals don't rebel, but instead support and exalt the ideology. Something that today, university business schools reinforce very well (Klikauer 2013b; Parker 2018).

Capitalism and managerialism corrupt the public domain (Dixon, Kouzmin & Korac-Kakabadse 1998; Lynch 2017; Reiter & Klenk 2018). In applying private sector management to the public sector, market driven accountabilities and sensibilities are imposed on public sector spending. It becomes politicised as emphasis is placed on efficiency and effectiveness rather than quality access and equity. Policy management is privileged over design for public administration. There is a diffusion of responsibility to devolve authority and a shifting of public accountability towards inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes (Uhr 1990; Reiter & Klenk 2018). Put simply, putting together capitalism and managerialism shift the purpose of public sector entities away from their responsibilities as agents of societal good towards the singular business of managing.

2.1.1 The managerial revolution in Anglo universities

For higher education institutions, this shift away from universities as a public good was recorded by scholars in the United States after the Second World War. At this time, universities shifted from elite to mass education, where instead of catering for 5% of student population, it catered for up to 15% and even 30 - 50% in more advanced countries (Perkin 2007). Rourke and Brooks (1964, p. 155) observed this as a "managerial revolution" where institutions sought to find new ways of using their resources with greater efficiency. But even so, Rourke and Brooks (1964) also observed a resistance amongst these scholars that was thought to be deeply rooted in their assumptions about the purpose of higher education. At the time, these public administration managerial innovations were thought of as being scientific, in so much as they were characterized by "explicitness, rigor and quantification" (Hearle 1961, p. 206). Some of the management techniques observed involved the operation of professional offices within the institutions, quantitative analysis to make decisions for the internal allocation of resources and matters of enrolments, and curriculum modernisation

came under administrative review (Rourke & Brooks 1964); all of which are still observable today.

Similar trends emerged in the United Kingdom in the 1970's where persons from private sector or "outside spheres" could be appointed to senior positions in the civil service, including higher education (Maor 1999, p. 10). From 1979 to 2010 the United Kingdom higher education sector underwent a transformation that witnessed trends of massification, accountability pressures, a decline in democratic governance, and calls for science and technology research to be tied to economic and technical imperatives (Gewirtz & Cribb 2013).

For the Australian university sector, this shift largely occurred during the Dawkins reforms of the 1980's – 1990's when the number of universities where doubled, heralding increased competition, marketisation, and massification (Deem & Brehony 2005a; Anderson 2008; Croucher & Waghorne 2020). These shifting times allowed for the ascendancy of managerialism. Accessibility to funding became student enrolment focused and the resulting structural shifts of the higher education sector created unprecedented change. This period is attributed with bringing about the current state observed in Australian universities today.

Turning specifically to managerialism, it impacts all aspects of our society, reaching globally into public, private, and even volunteer organisations (Meyer, Buber & Aghamanoukjan 2012). Managerialism does not recognise diversity but rather that all organisations are more similar than different and organisational performance can be optimised by generic management skills and theory (Klikauer 2013b). The experience of the core business becomes secondary to the espoused skill and exclusive decision-making authority of the manger and so seeks to restrict decision making to those in management positions (Dixon, Kouzmin & Korac-Kakabadse 1998; Deem & Brehony 2005a). Managerialism continues to be perpetuated by university business schools globally by being legitimised through the science (or pseudoscience) of management research and by inculcating students with managerialised concepts, which they then deploy when they enter employment in a number of industries, including universities (Klikauer 2013a, 2013b; Parker 2018).

True to its ideological nature, managerialism projects a 'correctness'. It would have us believe there is no other way, and that without it havoc and mayhem would reign

supreme, leading to inefficiencies and surging costs. Managerialism systematically embeds itself into organisations and society and deprives individuals of all their decision-making powers. In the higher education context, by managerialism's contention that every endeavour would benefit from its doctrines, it pressures all academic life to succumb to its ways. Therefore, the university community derives that it is managers who should control and regulate academic work, and authority should shift from academics to managers (Whitchurch & Gordon 2009). Under this totality of management domination, which has disregard for the uniqueness of academia, academics lose their identity and their ability to function as academics. And so, the deskilling of academics in order to subordinate them has begun. Managerial orthodoxy must be challenged in its domination, legitimisation, and how it distorts our understanding of the world and of ourselves, and room made to allow for a shift from the current state towards emancipation.

2.2 The managerialised university

The impact of managerialism on our universities is profound. The core purpose of knowledge creation, dissemination, discovery and ideas has been side lined by an audit culture of profit making, external monitoring using performance indicators and league tables, monitoring of employee performance, attainment of financial and other targets and auditing for efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery (Deem & Brehony 2005a; Jones et al. 2020). The managerialised work ideologies conflict with academic ideologies resulting in a hybrid organisational identity that challenges roles, rights, individual obligations, and the very nature and purpose of universities (Winter 2009). Universities in this way are reduced to being an instrument to supply the capitalist economy. For example, in 2019 "international education was Australia's largest service export worth $39 billion", "supporting around 250,000 jobs" (New South Wales Parliament 2021).

As key decision makers who hold positions of authority, university leaders play a role in allowing the reproduction of managerialism. However, the significance of its impact is not lost on them. In a recent Australian study by Croucher and Lacy (2020) issues such as universities addressing the needs of society, competition for student enrolments, international student rankings, accountabilities within universities and workforce planning were of concern

to senior leaders including Vice Chancellors, presidents, and government leaders. The Anglo universities of America, United Kingdom and Australia particularly suffer under this managerial embrace (Deem 2004; Marginson 2013; Shattock, Horvath & Marginson 2019; Croucher & Lacy 2020).

2.2.1 How academics and professional staff experience the managerialised university

The managerialised university is commonly associated with academics' feelings of distress due to the conflicts between managerial values, academic identity, and the nature of scholarly work (Winefield 2008; Winter, Taylor & Sarros 2010; Edwards & Ashkanasy 2018). Social relations in the university field have become individualistic, bolstered by a lack of collaboration and collegiality within the environment (Gordon & Zainuddin 2020).

Resentment, hostility, conflict and low job satisfaction are the by-product of academics being pressed into spending more and more time on compliance and 'administrivia' and reducing the time available to spend on scholarly pursuits (Anderson 2006, 2008; Burnes, Wend & By 2014; Heffernan 2020a). Academics even report significantly distressing experiences such as terror and fear at trying to reach impossible performance targets (Jones et al. 2020; McCann et al. 2020; Ratle et al. 2020).

There is evidence to show that professional staff experience the managerialised university differently. Professional staff comprise half the university workforce (Department of Education and Training 2015). Despite increasing in numbers (Croucher & Woelert 2021) and in the diversity of roles undertake, academic literature addressing their lived experiences remains surprisingly silent (Gander 2018; Connell 2019). Professional staff have been described as the 'invisible workers' of the university (Szekeres 2004). Seen as inferior to academics, fractious relationships between academics and professional staff are driven by the view that professional staff are engaging in managerialism that undermines academic priorities (Pitman 2000; Gray 2015). There is a prevailing 'us and them' (Lewis 2014; Haski-Leventhal 2020).

Professional staff more and more occupy roles within the managerialised university that have authority and importance, and are central to the operations of universities (Bassnett 2005;

Lewis 2014). The point of contention is that as professional staff undertake more and more senior administrative roles they are seen as making key resource and policy decisions with little understanding or valuing of the role of the academic. has highlighted professional staff as a cohort who find themselves in challenging power relationships with academics. Discussions around the characteristics of who should govern universities have led to uncover a lack of diversity amongst senior executive with a large proportion of Caucasian Australians and British in these leadership roles, nearly twice as many males as women, and mostly in their 50s and 60s. Of significance to this thesis, there are also a large number with commerce backgrounds.

The emergence of a different professional staff role known as the third space professional gives rise to a different experience. These individuals generally have both academic and professional qualifications, and their work collegially reaches across the boundaries of the traditional academic verses professional staff role (Graham 2012; Whitchurch 2018c; Veles, Carter & Boon 2019). These staff work collaboratively with academic colleagues on complex and multifaceted projects (Whitchurch 2009; Veles & Carter 2016) and have an appreciation that the academic approach does not readily fit managerialised needs and approaches (Whitchurch 2015). However not all professional staff occupy the third space and the experiences of non-third space professional staff cannot be assumed the same.

2.2.2 Alternatives to the managerialised university

There are a range of suggestions as to the alternatives to managerialism. Bourdieu's solution is to appreciate the autonomy of the field . The conflicting fields of organisational management and academia cannot be reconciled because they generate their own internal laws and practices. A Bourdieusian solution is where the university is re-imagined as a republic of various fields, with each field empowered to manage their own affairs without infringing the liberties of the other. While the administrative/operational field continues to operate under managerialism, their leadership is 'appointed' to represent economic interests. The academic field can then operate under collegialism, where academics 'elect' their leadership to reflect what they consider to be significant. From a governance perspective, senior leadership, and bodies such as the university senate would take up an impartial (as

possible) umpiring role and concern itself with defending the republic (university) from external and internal threats.

A similar approach is suggested by Wright and Greenwood (2017) where universities are organised through direct beneficiary ownership where all participants have a significant financial or personal stake in the effective functioning of the university and whereby attending to the welfare of other stakeholders will improve their own situation and reciprocal attention to their own needs and wants. stated that public policy and funding should be completely reset so at to restore universities to a public good. echoes this viewpoint by identifying a good university system as one which holds cooperation at its core, rather than antagonism towards and competitiveness amongst each other. Such cooperation is intended to allow specialisation and division of labour, support regional and institutional diversity, and the sharing of facilities.

2.3 The ideology of colonialism

Bourdieu's intellectual influences have been applied to a diverse range of topics, including colonialism and therefore an appropriate way to synthesis this thesis. Colonialism has fundamental and necessary components of displacement and unequal relations where the coloniser moves to a new setting and establishes their ascendancy (Veracini 2011, p. 1). The imperative is accumulation and control through conquest (Glenn 2015). Fuelled by capitalism, settler colonisation focuses on the accumulation of lands and resources and requires the dispossession, spatial confinement and diaspora of indigenous populations (Wolfe 2006; Lloyd & Wolfe 2015). In other contexts, such as that of the managerialised university, colonisation is used to describe how this ideology has taken over the operations of the institution. In each instance, the colonisers want different things. In the case of settler colonialism, the colonisers wish the colonised to go away. Whilst in the later example, the coloniser what to co-opt the labour of the colonised (Veracini 2011). But both examples of colonialism cannot occur without violence.

2.3.1 The use of violence

Violence is an organised mode of social control that is either hard or soft (Colaguori 2010). Through the instrument of violence, the coloniser gains control, power and influence (Parsons

2007). Violence can be seen as either hard or soft, but both forms are as equally devastating. Actual violence is hard and takes on forms such as murder, genocide, torture and mind controls that cause the physical and psychological annulation of individuals and groups. Whilst soft violence in the form of structural and symbolic violence takes over control of ordering structures to oppress the colonised so that power, control and domination can be achieved and maintained by the coloniser (Galtung 1969). Resistance and survival are the weapons against colonialism. Historically, resistance by the colonised leads to intensified consolidation of the settler state and assimilation activities inflicted by the coloniser (Lloyd & Wolfe 2015).

Most important to this thesis is the structural and symbolic violence of colonialism. Structural violence is the source of no less suffering than actual violence and is an essential component of repression. It maintains the social domination, power positions and interests of the coloniser by controlling ordering structures (Galtung 1969). Symbolic violence is the mechanism through which the social order and hierarchies are maintained (by the coloniser) over time. Habituation of the structural violence is imposed and maintained by the dominator (the coloniser). Such that the dominated (the colonised) help to construct it through misrecognition of these structuring structures (Bourdieu 2000). Section 2.4.6 discusses symbolic violence further from a Bourdieusian perspective.

Where societal structures force individuals into predetermined situations not of their choosing and deprive them of their needs, violence is presence. These structures are set up to benefit certain groups (the colonisers) and disadvantage, or in the worst cases, kill off others (the colonised) . Structures such as fragmentation of human identity to 'other' and marginalising particular groups (i.e. black versus white), installing political mechanisms that discriminate on the basis of race as seen in apartheid, labelling racial identity based on 'degrees of blood'(i.e. 'full-blood' versus 'half-blood'), denying access to public services such as education, or forcing the irrational beliefs on others that work against their own capacity for freedom of thought (Galtung 1969, 1990; Parsons 2007; Colaguori 2010; Glenn 2015).

These oppressive measures subordinate the agency of the oppressed groups (the colonised) to a deficient level that is sufficient enough to block collectively organised tactics of resistance (Parsons 2007). Over time, lateral violence (also known as horizontal violence) can manifest from this oppression as a violence the oppressed (the colonised) direct towards one another as

a result of the internalisation of oppression and feelings of inferiority, powerlessness, self-hate, resignation and isolation (Freire 1970; Whyman et al. 2021). The oppressed become a sub-oppressor as they internalise how the oppressor (the coloniser) acts in the world and collectively turn on one another with organised and harmful behaviours as a result of the frustration and anger they feel (Moane & Campling 1999; Australian Human Rights Commission 2011). Behaviours that can range from physical violence to non-physical violence such as gossiping, backstabbing, bullying, and social isolation.

2.3.2 Settler colonialisation

With capitalist precursors, the structures and processes of settler colonisation views land as property and therefore instils ownership. A world view devastating to indigenous understandings of land as reciprocal and living, rather than an object of possession (Ahenakew et al. 2014; Tuck & McKenzie 2014). As a global society, we have borne witness to settler colonisation around the world; for example, in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, Asia, and many other countries. As well as witness to the genocide, violence and inequities it creates, and which still shape our world today (Wolfe 2006; Glenn 2015). In the Australian experience of settler colonisation, actual violence against the unceded First Nations peoples took the form of frontier wars, genocide, forced removal from traditional lands, forced removal of First Nations children from their families, forced labour and imposed racialised identity (Maddison 2013; Pascoe 2014; Reynolds 2021). This is just a partial account of the actual violence deployed.

Settler colonialism seeks to destroy in order to replace, usually by transferring one population of people (the colonisers) to a new territory where they live as permanent settlers but maintain their political allegiance to their country of origin. Influence and power over the colonised society is strengthened as the coloniser gains control of the society's ordering structures with the primary motive of gaining new territory and its available resources (Lloyd & Wolfe 2015). Global chains of command from the imperial country back to the colonial frontier keep these resources under the capitalist control of the coloniser. An example of this is the international market that linked Australia's emerging wool industry back to mills in Yorkshire, Britain.

For Bourdieu, it was his experiences of the French colonisation of Algeria that formed his thinking on the logic of colonialism and later his theory of practice (Loyal 2009; Puwar 2009). As a young man, Bourdieu served in the French military in Algeria during the Algerian war for Independence (1956 – 1962) and later taught at the University of Algiers. This was a highly influential time for Bourdieu as it informed his early philosophical work.

The Algerian war saw the French military disintegrate the traditional social order of the Algerian peasantry so that the rich agricultural resources of Algeria could be appropriated for France. This was achieved through the initial resettlement or "warehousing" of the population into camps under direct control of the French army. Forbidden zones were introduced that forced villagers from their traditional homes. Villages were razed to the ground and anyone who remained in the forbidden zones was considered a rebel. Once resettled, there was a deconstruction of the traditional agricultural ways of life that featured strong kinship bonds, honour and a bartering of resources. After the first wave of actual violence and diaspora, Algerian peasantry were subjugated through the systematic application of structural and symbolic violence in the form of land dispossession, demographic pressure applied through resettlement into military run camps and the imposition of a capitalist market economy to replace the traditional barter economy.

The experience of colonialism continues to shape the societal psyche and institutional formations long after the first wave of invasion is over, including our present-day development of the neoliberal world order. frame this as the "refunctioning of settler colonial logics of law and violence as the means to furthering and safeguarding the neoliberal economic regime". We can see the mechanisms of colonialism at work when neoliberal ideologies like capitalism and managerialism infiltrate organisations (Mollan 2019). Or in the context of this thesis, Anglo universities.

2.3.3 Logic of colonisation

First published in 1964, the logic of colonialism captured by Bourdieu and Sayad in their seminal book "*The Uprooting; The crisis of traditional agriculture in Algeria*" is a subtler account of colonialism in the sense that it doesn't dwell on the physical violence aspect of colonialism as other theorists such as Frantz Fanon's have done in his theory of revolutionary violence (von Holdt 2012). The logic of colonisation captured in this work, focuses on the

gentler, but no less devastating, structural and symbolic violence, and on the "destructuration as a prime means of breaking down resistance". Bourdieu's four mechanisms of colonialism are set out in Table 2. Collectively these mechanisms provide a *logic of colonialism* which reinforces destructuration. To frame the findings of this thesis I return to these mechanisms in the discussion (Chapter 8).

Table 2: Bourdieusian mechanisms of colonialism

Mechanisms	Supporting quote
Abandon to subordinate	"one can either leave them to what they are, abandon them in order to subordinate them, or grant them the dignity of being on condition they cease to be what they are" (Bourdieu & Sayad 2004, p. 460)
Control the system mechanisms	"Once a system of mechanisms has been constituted capable of objectively ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion, the dominant class have only to let the system they dominant take its own course in order to exercise their domination"
Position agents in relationships of domination	"Institutions, by implicitly privileging particular types of linguistic competence, bodily comportment, and other markers of social location, position agents in relationships of domination and subordination, including some and excluding others" (Bourdieu 1998; Topper 2001b, p. 48)
Create conditions where the successful succeed further	"It is the hysteresis effect or inertial of habitus, which provides opportunities for the already successful to succeed further, while the less successful continue to misrecognise the strengths and weaknesses of the relative field positions" (Bourdieu 1977, 1996; Grenfell 2014, p. 130)

These mechanisms as a logic of colonialisation are intertwined with segregation or assimilation, which Bourdieu saw as two related weapons:

> *"With segregation, differences of fact are invoked merely to deny equity*
> *under the law; with assimilation, differences of fact are denied in the name*
> *of equity under the law"*

With this logic, subordinated groups are either segregated or abandoned. They are left to "be what they are" or they are assimilated and "granted dignity provided they cease to be what they are" . In this way the colonised are placed in a position of no win as they are denied their individuality and existence, one way or another.

The resettlement of Algerians into the military camps allowed the French military to then control the Algerian people and their land and resources. In so doing the agricultural traditions

of the Algerian people were destructured. In this way the coloniser takes control of the system mechanisms and in so doing creates colonising conditions that reproduce:

> *"Animated by the satisfaction of accomplishing a grand plan ("making the masses evolve") and exalted by the passion of ordering and creating something (often committing all their enthusiasm and skills to the process), officers wholeheartedly applied unconscious organisational schemas which could be part of any enterprise of total and systematic domination"*

The reproduction of dominating system mechanisms homogenises the colonised field to the ideal of the coloniser. Conditions that dominate the colonised can be reproduced under its own motion to ensure and strengthen the domination of the coloniser and continue the subordination of the colonised .

The weapons of assimilation and segregation are further reinforced when the coloniser positions actors in a relationship of domination over the dominated. Resettling accomplished this mechanism by imposed the authority of French military officers over the Algerian people living in the many resettlement centres across the country. The mandating of forbidden zones stopped the Algerian people from engaging with resistance forces by managing their travel and movement across the country. It was necessary however that the right sort of military officers was positioned in these dominating relationships. These were the authoritarian officers who were enthusiastic supporters of the colonisation and displayed the traits most desirable to the colonising efforts:

> *"The authoritarian officer, because he more fully embraced his role and because he fully undertook the project of starting from a blank slate (or in his vocabulary, to "de-structure" in order to "re-structure") was both more effective and more monstrous"* (Bourdieu & Sayad 2020, p. 20)

The privileged agents are those with the right social markers (Topper 2001b). Traits that align to the coloniser's ideal. Having the right agents in positions of domination reinforces the colonisation.

Conditions that reinforce the successful colonisers are created so that more success is achieved (Grenfell 2014). The de-structuring of the traditional way of life for the Algerian

people left them unsuccessful and ensured that the French colonisers were not only successful in their initial take over but remained in positions of success. In this way, the successful coloniser achieves more and more success as the colonised became weakened, more unsuccessful and struggling for survival:

> *"Thus the traditional traditionalism that suited the strongly integrated society and relied on a relatively balanced economy is replaced by the traditionalism of despair, inseparable from an economy of survival and a disaggregated society that is specific to sous-proletaries who are chained to the past that they know is dead and buried".*

For these unsuccessful Algerian people, the way to survive was to abandon their own agricultural roots and habitus to either work on the colonist's farms, join in the new economy by becoming 'workers' as opposed to farmers, or to emigrate.

2.3.4 Colonisation of universities

The increasing audit culture of university management is a hallmark of colonialism's control of ordering structures. Increasing weaponisation of performance indicators and benchmarking is profoundly refashioning the working environment of universities with devasting impact in the governance and management of human conduct.

As this audit culture strengthens its grip on universities, the value of universities to society as places of higher learning and public good is replaced with the capitalist idea of universities as corporate enterprises concerned primarily with competitive advantage and market share, servicing the needs of commerce and maximising economic return and investment (Deem 2001; Jessop 2017). This audit culture has legitimised managerial changes to university structures that give generic managers powers of surveillance and to increasingly scrutinise every aspect of academic performance. More and more performance evidence that "academics are acting correctly" is demanded.

True to the nature of colonialism, the oppression of the audit culture inflicts violence on academics. The terror of 'publish or perish' and the game play needed to secure publications in high impact journals undermines individual scholarship as academics scramble to publish

anything in order to survive the regimes of academic publication. (Chapman et al. 2019). The language of audit legitimises managerial power and undermines traditional collegial values (Craig, Amernic & Tourish 2014). Academics are de-professionalised by removing tenure in favour of casualisation and the undermining of academic freedom. Resistance activities are neutralised by managerialism in this way and pits colleagues against each other, rendering them suitably deficient. Silence, neglect and exit become the only realistic options available for academics wishing to survive the managerial order.

2.4 Bourdieusian Theory of Practice

An individual's practice is the result of the intertwined relationship between dispositions (habitus) and position within the field (capital), which occurs in the current state of play within a social arena (field) (Grenfell 2014). Practice is temporal in that it occurs within the here and now:

> *"Practice unfolds in time, and it has all the correlative properties, such as irreversibility, that synchronization destroys. Its temporal structure, that is, its rhythm, its tempo, and above all its directionality, is constitutive of its meaning. As with music, any manipulation of this structure, even a simple change in tempo, either acceleration or slowing down, subjects it to a destructuration that is irreducible to a simple change in an axis of reference. In short, because it is entirely immersed in the current of the time, practice is inseparable from temporality, not only because it is played out in time, but also because it plays strategically with time and especially tempo."* (Bourdieu 1990)

Bourdieu considered that theory was a way of challenging practice (Bourdieu 1988), and his Theory of Practice is a complex philosophy that draws together the three main concepts of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* to understand the influence and interplay of each on an individual's practice (Grenfell 2014). Bourdieu (1986b) summarises the relationship between the three concepts as the following equation:

Figure 1: Equation of the Theory of Practice and explanation

The agency of the human   The social arena

$$[\text{(habitus)} \quad \text{(capital)}] \quad + \quad \text{field} \quad = \quad \text{practice}$$

Disposition
- Taste
- Preference
- Values

Habits

Skills

Educational experiences

Gained from our culture

Economic

Social

Symbolic

Cultural
Embedded, for example
- Accent
- Gender

Objectified, for example
- Publications
- H-Index

Institutional, for example
- Alma Mater
- Society membership

The social arena we are trying to survive in

It has its own set of rules that are different from our culture.

Where we survive

The activity of making and transforming 'our world'.

2.4.1 Field

Likened to a football field or a battle field, the Bourdieusian concept of *field* is as a boundaried social arena or space in where individuals act, or 'play the game' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). It is a fluid and complex space, governed by its own laws (Jenkins 2014). Actions are shaped by the disposition (habitus) of the individuals and by their efforts in competing for success within the field. Bourdieu conceptualised this with the following football metaphor which captures both the notion of playing the game and the competition that inherently exists within the field:

> *"A player who is involved and caught up in the game adjusts not to what he sees but to what he fore-sees, sees in advance in the directly perceived present; he passes the ball not to the spot where his team mate is but to the spot he will reach – before his opponent – a moment later, anticipating the anticipations of the others, as when 'selling a dummy', seeking to confound them."* (Bourdieu 1990 p.81)

The field is thought of as both a stable and dynamic space – structured and structuring (Bourdieu 1990). There are explicit rules at play within the field governing what is permissible and what is not. The majority of rules are applied implicitly and semi-consciously to the social space and as such the player may not know why they had the choice to act or decide in a particular way (Grenfell 2014). This is explained through the concept of doxa and illusio, explained further below.

2.4.2 Habitus

Resulting from one's experiences past and present, *habitus* is the ways in which an individual thinks, feels, acts and presents themselves in the world (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990).

> *"a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures*
> *predisposed to function as structuring structures… which generate and*
> *organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted."*
> (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990, p. 53 p.53)

Habitus is considered to be either stable (structured structures) or dynamic (structuring structures) and influences how individuals navigate the field (Bourdieu 1977). Where habitus matches and aligns with the field, an individual will be able to navigate more successfully. They know how to play the game (Grenfell 2014). Not only that, when habitus is structured by the field it can induce social closure whereby one group of actors within a field will monopolise advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of 'outsiders' (Jarness 2016). Habitus is not however static and through experiences that are conscious, intentionally self-fashioning or through pedagogical efforts, habitus can change and new, dynamic responses to the field can be generated.

In his early fieldwork, Bourdieu reintroduced this Aristotelian-Thomist notion of habitus as a way to make sense of the impact of colonisation in Algeria. The social and mental structures of the peasantry were out of kilter. On one hand there was the traditional logic of honour, kinship and group solidarity of the pre-colonised Algerian peasantry, thrusting against the individualised interests, market relations and material profit introduced by the colonised imposition (Wacquant 2016).

2.4.3 Capital

As individuals play the game within a field, *capital* provides competitive advantages. There is no level playing field in that individuals enter the field with differing amounts of capitals and as such the stake in the game is the accumulation of capitals. Particular capital is considered more or less valuable within the field and competition drives the accumulate of the valuable capital in order to dominate the field (Grenfell 2014).

> *"Capital, which, in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible."*

Bourdieu recognises four main capitals: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Economic capital describes financial capital associated with salary, assets, savings, etcetera. While cultural capital is considered in three forms; embodied (such as accent, gender), institutional (such as university attended or society memberships), and objectified (such as publication output or H-index). Social capital is the influential relationships actors possess within the field, often recognised as 'who you know' (Lin 2000). Usually, social capital and cultural capital are used to generate symbolic capital.

2.4.4 Illusio and doxa

Individuals must have an interest in remaining in and surviving in the field. They become 'taken in by the game' which Bourdieu describes as *illusio* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Through repeated actions and routines individuals develop an unreflexive commitment to reproducing and enforcing the rules of the game , seeking to maximise the symbolic profits on offer (Grenfell 2014). *Doxa* is the unquestioned 'sense of reality' or the misrecognised arbitrary 'taken for granted' assumptions that individuals apply to the field (Grenfell 2014).

> *"the dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken for granted; the dominant classes have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa."*

Symbolic violence occurs when doxa and illusio support an invisible, euphemised model of domination which prevents it from being recognised.

2.4.5 Orthodoxy and heterodoxy

When doxa is questioned, space for change is created as political consciousness awakens (Bourdieu 1977; Berlinerblau 2001). Out of this consciousness, *heterodoxy* emerges as disagreement with doxa when the subjugated class become aware of this taken for granted space and begin to question it . But whilst the dominated push back, the dominant class have an interest in the doxa remaining intact, resulting in *orthodoxy*.

> *"Orthodoxy… without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa, exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is… made possible by the existence of competing possibles and to the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies"*

The orthodoxy of the dominant class holds to status, persuasiveness and control of resources that keep the doxa in place. The appearance of the 'correctness' of the field is defended so that the dominant class remains dominant.

2.4.6 Symbolic violence

Symbolic violence and suffering within our societies is why we should bother to study how our societies function. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is a field condition central to his view of the social world and his belief that dominant symbolic systems are instruments of symbolic violence and social reproduction. The subordinated groups adopt the cultural beliefs and values of the groups above them in the social field, legitimising these beliefs (Grenfell 2014).

> *"Not only are 'the ruling ideas, in every age, the ideas of the ruling class',*
> *but that the ruling ideas themselves reinforce the rule of that class, and*
> *that they succeed in doing so by establishing themselves as 'legitimate',*
> *that is, by concealing their basis in the (economic and political) power of*
> *the ruling class."*

Fields are governed through processes of categorisation and domination which orders them and the people within it. Violence arises when these categorisations are thought of as natural within the field, when in fact they are cultural, historical and arbitrary (Bourdieu 1977). Symbolic violence is an unperceived form of violence which dominates complicit and subjugated individuals within the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

Symbolic violence is transmitted through institutions, ideology, language and discourse, and social relations with individuals playing a role in its reproduction through acceptance and internalisation of ideas and structures that subordinate them (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Members of the dominate class remain dominate by going about their day to day, adhering to the rules of the field and maintaining their positions of privilege. This is a misrecognition that causes suffering (Grenfell 2014). In exposing symbolic violence, critical reflection becomes possible and a pathway through which symbolic violence can be resolved (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Disrupting field experiences creates a space for change (Grenfell 2014).

2.5 The future of universities

The crisis of the Australian university system as we now know it, began with the Dawkins reforms of the 1980's. Consolidation of existing Australian universities to meet the new definition of a 'university' based on student enrolments, then gave access to funding incentives (Croucher & Waghorne 2020). Not long after these reforms took effect, said the negative state of universities was "… no accident. It is caused by the way they are organised and funded, as well as the behaviours they reward". As a result of the Dawkins reforms, considerable structural shifts provided opportunity for managerialism to infiltrate, affecting teaching practices and labour conditions.

For change to occur says that the iron grip of the Commonwealth over the Australian university sector must be relaxed to allow universities to diversity and to meet the needs of their future students:

> "Australian universities, therefore, need Vice-Chancellors with the skills to reinvigorate strategic planning by leading the engagement of the professoriate, re-establish connections with Academic Board/Academic Senate, and increase the meaningful involvement of all stakeholders in the

strategic planning and strategy development processes, including our most important stakeholder, the students." (Howes 2018, p. 454)

reports that successful universities are those who can articulate their missions powerfully, are true to their core values, and have powerful connections to their geographic place. From a research perspective, in looking forward Chapman et al. (2019) offers that change needs to start in the institution itself where rewards are given to doctoral students producing high quality research and academics are rewarded for the high quality of their mentoring of these students. Rather than seasoned academics gaining more and more from knowing and playing the h-index, citation numbers and publication research game. says that long standing traditional models of higher education should be replaced by new approaches that are creative, innovative, demonstrate meaningfulness and above all have social purpose at its core.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review highlights important themes that are developed and discussed by this thesis. Universities are unique and academic advancement is not built through market logic inflicted upon universities by the distortion of managerialism. It is understood that non-third space professional staff have increasingly diverse and authoritative roles in the operations of the managerialised university and yet understandings of their experiences are limited. And it is understood that academics are significantly and increasingly struggling and suffering in the managerialised university. Their wellbeing is impacted by a range of experiences, including terror, fear, anxiety, overwork, hostility, conflict, and resentment. Their academic identity is threatened.

By viewing the issues of the managerialised university and the lived experiences of academic and professional staff though Bourdieusian theory, an alternative perspective is provided. This perspective helps understand how managerialism colonises universities by enacting symbolic violence. Further, by understanding this pathology a pathway towards the postmangerial university can be sought.

CHAPTER 3   RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This section provides further context around the research framework used throughout this thesis which is a culmination of four research papers comprising Chapters 4 to 7. Due to word limitations of the respective journals, the research method was not fully explained in each paper.

3.1 Research aim

The overall aim of this thesis is to understand the impacts of managerialism more deeply on universities and on academics and professional staff, particularly as the current situation in Anglo universities is known to cause struggle and suffering. The intent of this thesis is to illuminate how managerialism goes about colonising universities, with a particular focus on the application of symbolic violence, and consequently to understand how it becomes possible to move towards a university which continues to realise its future societal good as a unique place of knowledge creation, ideas, and shaping our future generations to overcome the challenges of the future. To achieve this the thesis looks more deeply at the world of academics and professional staff and how they experience a managerialised university and delves into the managerial mechanisms that impact these workers, their relationships to one another and to university management, and to the university itself in terms of its meaning. To accomplish this, I have embraced a Bourdieusian perspective, which I will expand on shortly.

My research aim is driven by my interest in the future of universities as places of social good. It is true to say that an academic life is a calling, driven by the passion of individuals to solve societal problems. This thesis reflects my own experiences within the university as a third space professional , or as I colloquially say, I'm a '*profesh-ademic'*. I have experiences as both a professional staff member and as an academic. This affords me a different view of university life as I move between the boundaries of academic and professional staff work. I have what I would consider to be a privileged experience of university working life, not afforded to many. I see first-hand the impact of managerialism on academia, and as a past professional staff manager I have myself been a complicit contributor and reproducer of managerialism.

Not only do I wish to capture the plight of academics, but it is very important to me that the experiences of professional staff within universities is also strongly captured and reflected in the contributing research papers. A comparative view of academics and professional staff in terms of how their world is structured, such that they relate to each other in a particular way, is not strong in the higher education literature. By examining university working life in this way, lived experiences can reveal a deeper structure of what's driving the situation, which I contend in this thesis is the colonisation of universities by managerialism by means of symbolic violence.

3.2 Overarching theoretical framework

I am using a Bourdieusian lens to understand what is going on inside Anglo universities and examine why their day-to-day working conditions are driving academics to despair (Elg & Jonnergård 2003; Gravett & Petersen 2007; Billot & King 2017; Loveday 2018). This prompts the question: why a Bourdieusian lens, and what is it or at least my version of it? In terms of what a Bourdieusian lens is, the essentials of Bourdieusian theory are outlined in Section 2.4, which basically boil down to a Bourdieu's metaphysical formula in Figure 1: Habitus x Capital + Field = Practice. However, why I feel a Bourdieusian lens is appropriate in my enquiry requires a little more unpacking of the roots of his theory, which I'm sure he would reject; nevertheless, to me the influences are obvious. Akin to an optical lens, a Bourdieusian lens is grounded in structuralism, existentialism, and hermeneutical phenomenology. Without labouring too much on the fine details of each of these concepts I will touch on the quintessential points and show how they work together to create a Bourdieusian lens.

Bourdieu begins from the assumption that both our personal and social worlds are driven by structures that sit beneath what we experience (Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). I liken his anthropological studies to those of geology, where to us on top of the earth we are presented with the world as a typology of mountains and terrains; yet geology appreciates that these are but surface structures that are phenomena produced by the magmatic and tectonic structures deep within the planet. Bourdieu draws on Lévi-Strauss (1963) for his structuralism, which he then advances by way of existentialism. To explain, for Lévi-Strauss (1963), all human behaviours, both social and personal, are governed by structures deep in

the human mind, which render themselves as phenomena in the world around us in terms of our relationship, myths, language, even the civil institutions we create. For Lévi-Strauss (1963), and given what we knew about the human mind at the time (1940s when his ideas were forged), these deeper biological and psychological structures of the human minds were fixed and common across all of us. However, influenced by existential thinking, Bourdieu (1984) saw these underlying structures in a dialectical manner, such that they evolved over time and are not fixed. For him, as our phycological structures (ways of thinking) influence our social structures, so our social structures influence our phycological structures; hence his concept of Habitus (Section 2.4.2) as a "structuring structure, which organises practices and the perceptions of practices". This quote is disclosive because it reveals the phenomenological influences on the Bourdieusian lens, more specifically a hermeneutical (reflexive) phenomenology drawn from Merleau-Ponty (1962), which in turn draws on Husserl and Heidegger as architects of phenomenological inquiry , the central concept of which is that experience is subjective. However, for Merleau-Ponty (1962) and subsequently this subjectivity literally involves one's body. Not only does one's body play a crucial role in perceptions of practice but also in one's speech and in one's relations to others.

Therefore, my Bourdieusian lens enables me to examine perceptions of practice (taken from interview transcripts) for the purpose of discovering the underlying structures or dialectical logic that produces them. Using a similar methodological lens, examined the forced settlement of more than 2 million Algerian peasant (during 1954 to 1960) by the French military. This was an example of colonial violence that saw the fundamental structures of the Algerian economy and thought (Algerian values) destroyed. What Bourdieu and Sayad (2004) realised was that underpinning this despair was a systematic 'destructuration' of Algerian communities. In short, there was a Logic of Colonisation (Section 2.3.3, and Table 2) taking place.

So, what underpins the despair of academics in Anglo universities? From what I have said thus far, we know that when an individual undergoes an experience that disrupts the ordinary – the taken for granted aspects of their existence – an opportunity to engage in a hermeneutical understanding (a questioning of what one is perceiving) presents itself (McManus Holroyd 2007). Therefore, for my studies the disruptive experience is managerialism within the university field. The largely qualitative nature of this work reflects

the use of participant narrative to shed light on their lived experiences of this disruptive space, with the intention of revealing that beneath their subjective experiences is deeper structure - a logic of colonisation of their university by managerialism.

3.3 Research method, collection, and analysis

This thesis draws upon two distinct research projects, both of which have human ethics approval. The method, collection, and analysis of each project is addressed separately below.

- Qualitative Bourdieusian study - The lived experience of academics and professional staff in the managerialised university - H18REA293 (Human Ethics Committee, University of Southern Queensland)
- Mixed methods burnout study – Occurrence of burnout of professional staff administering work integrated learning - H17REA005 (Human Ethics Committee, University of Southern Queensland)

Further details about data collection can be found in Appendix One – Data collection.

3.3.1 Study 1: Qualitative Bourdieusian study – The lived experience of academics and professional staff in the managerialised university

Chapter 4 to 6 draws upon the same single case study methodology. The use of case studies to seek understanding of the experiences of academic and professional staff has a substantial precedent (Pitman 2000; Graham & Regan 2016; Ryan & Bhattacharyya 2016; Lawless 2017).

Participants were recruited from within one Faculty via personal invitation. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 13 academics and 11 professional staff. All participants were asked the same questions with contextualisation to the participant's role (See Table 3). Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to up to 90 minutes depending on the depth and complexity of each answer. Each interview was conducted in the participant's own office or a setting of their choosing.

Table 3: Study 1: Interview questions

Demographic questions	1. Describe your role at this university?
	2. What are your formal qualifications?
	3. How long have you been employed at this university?
	4. If you have worked in other universities, how long have you been employed in the Higher Education sector?
Main interview questions	1. What distinguishes you as an *academic/ professional staff member* as being different from a *professional staff member/ academic*? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	2. How do you see these distinctions become visible in practice?
	3. Do you perceive your work as making an important contribution to this university?
	4. How would you recognise someone as an academic staff member?
	5. How would you recognise someone as a professional staff member?
	6. Imagine there was such a thing as *academic/ admin* school. What were you taught there? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	7. When you started working at this university, how did you know how to behave?
	8. Were there any particular stories or incidences that reinforced how you would behave?
	9. What are the types of conversations and practices that keep you connected to your *academic/ professional staff* colleagues? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	10. What are the conversations or practices that keep you disconnected from your *academic/ professional staff* colleagues? [Contextualisation; opposite to participant]
	11. What do you pay most attention to in your role?
	12. What are the good things about being an *academic/ professional staff* member as compared to a *professional staff member/ academic*? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	13. What are the bad things about being an *academic/ professional staff* member as compared to a *professional staff member/ academic*? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	14. Would you become an *academic/ professional staff member*? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	15. Assuming that a position was available, and you wanted to become an *academic/ professional staff member*, what's preventing you? [Contextualisation; same as participant]
	16. What constitutes satisfying work for you?
	17. What would you find unsatisfying over a long term?
	18. What is a terrible work day for you?
	19. What is a perfect work day for you?

Transcribed interviews were thematically analysed by a framework strongly informed by and Smith, Flower and Larkin (2009). Stage 1 involved reading and rereading each transcript with initial notations. Using NVivo, Stage 2 involved coding emergent themes in each transcript before connecting these themes across all transcripts in Stage 3. Each paper was then developed with a primary focus on Bourdieusian concepts as they applied to the university field.

3.3.2 Study 2: Mixed methods burnout study – Occurrence of burnout of professional staff administering WIL

Chapter 7 combines empirical mixed methods data and systems thinking to understand burnout in professional staff administering WIL in universities across Australia. Empirical data was collected in two parts; a quantitative measure of burnout using the validated Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (OLBI), and the open-ended question "Tell me about the circumstances inside and outside of work that have influenced your answer?", intended to draw out inchoate thoughts at the time of surveying.

Systems thinking is integrated with the empirical data to develop and represent the whole Australian WIL system. The use of influence diagrams reveals links between influencing conditions within a system and identifies and allows for credible hypotheses concerning forces governing the system under investigation.

During analysis, each participant's OLBI score was first ranked in descending order. Secondly, narrative was analysed in the same way as the Bourdieusian study outlined above. The pressures of the Australian WIL system, as revealed in current literature, was applied to the Growth and Underinvestment archetype and synthesized with the empirical data.
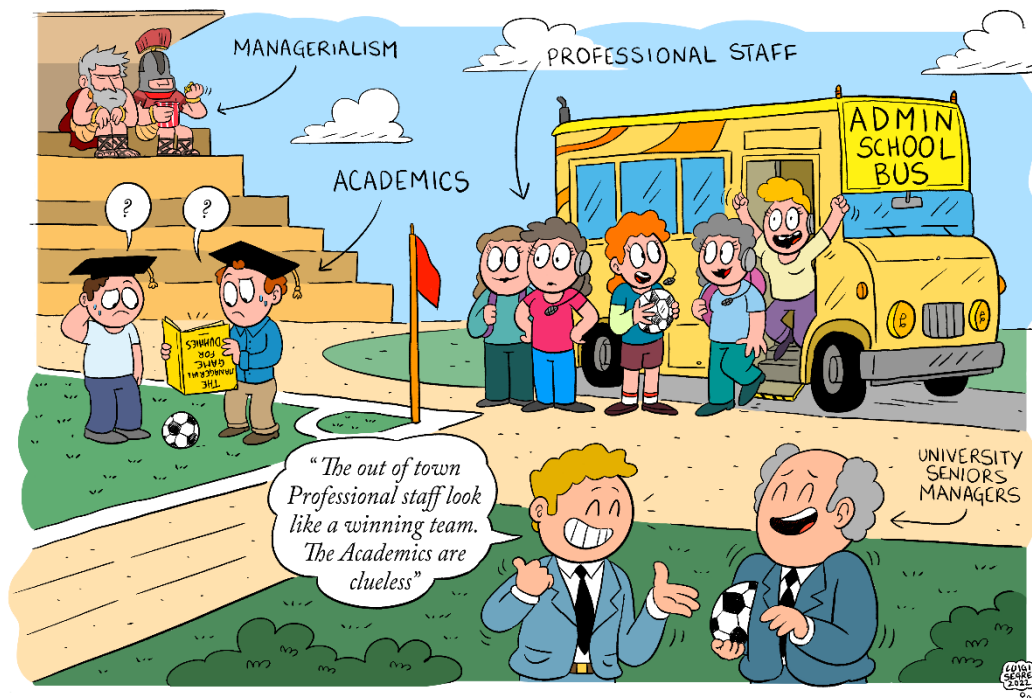
Plate 2: Conscript managerial values

CHAPTER 4   ADMIN SCHOOL: WHY PROFESSIONAL STAFF CAN PLAY THE MANAGERIALISED UNIVERSITY GAME AND ACADEMICS ARE CLUELESS

4.1 Preface

This chapter provides the full manuscript for the first peer reviewed paper developed as part of this doctoral research (Study 1: Qualitative Bourdieusian study). The paper is titled *Admin School: Why professional staff can play the managerialised university game and academics are clueless*. This paper is currently under review with *Higher Education Quarterly*.

In terms of the overall thesis, this paper examines habitus and role preparation of academics compared to professional staff. Professional staff have a practical mastery of the managerialised game because their habitus is strongly aligned to managerialism, having had similarly constructed educative role preparation. As a result, their doxa and illusio align to managerialism and more over leaves them feeling rewarded by the game. Academics on the other hand, have not had the same role preparation experience and their comprehension of the managerialised nature of the university administration field leaves them disadvantaged. The symbolic violence of this subjugation abandons academics to feel neglected and taken for granted, while managerialism uses its orthodoxy to sustain the managerialised environment through professional staff illusio. Professional staff are placed into a position of domination over academics because not only do they know the rules of the game, they have mastery of the game and they can change the game.

4.2 Key relevance to this thesis

- Managerialism exploits professional staff to establish, reproduce and sustain managerial conditions.
- Professional staff have mastery of the managerialised game and are therefore dominate the field.

- Academics are engaged in a heterodoxic struggle with managerialism, revealing the crisis of the colonised managerial university.

4.3 Citation and co-author details

Table 4: Citation details of original Chapter 4 publication

Citation details	Under review
# times cited	NA
Writing	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)
Data collection and analysis	Anita Wheeldon (100%)
Quality review	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)

4.4 Abstract

Compared to academic staff, this study reveals that university professional staff have a practical mastery of the managerialised university game because they have similarly structured educative role preparation experiences and come to the managerialised university already knowing the rules of the managerialised game, which advantages them in the field. Conversely, academics do not comprehend the managerialised nature of the university administrative field and are disadvantaged when trying to fulfil that side of their role. The resulting heterodoxic struggle of academics is revealed in terms of them feeling neglected, taken for granted, and subjugated. This regional Australian university case study examines the impact of role preparation within the managerialised university field by using the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, field, doxa and illusio. The revealed heterodoxy evidences the crisis in the managerialised university, and we contend a recognition of this creates a space for change.

Key words: Role preparation, doxa, Australian Higher Education, Bourdieu, professional staff

4.5 Introduction

The 'game' of the managerialised university is recognised as being marketised, competition driven, efficiency finding, performance monitoring, and generally concerned with managing 'things' as its primary concern (Winter 2009; Pick, Teo & Yeung 2012; Alvesson & Spicer 2017). Academics view this game as in conflict with their academic identity and feel stressed and unable to cope, as well as feeling lonely, unsupported, and lacking confidence (Elg & Jonnergård 2003; Gravett & Petersen 2007; Billot & King 2017). However, professional staff appear to be prepared for the game. Academics blame university management and professional staff (Chandler, Barry & Clark 2002; Winefield 2008; Loveday 2018) for the conflict, while professional staff blame the academics. Others blame the rise of managerialism in the field of higher education (Watts & Robertson 2011; Kinman 2014; Macfarlane 2015). However, the extant literature focuses on the current condition of the conflict rather than the past experiences or habitus of those currently involved. Though there is some research on how academics enter the workforce, what is not understood is how professional staff are prepared for work in the higher education sector. We feel this is important to know because individuals succeed within a field by knowing the rules of the game and playing astutely (Grenfell 2014). described this field success in terms of the player who is caught up in the illusion (illusio - their interest in playing the game) of the game, adjusting "not to what he sees but to what he fore-sees, sees in advance in the directly perceived present". This ability to fore-see the game is dependent on role preparation or prior experience of the game, which includes one's learning and education, and can be considered an aspect of the self and therefore a feature of habitus. An individual with a habitus and illusio already aligned to the doxa (the taken for granted assumptions) of a field of practice has an advantage in the field in which they practice , as the 'how to play the game' is already embedded in their habitus (Lamaison & Bourdieu 1986).

Grounded in Bourdieusian ontology, the concepts of habitus, field, doxa, and illusio combine as a way of understanding the impact role preparedness has on university academic and professional staff. By comparing role preparedness of professional and academic staff, this study seeks to disclose how individuals are prepared to succeed (or not) in the managerialised university game. Semi-structured interviews were thematically analysed, and a review of the codes reveal that professional staff already knew the rules of the university administrative

field before they entered the game. The customer service focus (the illusio) of the game appears natural to them and they derive reward from playing this feature of the game. Their common role preparation experiences (doxa) are relatively homogenous and strongly align with the administrative roles they perform in the university administrative field.

On the other hand, interviews with academic staff reveal that they are disadvantaged in the university administrative field due to both limited role preparation and a misaligned doxa and illusio. Academics feel clueless about fulfilling administrative and operational duties as they lack the habitus of professional staff. Furthermore, university management engages in maintaining a managerialised orthodoxy, which professional staff are quite comfortable in – but academics are not. Academics are frustrated, fearful, and are not coping. They feel neglected, taken for granted, and subjugated.

4.6 Literature review

We begin by examining the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, field, doxa, and illusio in a sufficient manner for this study. We then consider the literature that reports the experiences of academic and professional staff in the managerialised university and articulate our research question along with its importance.

Firstly, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of each of the roles discussed in this study and to define what we mean by role preparation. Academics are the knowledge workers of the university who engage in the core business of teaching and research (Clegg 2008; Macfarlane 2015). Professional staff undertake a multitude of operational roles within the university, including administration (Whitchurch 2018c). The professional staff in this study all held administrative roles.

Secondly, in this study role preparation refers to an individual's accumulative personal experiences, which includes their learnings and education prior to their university appointment. These structuring experiences can be seen to influence aspects of an individual's habitus, as discussed further below. In this study, role preparation does not refer to the more mechanical and material actions of workplace preparations, such as workplace orientations, onboarding sessions, or policy familiarisation.

4.6.1 Habitus, field, doxa and illusio

Field is a 'boundaried' social space, with its own set of laws that govern practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Bourdieu likened this social (not physical) space to a football field or battlefield where actors strive to succeed. For Bourdieu, field is a meaningful social and conceptual space where an individual decides, and therefore strives, to create value and establish personal worth (Wacquant 1989). An individual's habitus interacts with the field to form the practice their practice, which is a product of the relationship between an individual's dispositions (*habitus*) and the current state of the arena (*field*) the individual is acting in (Bourdieu 1990; Grenfell 2014). Simplistically, field can be considered as the behavioural norms (doxa) derived from the multitude of people who are occupied in this common social space.

Habitus is the sum of the ways an individual acts, feels, thinks, presents themselves in the world, and is an outcome of one's past and present circumstances (Bourdieu 1990; Lawler 2004). Bourdieu viewed an individual's habitus as a "system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures… which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 53). Individuals navigate the field through stable (structured structures) and dynamic (structuring structures) influences (Bourdieu 1977). Through experiences such as education, an individual's habitus carries the genesis for new responses to fields they find themselves in. In this way habitus is not static. And through conscious, intentional self-fashioning or pedagogical efforts, habitus can change when exposed to new experiences (Bourdieu 2000; Friedman 2013).

The alignment of an individual's habitus to a field may match or mismatch (Grenfell 2014). This tenant is the theoretical frame for this study. The degree of alignment determines an individual's understanding of, and ability to 'play the game'. *Doxa* is pre-reflexive intuitive knowledge that is shaped by experience and forms an individual's unconscious physical and relational predispositions (Grenfell 2014). In other words, doxa is the taken-for-granted assumptions that an individual applies to the field. Bourdieu observed that "the dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of

the taken for granted; the dominant classes have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa or, short of this, of establishing in its place the necessarily imperfect substitute, orthodoxy " .

Orthodoxy props up the taken for granted doxa of a field by projecting it with a 'veneer of correctness' . It is used by the dominant class to maintain the status quo through persuasiveness and controlling resources. Whereas heterodoxy appears in a field as a disagreement with orthodoxy. *Heterodoxy* emerges when individuals of the dominated class notice and question doxa. For Bourdieu, it was in this questioning of doxa that a space for change can be created and is necessary to awaken a political consciousness.

Playing the game involves investment, interest, and competition amongst those acting within the field, which Bourdieu refers to as *illusio*. Individuals become taken-in by the game and through repeated actions and routines they develop an unreflexive commitment to reproduce these actions and routines, which enforces and reinforces the rules of the game (Bourdieu 2000). In other words, actors develop an interest in pursuing the game because they can maximize their profits from it (Grenfell 2014).

4.6.2 The managerialised university

The managerialised university has a muscular management style focused on an audit culture of accountability, market-orientation, attention on securing funding, increased concern for issues of efficiency and economy, performance management, quality assurance mechanisms, budgetary devolution, and departmental restructuring (Deem & Brehony 2005a; Anderson 2008; Shepherd 2018). suggests that such managerial work ideologies conflict with academic ideologies, and results in a hybrid organisational identity where different expectations and discourses arise around roles, rights, individual obligations, and the organisation's nature and purpose.

The hybrid nature of the managerialised university is a source of anxiety and distress to academics (Teelken 2012; Jameson 2018; Shams 2019). As a reaction to the increasing intensification of academic workloads and institutional performance pressures, described the "managed academic" as being disengaged from their institution's business direction, as they express more commitment and value to their discipline and academic expertise than their institution. revealed an "always-on" environment where academics cope with this situation

by subordinating aspects of their family and home life by choosing to work excessive hours at home. Academics also choose to work off-campus as a way of exercising autonomy in an attempt to claw back time to undertake personal research, which they deem more important than managerialised tasks. showed how the sharing of survival stories between academic colleagues acted as a foil and important relief against dysfunctional management situations in a pressurized environment.

4.6.3 Academic preparation for university work life

Irrespective of entry pathway, studies describe an academic's entry into academia as a negative experience. found that academics entry experiences were a "daunting, challenging process", and the academic environment was "alienating and lonely". described a lack of research confidence in early career researchers who had entered academia from a non-traditional study pathway. And Billot and King (2017) found that academics commencing in a New Zealand university experienced isolation stemming from feelings that senior researchers were too busy to support less experienced colleagues in pursuing research, which led to the early career researchers feeling overwhelmed. Most recently, and relevant to this study, showed that academics who entered the profession later in their career after a professional career in industry, lacked collective habitus and were unlikely to understand the rules of the university game. As opposed to those academics who entered through a more privileged traditional linear path, whereby they had completed a PhD whilst in the university and progressed immediately onto an academic role. An experience the authors likened to the membership of a medieval guild.

4.6.4 Professional staff experience university work life

Less is known about the work life experiences of university professional staff (Szekeres 2004; Graham 2010; Connell 2019). Professional staff have been described as "accidental administrators" given that they do not necessarily set out to work for a university. However, once in the university they find the work rewarding and valuable, building careers as a result (Gander 2018); all this despite having divided and fractious relations with their academic colleagues, which is attributed to professional staff engaging in managerialism that undermines academic priorities (Gray 2015; Croucher & Woelert 2021). Professional staff have reported feeling that academics view them as inferior and with "contempt" (Pitman

2000, p. 172). And in turn, professional staff stereotype academics as eccentric, with under-developed interpersonal skills, and are a "cross that must be borne by administrators" (Pitman 2000, p. 173).

4.6.5 Conclusion

Upon entry into the managerialised university field, academics have negative experiences such as isolation and alienation. The experience of professional staff entering the higher education sector is not well understood. Available literature describes experiences of conflict between academics and professional staff, due in part to a dominant 'managerial' orthodoxy. As a line of enquiry, role preparation may be important to consider as a source of the conflict, due to its educative shaping of habitus and how it moderates experience. To explore this, a Bourdieusian perspective enabled us to discern how past experiences condition and influence present experiences. As such, this study seeks to answer the question: *As an aspect of habitus, does role preparation of both professional staff and academics assist with an ability to 'play the game' of the managerialised university?*

4.7 Method

The research question is explored through the analysis of interviews with professional staff and academics at an Australian regional university. The use of qualitative case studies to seek deeper understandings of the experiences of those working in universities is common (Fram 2004; Collinson 2006; Lawless 2017; Miller 2019).

4.7.1 Data collection

Participants (professional staff (n = 11) and academics (n = 13)) in this study work for one university faculty (approximately 250 employees). The length of employment at the case university varies from 1 to 30 years. Ages range from early 20's to mid 60's. The academic participants include early mid, and late career academics. The professional staff interviewed held a range of administrative jobs within the faculty, including management roles. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours.

Central to the interview was the prompt to imagine if they had attended such a thing as 'Academic or Admin school'. This was done to establish if there was a metaphorical place where the participant had gone to learn how to be an academic or administrator. The question was then asked: what sort of things were you taught in Academic/Admin School? By invoking the school metaphor, these questions scaffold thinking around the form of educative experiences that may have prepared each of the participants for their respective roles. This technique aligns with the study's framework, as Bourdieu considered 'schooling' to be one of the major pedagogic experiences that shapes an individual's habitus, which is then applied to the social field (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Bourdieu & Farage 1994).

4.7.2 Data analysis

The interview transcripts were thematically analysed using a framework strongly informed by and Smith, Flower and Larkin (2009). Using a Bourdieusian lens, the scripts were firstly read and reread, with initial notation. Secondly, the NVivo platform was used to code emergent themes relevant to role preparation as an aspect of habitus. In the third stage, these themes were connected across all transcripts.

4.8 Findings

In short, professional staff have similar 'admin school' role preparation experiences. They find their work rewarding, meaningful, and are recruited to the university with a habitus that is already strongly aligned to the managerialised university's doxa. The opposite is true for academics who have no similar 'academic school' role preparation experiences. The number in square brackets indicates participant attribution (A = Academic participant, P = Professional staff participant).

4.8.1 Admin schooling is real; Professional staff habitus is aligned, which brings field advantages

Academics and professional staff differ in the structuring experiences that prepared them for their university roles. Professional staff narratives reveal similar preparatory learnings, such as professionalism, customer service, and the importance of time management, of process, and of accuracy. Participants reported that admin school altered their physical appearance and

communication. One participant thought the experience extended "right down to mannerisms, in the way I present myself, in the way I conduct myself in a professional manner" [P3]. Another was taught about "professionalism when communicating and tailoring what you have to say to your audience" [P7]. For another, professionalism involved maintaining a certain demeanour, regardless of who you are interacting with; "You need to maintain that level of respect and professionalism to go 'Right, I may not really like you on a personal level, but I have to deal with you and here is my professional face'" [P8].

Professional staff describe being schooled in the importance of customer service. For one participant it was viewed as being 'massively' important; "They would teach me customer service skills. I think customer service skills is a massive thing that is needed" [P7]. Another participant described being taught particular behaviours associated with customer service; "if you're facing a customer at the counter and the phone is ringing then your priority is always the person that is standing in front of you" [P4].

Time management was also discussed frequently. "Obviously being timely is important" [P1], and that one should "make sure everything is on time" [P7]. One participant noted that "Time management would be a skill that admin school would teach". For this participant, time management was interconnected with quality and attention to detail; "I would say the quality of my work and the timeliness and the attention to detail" [P4].

Regarding the importance of process and accuracy, one participant stated that they were taught "it is certainly important that processes are accurate" [P7], and the importance of "not giving inaccurate things and not making mistakes" [P6]. Adjusting your ways of working to the process was noted by one participant; "processes are very important. And I think, adapting to processes" [P5].

4.8.2 Professional staff find reward, meaning, and pride in their work; they have a strong illusio

Professional staff spoke of their roles in terms of pride and reward. One professional staff participant said, "I take a great deal pride in the work I do" [P8]. Another thought that without the administrative work of professional staff "the students wouldn't be able to do what they're doing at the moment. They wouldn't have this journey or progression throughout

the university" [P7]. One professional staff member explained her contribution to the case university as the "oil that keeps the machine moving" [P1]. Another had similar sentiments and felt that without professional staff, things would start to "fall over"; "I think the lack of us would definitely... They [academics] would quickly understand what our purpose was" [P4]. Some professional staff expressed their work as rewarding. One participant said "There's lots of rewards in this job. Lots and lots" [P5].

Some professional staff participants specifically enjoyed the managerialised nature of their work. "I really like the professional space because I like doing those administrative things. Like the running of reports and the gathering of data is the kind of role that I gravitate to" [P6]. For another, having good time management skills was expressed with a sense of achievement "when you do get the days where you have more time in your office, you can actually prioritise and feel like you're achieving." [P8]. Another viewed the students as customers and saw their work as important work "in terms of giving students a good customer experience" [P20].

4.8.3 Academic school is a fallacy; Academic staff habitus is misaligned, which brings field disadvantages

In contrast to professional staff, academics responses indicated a lack of role preparation; "there is no academic school" [A9]. "It was always assumed that I knew how to be an academic" and that "I just worked it out myself" [A19]. One said they "didn't know what on earth was going on" [A21], and another noted "you just get thrown in the deep end" [A18], as the feeling of learning to be an academics is "a bit by osmosis" [A17].

Upon commencement one academic recounted "I just sat here, and you know what I did for the first probably three months. I read policies. I dug around the website because I thought well, I can't do nothing. Like I've got no classes I know that. Semester isn't starting. I was not given a task list of anything to do. There was no folder of orientation that was put on my desk. There was just - there was absolutely nothing. I was told where my office was by the support staff who were here at the time, and I was given a computer. That's it!" [A10]. Reflecting on their experiences at a different university one participant said, "Nobody inducted me, I didn't know where to park my car. I didn't know about the photocopying. It was a totally different campus and so I had to like totally find my own way with it" [A9].

4.8.4 Admin and operational rules are 'unspoken'; there is a perception of doxa

Professional staff appear to intuitively understand the rules of the university administrative and operational field, but for academics these fields are a minefield of unspoken rules, making them feel like they are "winging it to a certain extent" [A15]. One academic described the experience of hidden rules, saying they felt "left alone as to what is right, what is wrong, what is the norm, what are the rules? What are the hidden rules? The things that you can and can't do. It's not known" [A13]. While another described this as a 'hidden curriculum' and saw it as a sector wide problem, saying "Absolutely there's a hidden curriculum. There's a hidden curriculum in every single – and [the case university] has quite a pronounced one – you wouldn't even call it hidden sometimes" [A24]. Another observed professional staff as having clear guidelines as a resource that "keeps the crabs off them. If anyone's going to be taken to task here, from the customers – which are the students – that won't be the professional staff. The academics are quite exposed" [A15].

There was a feeling that the existence of unspoken rules in the administration field was also purposefully designed as a way for academics to 'get into trouble'. One academic reflected that "I've seen people going different ways and they still get in trouble. You observed that someone got into trouble for that. Obviously, that is not the right thing to do." [A13]. Another noted a lack of protection for academics who failed to understand the unspoken rules, saying "I'm always fearful of overstepping the mark, in one area or not doing enough in another area. The academic doesn't have protection" [A15].

One academic pondered "What are the expectations? … What are the minimum standards? What are the guidelines? Because I'm sure professional staff have them" [A10]. Another felt clueless about unspoken rules, saying "the processes and the underlying procedures, I didn't have a clue. I didn't know if I was doing it right or not. I didn't know!" [A19]. Finally, another simply stated, they had to "make a lot of shit up" [A9].

4.8.5 Academics neglected and taken for granted; they have a weak illusio amidst the orthodoxy

Academics expressed feelings of being undervalued, taken for granted, and feeling as though they are not making a contribution to the case university. In terms of being undervalued, one academic felt that "every day people are taking you for granted and not really saying thank you. Not really even noticing that you exist and that your job is of some value to the whole organisation" [A11]. Another reflected that they felt eroded by the increasing lack of recognition, and it feels like "this constant feeling, like you're on the treadmill. Yet there's such a lot of goodwill from academics. They want to do well. But there's a lack of recognition. And people are sort of feeling it" [A10].

When asked about making a contribution, one academic said "I'm not sure if I'm making a contribution to the university, depending on what the university sees as a contribution" [A13]. Another said, "No. I think it's a lie", then went on to say "I have no concept of explaining to an administrative professional staff member how rotten our jobs are. I guess they look pretty from the outside, but they're not, they're awful. It's a shit job" [A14].

4.8.6 Academics are controlled, coerced, and subjugated by a strong orthodoxy

Academics discussed how the case university subjugated academics by unfairly labelling them with limitations, failings and ineptitude, and coerced them in their roles as academics and restricted their resources. "I think there's a lot of people now who feel that they don't have a lot of say in what's in their course, how the course is taught, what sort of things you assess, to the point where in the previous administration [a senior academic leader] had intervened overtly in the structure of the program, and so I think it's just that people have been disempowered – they don't feel as though they've got much ownership of what they're doing" [A23]. Another felt they worked in an "industry now that doesn't like that concept of having autonomous academics" and that "younger academics have no conception of where we have come from in terms of being able to do our jobs freely with the so-called spirit of academia and actually being the expert in the topic" [A14]. Another said "Except for a little group surrounding the VC, everyone else was not trusted to do their job" [A17].

One academic felt that "conversations are cautious, there's not a lot of trust" [A23]. Another noted a demonstration of subjectification at the time staff morale survey results were circulated; "successive surveys indicated two important findings to me. Among the academic colleagues, our respect and regard for one another was all green. It was all good. And disrespect and disregard for the managerial positions of the university was all red. And the person in charge of that place at that time said – we're not interested because academics are whingers anyway. So, when you tell that to your workforce. That it doesn't matter what you say. We don't care. What do you think happens" [A14].

On the matter of feeling coerced, one said, "they're [the case university] trying to actually put us all into little square pegs with the learning and teaching, and structure how everything should be uniform across the university". This academic went on to reflect that "certain things can be uniform, but how [the learning management system] is presented within different areas [disciplines] should be left up to the academic" [A22]. With respect to working after hours, "there are leaders – academic leaders – who believe that you should be on call, including on weekends and that comes through in conversations" [A10]. Another expressed this as "the discourse of the university in the market is that we'll be there 24 hours a day, seven days a week for the punter [student]. It doesn't matter that the university says, 'Oh but that's not what we say'. Have a look at the damn website. It says 24/7. The moment you present that to a customer, that's what they expect" [A14].

Academics feel controlled by having their resources restricted, saying "They [professional staff] have the access to do it [the university student management system]. I don't have access. I need to be able to go in to see all of that stuff and see what's written in there. I can't do it from my level of access" [A11].

4.8.7 Academics believe they should be doing different things, which is a sign of a heterodoxy

Academics commented on how they view themselves differently to how university management views them, which reveals a sense of heterodoxy. For example, "Institutionally they [university management] would much prefer that I would go out and aggressively market the major and increase our load externally. Do you know that's at odds with what I see as my actual kind of role here" [A24]. Another spoke about a colleague saying they were

"a tremendous researcher, but a complete anarchist when it came to dealings with the head of school, dealing with the Dean, dealing with anybody from that level up, dealing with professional staff. [He] just moves in a completely different way. People should just know whether someone's a good academic or not. And I guess you do!" [A23].

One academic revealed how they deviated from orthodox standards by saying that "academic leaders who believe that you should be on call, including on weekends and that comes through in conversations. Right. So, you can discount that and go 'oh well suffer in your jocks, I'm not going to do that because I need some time'" [A10]. When reflecting upon whether the doxa and orthodox practices contribute to academics feeling as though they a making a contribution, one said, "I didn't really enjoy some of the politics that would go with that [management role] and you are sort of sitting there going well how do I spend my time in my life? Do I want to be part of this? Do I feel I am going to be able to make a valid contribution here that will have impact on students, and I came away with the answer of – no" [A21].

4.8.8 Academics are fearful and not coping under an oppressive orthodoxy

One participant noted academics are "afraid they might fail in the work, so they then work extraordinary hours" and "many of them are afraid to resist because they think it will go against their academic careers. And it will!" [A14]. Another extended this feeling of fear to teaching, saying "People [academics] don't like having people [other academics] in their classrooms because they are not sure whether they're doing it right [teaching]" [A10].

On the theme of not coping, one academic summed up by saying "academics are sort of like a barnacle on a big ship, not part of the crew of the ship. You're sort of stuck on this big hulking ship that's trying to get through this water and all the crew up there are doing their darnedest to steer it and you're just like, 'we'll just hang on and see'. So, it feels like you're weathering it. Not actively participating in it. Which is insane because we're at the front line". [A10].

4.9 Discussion

The findings of this study enable us to argue the case that a managerialised illusio, doxa and orthodoxy drives universities to preserve the current managerialised game and create a veneer of 'all is well'. Even if university executives were directed towards acknowledging the extant body of research that identifies these significant issues within the university sector, their managerialised habitus would unconsciously direct them towards drawing out more solutions from managerialism's 'bag of tricks' to suppress the heterodoxy of academics. This is how universities strive to protect the current doxa and deny the need for change. However, as Fram (2004) put it, doxa is only sustained through an everyday acceptance. Therefore, by illuminating this everyday acceptance – we create a space for reflection on these matters – and change is given an opportunity. While the presence of a heterodoxy amongst academic within our universities reveals their subjugated state, importantly it shows that they have not been completely turned by a managerial orthodoxy. Managerialism appears not to have found a way to infiltrate the habitus of academics, as they still have a sense they are different, and that difference is of value.

For professional staff, admin school is real in terms of schooling experiential knowledge and preparedness for the administrative field, of which there is one inside the university. Their previous and somewhat universal experiences with managerialism have aligned their habitus with the doxa of the field, such that they gain a field advantage and have a sense of relative comfort and confidence amidst the orthodoxy. Not only can they play by the rules, they can play with the rules (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), such that they can evolve the rules for more field advantage. Leaving academics even more at a loss as this aspect of university life remains hidden and 'unspoken'.

University executive management occupy the most powerful positions within the university 'game'. They too can play with and rewrite the rules. It is they who deploy the orthodoxy by making policy to maintain managerialism. In this case, the orthodoxy manifests itself in demonstrations of superior status by subjugating academics to the state where they feel they must prove themselves and 'fall into managerialised line'. Managerial orthodoxy is maintained through the control of resources, such as available time and the inaccessibility to the doxa. In not responding to the heterodoxic cries of academics, universities turn their back

on moments for meaningful change and become complicit in the well-researched destruction managerialism brings to the academy. By noticing the heterodoxy, universities can become conscious of it, and grasp the opportunity for much needed higher educational sector reform. But only if university executives choose to throw down orthodoxy.

Academics find managerialism foreign. It is simply not a part of their habitus. They do not have the necessary illusio of the managerialised field to become invested in it. Academics are underprepared for the operational environment of the managerialised university and are disadvantaged and struggling, unable to find a sense of meaning through their role in that environment.

4.10 Limitations

This is a single case study and therefore generalisation is somewhat limited. However, it should be recognised that demographic characteristics reveal that although academic staff are expressing similar experiences, they have not all had an academic career exclusive to the case university. This indicates that the gap in role preparation is not an exclusive issue to the case university due to academic participants having experience in other universities.

4.11 Conclusion

This study, based in a managerialised Australian university, uses Bourdieusian concepts of habitus, field, doxa and illusio to examine the influence role preparation has on the conflict between university management, professional staff, and academics. Role preparation is used as a line of enquiry because extant literature focuses on current conditions as the source of the conflict rather than the previously socialized conditions of both academics and professional staff. Simply put, perhaps the source of the conflict lays in the structures of the past experiences of academic and professional staff, and this influences their current roles. Bourdieusian concepts enabled us to analyse participant transcript to discern how past experiences condition and influence present experiences.

Our study revealed that when professional staff step onto the managerialised university field they already know how to play the managerialised game in the university field. They have structuring educative experiences that aligns their habitus to each other and to the doxa of the

game. They are unified by a common illusio, which means they find the game rewarding and meaningful. For professional staff, the managerialised university orthodoxy goes unnoticed. However, academics have a conflicting experience. They find themselves without a structuring educative experience as there is no schooling for the role they are required to fulfil. The managerialised university game is not natural to them. It feels wrong to play it and so they are disadvantaged and feel neglected, taken for granted, and subjugated. They have no illusio to drive their engagement with the managerialised field. Their heterodoxy, as a sign of their differently structured habitus, reveals they see 'behind' the taken for granted doxa.

This study contributes to the literature on the culture of conflict within our universities by disclosing a source of conflict that arises from the differential background experiences of academics and professional staff. It proposes that through the emergence and recognition of academic heterodoxy, a reflective space for much needed change can be created. It also points out that by allowing the harm caused by managerialism to continue, those in university leadership become complicit in the destructive conflict.
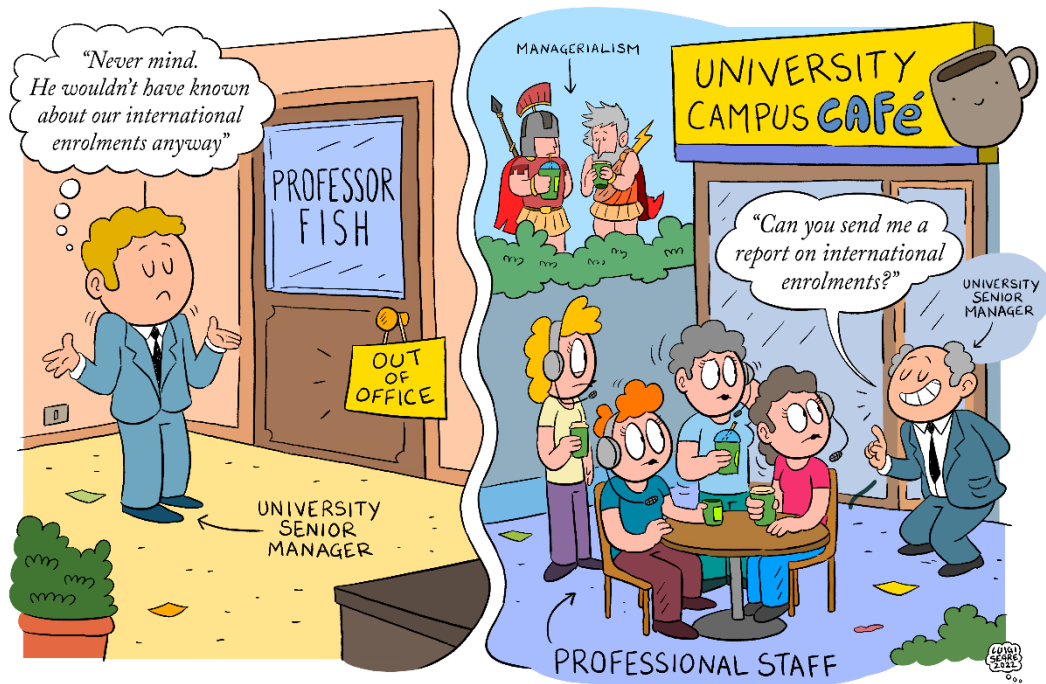
Plate 3: Consign operational knowledge to professional staff

CHAPTER 5 FISH-OUT-OF-OFFICE: HOW MANAGERIALISED UNIVERSITY CONDITIONS MAKES ADMINISTRATIVE KNOWLEDGE INACCESSIBLE TO ACADEMICS

5.1 Preface

This chapter provided the full manuscript for the second peer reviewed paper developed as part of this doctoral research (Study 1: Qualitative Bourdieusian study). This paper is titled *Fish-Out-Of-Office: How managerialised university conditions makes administrative knowledge inaccessible to academics*. This paper is published in *Higher Education Quarterly*.

In terms of this thesis, this paper illuminates how social capital is the valued capital of the home university, not the cultural capital academics possess. Social capital is possessed and accumulated by professional staff and managerialism supports them in this by requiring them to share work and to be on campus. To be successful, academics must expend their energies in building cultural capital outside of their home university field. The managerialised university permits and resources this by supporting academics to work away from the home university, including at home. The administrative knowledge of the home university is transferred through social capital, which makes it inaccessible to academics. The inaccessibility being symbolically violent. Academics struggle with the administrative aspects of their role as a result and are left feeling like they can't cope.

5.2 Key relevant to this thesis

- The managerial work conditions of shared work and the requirement to be on campus allows professional staff to accumulate valued social capital which privileges them with knowledge and success in the field. In this way, managerialism places professional staff into dominant positions over academics.

- Social capital is the valued capital of the field and academics struggle to accumulate this capital. Academics must accumulate cultural capital, and this is not valued by managerialism.
- Managerialism supports academics to work away from the home university and further weakens their success in the managerialised home university field

5.3 Citation and co-author details

Table 5: Citation details of original Chapter 5 publication

Citation details	Wheeldon, A.L., Whitty, S.J. and van der Hoorn, B. 2022, Fish-out-of-office: How managerialised university conditions make administrative knowledge inaccessible to academics. *Higher Education Quarterly*.
# times cited	1
Writing	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)
Data collection and analysis	Anita Wheeldon (100%)
Quality review	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)

5.4 Abstract

Academics report feeling unable to cope in the managerialised university. To confirm these feelings are symptoms of managerialism's tightening grip, we use Bourdieusian concepts of field and capital to compare academics and professional staff experiential statements in an Australian university. We compare their field conditions and examine how their differences enable or hinder the accumulation of capital that defines their field. Findings show that managerialism requires professional staff to share work tasks and be on-campus, which enables them to accumulate the capital they require. Managerialism also permits and resources academics to working out-of-office to accumulate their required capital. Consequentially though, university operational knowledge becomes informal and only accessible to professional staff who accumulate the required social capital to access it. Professional staff are thus fish-in-water; easily accumulating social capital through day-to-

day activities. But academics become fish-out-of-water (office); they flounder to access operational knowledge, which leads to feelings of not coping.

Key words: Bourdieu, managerialism, capital, academic work conditions

5.5 Introduction

The university sector faces substantial challenges (Connell 2019; McKenna 2020), and one symptom of this is that academics feel stressed and unable to cope (Loveday 2018). Academics blame professional staff for increasing compliance and administrative overheads (Anderson 2008) and the intensification of work (Chandler, Barry & Clark 2002; Winefield 2008; Loveday 2018). Professional staff blame academics, who they regard as "incompetent at managerial and administrative tasks, and never in the office when needed" (Collinson 2006, p. 280). The literature attributes blame differently, citing the rise of managerialism in universities (Winefield 2008; Watts & Robertson 2011; Kinman 2014), and argues that the root cause of academic stress is the conflict between managerial and academic values (Anderson 2008; Kinman 2014; Connell 2019). The case put is that managerialism creates this conflict by imposing business-like performance structures and pressures on all aspects of academic work.

There are many examples of how academics suffer under managerialism. Academics are restricted or denied resources, as proposals must have a business sensibility of cost efficiency and market orientation (Burnes, Wend & By 2014). Academics are also excluded from key decision-making bodies (Rowlands 2015). They are measured and judged against unrealistic or baseless teaching and research performance metrics, and face the uncertainty of student evaluation scores and the obscurity of their use (Van Note Chism 2016). Academics experience feelings of failure from harsh scrutiny in the way of grant and promotion rejections, teaching evaluations, negative student feedback, and in many cases job insecurity (Edwards & Ashkanasy 2018). An academic's sense of community is undermined by competing with colleagues for research funding, and politicised impact agendas (Chubb & Reed 2018). Moreover, academics continually face employment uncertainty and precarity, and find themselves responsible (i.e. required to perform activities) but not accountable (i.e. not able to determine resources) for outputs because accountability is in the hands of senior university managers.

There are suggested solutions that could ease managerialism's pressure on academics. For example, university staff should have access to stress management techniques, be offered routines to maintain a balance of activities (Gillespie et al. 2001), and be able to work from home (Gillespie et al. 2001; Webster & Mosoetsa 2002; Anderson 2006). However, these solutions shift the burden of solving the problem to the academic, inferring they are the problem. A bolder solutions advise that university management and academics should 'share governance' (Rowlands 2015). More radically, universities should be restored to a public good (Newfield 2018).

More practical solutions include increasing academic staff numbers, improving facilities, improving communications, and developing management skills, rewards processes, and workload reviews (Gillespie et al. 2001). At first glance one might consider all these solutions as costly, going against the cost efficiency ideals of managerialism. However, amidst these are initiatives that address cost efficiency by assuring reliability in university administrative services. These include requiring professional staff to work in a team-based structure (Deem 2001) and share work with other team members (Godard 2020), and resourcing academics to work off-campus (Aczel et al. 2021). Individually, these might appear to be helpful for both professional staff and academics. But implemented together we suspect these solutions add to the stress academics feel.

Our study sets out to explore the situation of why academics are still not coping under these apparently helpful and supportive conditions. More specifically, what are academics not coping with and is managerialism responsible. If so, how? Like many studies on academics and professional staff in universities (for example, (Deem 2006; Rowlands 2015; Byrd 2019; Gordon & Zainuddin 2020)), as well as Bourdieu himself, we chose to apply a Bourdieusian lens to our study design.

5.6 Literature review

5.6.1 Characterising academic and professional staff roles

Like many universities worldwide, Australian academics are responsible for the university core business of teaching and research, and their identity incorporates the ideals of an intellectual life with collegiality, commitment to truth, free enquiry, and public responsibility

(Clegg 2008; Macfarlane 2015). Academic responsibilities are varied and diverse, with some having research or teaching-only appointments, or some specialise in online learning or employability initiatives (Whitchurch, Locke & Marini 2021). Then there are manager-academics who are generally academics with power interests who occupy many university management roles (Deem & Brehony 2005b; Deem 2006). University administrators are generally referred to as professional staff (Association for Tertiary Education Management 2011; Connell 2019). They assume operational roles and have different working conditions to academics with different career paths and pay scales , and a different professional identity (Whitchurch 2018a). Finally, though not a complete topology of how the university space is populated, there are third-space professionals who are professional staff working in what would previously be considered academic domains (Whitchurch 2018a).

5.6.2 Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital

Bourdieu's concept of field is of a 'boundaried social space' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). He regards capital as a non-financial asset that individuals accumulate and use to secure the most advantageous position within the field. Importantly for this study, capital is only recognised as valuable if the individuals within the field perceive it to be so , and those who do not cultivate the required capital are constrained in the field or considered not part of it .

There are different forms of capital: social, cultural, and symbolic. Social capital is the influential relationships actors possess within the field (Andersen & Kaspersen 2000), and is often recognised as 'who you know' (Lin 2000). It refers to group membership and knowing 'who is who' to enable privileged access to resources, such as trust, relationships, and networks (Bourdieu 1986a; Luthans, Luthans & Luthans 2004). Trust and social networks become a form of knowledge and service exchange, as individuals share knowledge and services more readily with those they trust, and these frequent trusted exchanges promote reciprocity (Li 2007; Cropanzano et al. 2017). Accessibility of individuals to one another is an important enabler of social capital (Nonino 2014).

5.6.3 Managerialism and the university sector

As an ideology (sets of beliefs and ideals that creates and holds together meaning (Van Dijk 2006)), managerialism views the skills that pertain to an organisation's core business as secondary to the generic managerial techniques and skills that can be used to 'manage' an organisation (Klikauer 2013a). Managerialism is political in nature, as it has the power to manipulate the thoughts and behaviours of those who are either directly or indirectly involved in it (Klikauer 2013b) for the purpose of forging the idea that managers alone are best suited to run society (Roberts 1996). Therefore, managerialism can be regarded as malignant, as those who submit to it receive favours and its influence subsequently grows, while those who resist suffer the consequences of having their decision-making powers diminished (Klikauer 2013a).

Historically, universities have shifted from collegialism, where universities were considered a public good and where leadership was elected, to managerialism (Marginson & Considine 2000; Shattock, Horvath & Marginson 2019). By collegialism we mean a specific form of organisational structure where decision-making processes enable consensus building amongst those responsible for undertaking tasks. It also describes an organisational culture were tasks are regarded as a joint efforts (Clark 2001), and where a 'spirit of teamwork' and peaceful behaviours exist amongst university staff (Fischer 2009). The shift comes with the justification that universities must operate as businesses to survive (Jarzabkowski 2002; Deem & Brehony 2005b; Maassen & Stensaker 2019), and there are complex dynamics that drive how universities organise themselves as the norms of a field influence them (Seeber et al. 2015). However, Wheaton (2020) likens the shift to that of a mushroom factory, where professional staff now make decisions that were once the domain of academics, keeping academics in the dark. Consequently, managerialism privileges management agendas over scholarly values, and weakens the status and power of academics.

5.6.4 Academics within the managerial university field

For Bourdieu (1988), an academic is the embodiment of an individual who accumulates a form of cultural capital called intellectual capital, which is central to the formation of an academic's authenticity, legitimacy, and subsequently recognition as a valuable member of the academy (Bourdieu 1988; Archer 2008). Academics are motivated to cultivate their

cultural capital in the fields of teaching and research (scholarship). Within teaching, academics must accumulate high teaching scores and teaching awards, which through promotion can convert into the symbolic capital of rank and position (Van Note Chism 2006; Halse et al. 2007). Within research, academics must accumulate quality publications, a high h-index, and grant income, which can also be converted to rank, position, and prestige in the academic field (Coate, Barnett & Williams 2001; Greenbank 2006).

Increasingly, academics and their managerialised universities have divergent understandings of what a university's missions should be, and what academics are and what academic identity is (Saunderson 2002; Chong, Geare & Willett 2017; Uslu et al. 2019). Feelings of academic distress and not coping are due to conflicts between managerial values and those that reflect the nature of scholarly work (Winter 2009; Halffman & Radder 2015; Connell 2019). For academics across the world (Elmes 2011), not coping is a common feeling , as they resent spending time on compliance and 'administrivia', which reduces the time to spend cultivating scholarly pursuits (Anderson 2006, 2008; Gray 2015).

One way academics cope with the pressure of work is by working from home, both in and outside paid working hours. This strategy takes into account the recent COVID pandemic, which brought into focus the merits and challenges of academics working from home, with most finding it still ideal to work from home (Aczel et al. 2021). However, while working from home enables them to "salvage and preserve time for research", it also means they spend less time physically on-campus and consequently experience a decline in collegial and social relations. This "fiddling" of their own time is one way academics resists managerialism (Anderson 2006, p. 587). Yet it can also be argued that by permitting working from home, managerialism has achieved its goal of work intensification as academics work more hours than they are paid for.

5.6.5 Professional staff in the managerial university field

Professional staff make up more than half of the university workforce (Graham 2012) with the proportion of professional staff to academics continuing to increase (Croucher & Woelert 2021). Professional staff are experiencing a shift in their identity as they take on key roles and gain more authority (Szekeres 2011; Graham 2012). Arguably, managerialism creates an environment where individuals seek to adopt a managerial identity (Winter 2009). In a survey

of professional staff in Australian universities, 26% imagined themselves promoted to managerial roles (Strachan et al. 2012). However, professional staff are not untouched by managerialism. As Pick, Teo and Yeung (2012) reported, professional staff experience wide spread system-wide stressors that impact negatively on their job satisfaction and in a perceived lack of ability to contribute to change.

Professional staff are a diverse community of university workers who proactively participate in sharing, interacting, and accessing relevant resources that enable the university to operate (Gornitzka & Larsen 2004). Managerialism favours a team-based approach to work, which is a concept embraced by universities as it enables multiskilling, job rotation, and team-based work systems, all of which is important from an efficiency perspective as it enables workers to share work and perform a wider variety of tasks (Godard 2020). However, the more shared and dispersed work becomes across a team, the more who in the team is responsible and accountable for the work becomes obscured and ambiguous (Ryan & Gill 2011) to those outside the team.

To conclude our review, while professional staff almost exclusively act in the operational field, additionally academics must act in the fields of teaching and research, where they must place most of their effort to accumulate their academic capital; efforts that managerialism undervalues and dismisses. Under the assertion of improving efficiency, consistency, and reliability of service delivery, managerialism favours a team-based approach to work. However, while this team-based approach allows for task sharing and job rotation amongst professional staff performing their administrative work, it also obscures 'who is responsible and accountable for what'. Conversely for academics, who are primarily focussed on accumulating cultural capital, they are trying to escape the administrative burdens of the university by working off-campus from home. However, even with off-campus working and professional staff delivering increased administrative services, academics still feel unable to cope.

Given this situation, we postulate that instead of helping academics cope, both these initiatives exacerbate the problem. To explore how, we ask three Bourdieusian questions to the data collected from academic and professional staff in a managerialised university:

1. How do academic and professional staff field conditions differ?

2. Do their respective field conditions enable or hinder the accumulation of necessary capital?

3. Could field conditions collectively contribute to the agenda of managerialism?

5.7 Method

We address these research questions through the analysis of 24 interviews with academics and professional staff at an Australian regional university in 2019. From a methodological point of view, the use of case studies to seek understanding of the experiences of academic and professional staff has substantial precedent (Pitman 2000; Graham & Regan 2016; Ryan & Bhattacharyya 2016; Lawless 2017).

5.7.1 Sample, data collection, and analysis

The participant sample was opportunistic and heterogenous with invitations sent to staff from one faculty (approx. 250 employees) within the university. Staff roles varied, as did the length of their employment (1 to 30 years) and their ages (early 20's to mid-60). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 academic staff and 11 professional staff. The interview questions (for example; What distinguishes you as an *academic/professional staff* member as being different from a *professional staff member / academic*?, What are the types of conversations and practices that keep you disconnected from your *academic/ professional staff* colleagues?) were informed by reading Bourdieu's field work with a focus on capturing insights about field and capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1999). All participants were asked the same questions with contextualisation to the participant's role. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes up to 90 minutes. Transcribed interviews were thematically analysed by a staged framework strongly informed by Braun and Clarke and Smith, Flower & Larkin . Stage 1 involved reading and rereading each transcript with initial codes. Using NVivo, stage 2 grouped the codes as emergent field and capital themes in each transcript. To address our research questions, in stage 3 these themes were connected across all transcripts to identify field condition differences, forms of capital accumulated, and field condition receptiveness to the values of managerialism. This methodological approach has validity in its construction due to its involvement of two groups of university workers, whereby the single issue of the accumulation of capital is explored across both cohorts .

5.8 Findings

To begin, we validate the literature's position that academics continue to feel unable to cope. We then turn to the three field conditions that emerged in the narratives and indicate how both professional staff and academics strive to accumulate the necessary capital for their field and highlight how different these field conditions are for them respectively, namely: shared work vs solitary work, on-campus presence vs off-campus presence, and social rituals and events vs solitude. The number in square brackets indicates participant attribution, while the prefix A refers to academic and P refers to professional staff membership.

5.8.1 The nature of academics feeling 'unable to cope'

For academics, the inability to cope appears to converge around three frustrating hindrances they experience while trying to fulfil administrative tasks in their home university. The first, is not being or feeling in control of their administrative tasks:

> "It's almost like the professional staff are here to manage the academic staff, not to assist them – you need to do this by this date; and this has to be in; and don't forget to do this by this date" [A23]. "…when you get all your paperwork right and then it changes! Someone [a professional staff member] changes the form" [A21].

The second, is not knowing what these administrative tasks fully require of them, and when completed whether they are satisfactory:

> "As a professional staff member, you know your left and right. You know what you've got to do. As an academic you don't" [A15].

And third, which causes the most frustration, is not knowing who specifically amongst the professional staff can help them complete these tasks.

> "Often you go 'I don't know who to ask' and you ask a colleague, and they go 'I don't know'. And you waste so much time because there's so much staff movement in the world of this university that you thought you knew who to ask - but now you don't" [A19].

5.8.2 Different field conditions cultivate different capital accumulation

The thematic analysis disclosed three different field conditions that either enable or hinder the accumulation of social and cultural capital. Professional staff conditions favour the accumulation of social capital, whereas the conditions for academics hinder them accumulating both the necessary social capital required for the administrative field and the necessary cultural capital for the teaching and research field.

5.8.3 Differing condition 1: Shared work vs solitary work

Professional staff associate positive feelings with 'shared work', which is different to the traditional notion of teamwork, as they see themselves as a pool of workers with a similar range of skills. They take turns, rotate, and roster work tasks amongst themselves and retain the capacity to help each other out when required.

> "I always have the support of my team" [P3]. "Sharing work is making "sure everyone is getting through their workload together" [P6]. Accomplishing a shared goal "pulls us together as a team. You can notice the happiness of the team" [P1].

In contrast, academics described their day-to-day work as solitary, feeling solely responsible for fulfilling their work tasks. Most of the statements about the lack of shared work amongst academics came from professional staff:

> Being an academic is a "very solo role … they spend a lot of time on their own" [P3]. There are few occasions that "brings them together" [P1]. Academics have the "responsibility of 150-200 students relying solely on them, while us as professional staff have a team of us that work together" [P7].

When academics discuss accumulating their cultural capital, they express that 'finding their tribe' was important, yet the current field conditions for academics hinders the accumulation of this cultural capital.

> "As an academic you want to build your own profile for yourself" [A13]. "If you want to survive as an academic, you have to get above the university so that your identity is

known beyond the university" [A14]. It's "your academic tribe, if you will, is what separates you from the institution" [A9].

5.8.4 Differing condition 2: on-campus vs off-campus presence

In terms of physical presences there is a distinct field difference between professional staff and academics, as professional staff are required/expected to work physically on-campus daily, which leads to informal and impromptu accessibility to one another and assist with accumulating and maintaining social capital, while academics are not required to work on-campus each day. Professional staff felt that shared open-plan environments contribute to useful conversations, specifically about how things are done and who is responsible for doing them, which speaks to where administrative knowledge is held: in the conversations of professional staff.

> Professional staff "tend to be here day to day" [A9] and are "expected to be there" [A13]. Professional staff "sit with their doors open" [A9] and prefer open-plan offices because they are "free flowing and just worked better" [P5].

In contrast, if academics are on-campus then they are not all there at once. Some are never on-campus but rather online. Academics describe their environments as being separated from professional staff.

> Academics are "still a bit segregated in some ways" [P20]. When they are on-campus, academics are "in there [in their on-campus office] with the door shut" [A9], giving off the appearance of "I'm so busy, please don't bother me" [P8].

5.8.5 Differing condition 3: Social rituals and events vs solitude

Social rituals and events feature as an important aspect of the work experience for professional staff, but this is not the case for academics. Whilst academics appreciate the importance of socialising generally, perhaps with other academics in their field, they feel that time pressures prevent them from socialising with professional staff.

Professional staff value social rituals and events, such as morning teas, celebrations, and socialising outside of work. Social rituals also involve informal activities such as a walk to

get a coffee together or a chat on Facebook. These activities are expressed as 'big motivators' that keep professional staff coming to work, and act as a bonding factor, allowing professional staff to have conversations that provide opportunities for their co-workers to jump in and help each other out.

> "It's the professional staff that keep the culture of a faculty or a school alive. They're the ones that are celebrating a birthday or they're always there at the farewells or the Melbourne Cup lunches" [A9]. These activities help form relationships amongst professional staff that reach "beyond the work'" and "getting to know them personally" [P20].

Academics have greatly reduced opportunity to participate in social rituals and events as they either can't afford the time and were too stressed. Academics felt the day-to-day academic community was not as strong as that of professional staff and attribute this to academics not being on-campus, citing monthly school forum as one of the few opportunities to connect with other academics, but observed that not everyone turns up

> "I run 6 degrees, I teach 7 subjects, so I don't have time to waste" [A22]. "Within the institution there is bugger all [opportunity to socialise]" [A10].

5.9 Discussion

We propose that our Australian case study is of international importance, as our findings extend the literature on the impact of managerialism in higher education, particularly the dissonance between academic pursuits and the aims of managerialised universities. For example, see Deem and Brehony (2005a); Deem et al. (2007); Szekeres (2011); Halffman and Radder (2015); Connell (2019); (Shattock, Horvath & Marginson 2019).

contends that no matter where a university is situated, for a university to thrive cooperation must exist between academics and professional staff, and access to university organisational know-how must be preserved, else it is eroded by managerialised practices. Our study reveals *how* managerialism structures university field conditions to fracture academic and professional staff cooperation. Furthermore, these conditions drive university organisational

know-how to be held by the social networks of professional staff. Simply put, those who control the professional staff – control the university.

Deem and Brehony (2005b) and argue that 'new managerialism' exists as a set of ideological principles and language, which legitimates the right of university managers to manage. Our study reveals *how* these ideological principles are enacted by university managers to achieve power by surreptitiously structuring the university environment to hinder academics accumulating their cultural capital. Because accumulating cultural capital is made difficult for them, academics acquiesce their control to university managers.

 argues that public universities worldwide are occupied by a management class, in the way that hostile forces take provisional control over a sovereign territory without any legitimacy. They ask 'how did management succeeded' and list several answers, which include fostering an audit culture (Shore 2008) and setting academics in a permanent state of competition in regard to teaching (Van Note Chism 2016) and research (Chubb & Reed 2018). All of which academics are accused of being complicit in. However, our study suggests that university management are far more nefarious in their actions to claim power, as they take advantage of an academic's need to accumulate cultural capital and hoodwink them to relinquish any control they have by supporting them in their need to work off-campus.

Szekeres (2011) chronicles the rise of the role of professional staff and how they have moved into role previously reserved for senior academics, bearing in mind they still maintain an uneasy relationship with academics. Our research suggests that there is no malevolent agenda behind the climb to power of professional staff. What we see is that their day-to-day behaviour enables them to climb to power in a Arendtally (Arendt 1973) banal way. Simply doing their job amidst the managerially set university field condition is enough to promote them through the university ranks.

To contribute to these viewpoints on managerialisms grip on universities we used a Bourdieusian lens to reveal previously unobserved university field conditions that managerialism takes advantage of to strengthen its hold. By revealing the differences in field conditions and the different forms of capital that both academic and professional staff find necessary to accumulate, we can see how these differences affect academics in such a way that they feel unable to cope with completing administrative tasks, to such an extent that they

are willing to surrender their powers to professional staff. This is *how* decision-making powers are shifted from academics to professional staff.

In sum, professional staff accumulate social capital, which enables them to keep up to date on a) how administrative tasks are completed, and b) who is responsible for completing them. Accumulating this social capital is relatively easy for professional staff. As Bourdieu would put it, professional staff are like 'fish-in-water' because they are immersed in the accumulation of social capital that is essential for them to access the knowledge they require. They "catch up" on how tasks are completed and who is responsible for completing them. And catching up is infused in their day-to-day on-campus shared work experiences. These opportunities to share knowledge and service exchanges between fellow professional staff members can be easily paid back frequently over short periods of time. Trust levels consequently increase between professional staff members, which subsequently contributes to their accumulation of more social capital. This ability to tap into the expertise and help from others is particularly important in knowledge intensive environments (Cross & Cummings 2004) and is a resource not readily available or accessible to off-campus academics.

Conversely for academics, not only must they seek recognition in their disciplines beyond the home university (Salaran 2010; Horta, Meoli & Santos 2021), they must also complete rising levels of administrative tasks. However, when it comes to completing these tasks, academics feel like 'fish-out-of-water' because they are 'fish-out-of-office' – left floundering off-campus. Even after the recent COVID pandemic we know that academics would prefer it this way (Aczel et al. 2021), yet being out-of-office causes them frustration and leads to continued feelings of not coping as they are prevented from accumulating the necessary social capital that is indispensable for completing administrative tasks.

This study reveals that by requiring professional staff to share work activities, to be on-campus, and by facilitating their socialising, managerialism has made university administrative knowledge informal, dynamic, and accessible *only* to those who accumulate the social capital that pertains to it. This requirement for professional staff to be on-campus remains strong even following the recent COVID pandemic, as the return of professional staff is addressed specifically in many publicly available 'COVID safe' plans and frameworks for the return to on-campus working.

Put succinctly, university administrative operational knowledge is held across the trusted relationships of professional staff. Access to this knowledge requires a form of social capital that predominantly exists amongst those who are recognised as professional staff – by professional staff. And on-campus conditions that facilitate shared work and social rituals and events are an essential element for that recognition process.

5.10 Conclusion

Our enquiry is driven by a need to understand how despite improvements concerning professional staff delivery of administrative services and despite support being given to academics to work from home to help them reduce stress and accumulate cultural capital, academics continue to feel unable to cope. We propose that these 'unable to cope' feelings are symptomatic of a more worrying situation where managerialism further prospers from changes to university staff work conditions, which puts academics in a situation where they willingly relinquish more of their powers to university professional staff, including university managers and administrators.

We use the Bourdieusian ontology of field and capital to examine statements collected from academics and professional staff in a case regional Australian university. We asked them how they feel their experience and work conditions differed from the other and explored if these differences enabled or hindered the accumulation of the capital that defined their field. And importantly, could we see anything about these differing field conditions that contributed to academics feeling unable to cope.

We found that while changes made to academic and professional staff work conditions appear to be driven by the desire to improve conditions for all staff, this is not the result. Professional staff derive benefits, but academics continue to feel unable to cope, and would willingly consider relinquishing their administrative powers to professional staff. By embracing these initiatives, managerialism lays claim to the decision-making powers of academics, and relocates operational knowledge to the informal and exclusive social network of professional staff – at the expense of academics.

5.11 Limitations

The generalisability of these findings cannot be guaranteed, although there is evidence singular case studies can have transferability to other contexts when connectivity to the specific case is maintained. However, as argued in the discussion, one can see that our results do impinge on more general theories of managerialisms impact on the higher education sector.

Plate 4: Incite segregation through centralisation

CHAPTER 6   CENTRALISING PROFESSIONAL STAFF: IS THIS ANOTHER INSTRUMENT OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE MANAGERIALISED UNIVERSITY?

6.1 Preface

This chapter provided the full manuscript for the third peer reviewed paper developed as part of this doctoral research (Study 1: Qualitative Bourdieusian study). This paper is titled *Centralising Professional Staff: Is this another instrument of symbolic violence in the managerialised university?* This paper is published in the Journal of Education Administration and History.

In terms of this thesis, this paper investigates the symbolically violent instrument of centralising professional staff away from academics and adds it to the list of other known symbolically violent acts managerialism inflicts upon universities. An occurrence of centralisation where for 7 years professional staff were physically separated from academics is investigated. During this period, the support professional staff gave to academics was repurposed to supporting students only. The power dynamics revealed in the field illuminates the symbolic violence of centralising services and shows that although managerialism increases its power over operational outcomes, it increases the conflict between the very staff it relies upon to be a university.

6.2 Key relevance to this thesis

- As an act of symbolic violence, managerialism excludes academics through centralisation. Professional staff dominant the field and control the system mechanisms.
- The managerialised university inflicts symbolic violence on academics and professional staff in many ways, caused by governmental regulations and policies. Centralisation of professional staff can be added to the list

6.3 Citation and co-author details

Table 6: Citation details of original Chapter 6 publication

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# times cited	0 – published online 5 July 2022
Writing	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)
Data collection and analysis	Anita Wheeldon (100%)
Quality review	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)

6.4 Abstract

If centralising university services is regarded as operationally ineffective, why do managerialised universities continue to organise themselves this way? We investigate an occurrence of this paradox at a regional Australian university, where professional staff services were centralised for a period of 7 years. They were separated from academics and their role repurposed to focus on student needs rather than continuing to support academics. As a method of analysis, we use a Bourdieusian lens to illuminate the power dynamics between fields to reveal, what we argue appears to be a symbolically violent view of centralising services. We conclude that universities continue to centralise services to increase management power, yet this strategy undermines managerialism's own efforts of increasing operational outcomes because it increases conflict between the staff it relies on to be a university.

Key words: symbolic violence, managerialism, Bourdieu, decentralisation

6.5 Introduction

The struggle for power and the occurrence of conflict inside the walls of universities has been the subject of interest and enquiry for decades (Baldridge 1971; Andrews et al. 2007; Musselin 2021). It appears that as managerialism continues to leave its impression on university administrative systems in terms of institutional structure and leadership , academics and professional staff continue to find themselves amidst a struggle of social domination .

The managerialised university is embedded in the higher education sector, striving to achieve high rankings on leagues tables, grow market share, win grant funding, reach government benchmarks, treat students as consumers, and centralise services under the guise of efficiency (Deem et al. 2007; Marginson 2008; Winter 2009; Ward 2011; Ramírez & Hyslop-Margison 2015; Johnson Morgan & Finkelstein 2017; Connell 2019; McKenna 2020). The managerialised university is characterised by carelessness (Blackmore 2020) and is a source of anxiety and distress for academics who feel lonely, unsupported, and lack confidence while struggling to cope (Teelken 2012; Billot & King 2017; Loveday 2018; Shams 2019). In contrast, the role and duties of professional staff have become more complex, dynamic, and influential (Whitchurch 2008; Szekeres 2011; Whitchurch 2018b), which is not to say that they too do not feel undervalued.

To maintain control and reach its performance goals, extant literature finds that the managerialised university engages in acts of symbolic violence (refer Table 1) that are directed towards academics in particular. For example, acts that see academics struggling to meet unachievable standards, that leave them feeling undervalued and bullied , and which even have them experiencing terror . Our study continues this line of enquiry by examining

the seemingly innocuous managerial strategy of centralising professional staff service, as this has an impact on the daily interactions of academic and professional staff.

We investigate this matter in a managerialised regional Australian university, where professional staff services were centralised for a period of 7 years. This restructure was driven by the managerialised objectives of standardisation and improved customer (student) services. During this period professional staff were physically separated from academics and repurposed to focus on student needs as opposed to supporting academics. To examine the case as an act of symbolic violence, we used a Bourdieusian lens to illuminate the power dynamics between fields to reveal the struggle of academics under these conditions.

For Bourdieu (1984) the struggle for power takes place in a field, which is the social space or 'arena' in which individuals operate within a set of defined rules (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Through institutionally transmitted symbolic violence, the dominant group within the field seeks to control other groups. The struggle is an attempt to establish who is best equipped to legitimately control the field, and an attempt to advance each occupational group's interests by imposing their values at the top of the hierarchy (Bourdieu 1984). Each group wants their values to be the signs of distinction. In this sense, the struggle for control of the field is the struggle for distinction – the struggle to be distinguished and regarded as the legitimate authority (Bourdieu 1984).

Through this study we argue that centralising and repurposing professional staff away from supporting academics can be considered an act of symbolic violence. Our aim is to contribute to this body of literature as well as the literature on how universities organise themselves.

6.6 Existing literature

We begin by discussing how the managerialised university field prompts university management towards centralised organisational structures. We then review the Bourdieusian concept of symbolic violence and how Bourdieu viewed the organisation of universities, followed by an overview of literature discussing other instruments of symbolic violence in universities. Finally, the research question is articulated.

Before beginning, we clarify our nomenclature of university workers. In the Australian university system, academics are responsible for the core business of teaching and research. Non-academic staff mostly assume operational roles concerned with administration. They are referred to as professional staff (Connell 2019). Throughout this study, the term professional staff is used and is interchangeable with other terms that may be used in other national university setting such as 'administrative', 'support', or 'non-academic' staff.

6.6.1 The managerialised university

Universities come from a long tradition as being a community of scholars with a dedication to knowledge creation and dissemination for the purpose of transforming human lives to impact the world (Deem 2004; Anderson 2008; Haski-Leventhal 2020). A recent shift in the sector across a number of nations such as Australia has transformed higher education into a managerialised mass-market system, concerned principally with consumer-driven practices (Winter 2009; Hornstein & Law 2017; Pitman 2020; Wheaton 2020). Universities are forced to make strategic and operational decisions aimed at managerialised goals, such as higher rankings, becoming more globally competitive, securing grant funding, achieving greater efficiencies, and reaching government set benchmarking. These shifts ignore its original purpose (Deem & Brehony 2005a; Marginson 2006; Pusser & Marginson 2016; Haski-

Leventhal 2020). All of this occurs amidst a backdrop of rising stress amongst academics due to work intensification, increased research output pressure, loss of academic identity, the demise of collegiality, and dwindling respect for academic leadership (Winefield 2008; Edwards & Ashkanasy 2018; Bosetti & Heffernan 2021; Heffernan & Bosetti 2021). As discussed next, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence has been used as a lens to describe this increasing disempowerment of academics.

6.6.2 Symbolic violence, threat, and struggle

Threat, struggle, and acts of symbolic violence take place in a field; a social space or 'arena' with its own set of rules that individuals operate within and which have potential for change at any time (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Bourdieu uses the metaphor of a football field or a battle field to demonstrate his concept of field as a bounded space, where groups of individuals struggle to gain and maintain dominance (Bourdieu 1990; Grenfell 2014).

6.6.3 Organising the managerialised university through a Bourdieusian lens

For Bourdieu (1988), organising within the university manifests in the form of struggle (by way of political activities) between and inside the sub-fields of the larger university field. Today, we recognise that the managerial university comprises three sub-fields of authority and power (Pfeffer, Julius & Baldridge 1999), namely the academic, managerial, and operational or professional fields. The academic field controls instruments that reproduce institutional prestige and authority (Marginson 2007) through production of research and associated teaching innovation. The managerial field controls instruments that reproduce the institutional body by controlling distribution of university resources, rewarding desired behaviours and punishing others (Pfeffer, Julius & Baldridge 1999), and at every step of the

academic career – who can teach and supervise, and who is recruited, appointed, and promoted (Stiles 2004). Even though the academic field might think it holds many of these controls, it is the managerial field that allows academics to participate in these controls, and this access can be taken away (Heffernan 2020b; Willson & Given 2020). The professional field controls the instruments that reproduce the day-to-day operation of the university, "by knowledge of provincial issues" (Pfeffer, Julius & Baldridge 1999, p. 2) in terms of what needs to be done and who is responsible for doing it. Each field prioritises activities that increase its power in the wider university field.

6.6.4 Instruments of symbolic violence in the managerialised university

An important distinction from physical and structural violence is that symbolic violence is a form of unseeable and unperceivable violence that arises from the differences in power of the field's groups. Structural violence is observable in the form of organising social structures that prevent the dominated from meeting their needs. Symbolic violence then, is exercised upon the dominated groups to legitimise existing inequities that are driven by social structures that impose violence themselves. But unlike structural violence, symbolic violence includes the complicity of the dominated (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). While symbolic violence could be considered a "gentler" violence, it is just as destructive and nonetheless results in struggle (Grenfell 2014, p. 180). It deeply undermines equal opportunity, access, and participation (Topper 2001a).

Important to note for this study is that symbolic violence is transmitted through social relations in the field (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Simply put, an act of symbolic violence is where the norms of the dominant group become imposed on the subjugated group, such that

they are unaware this is happening. Recalling the struggle to gain and maintain dominance in the field, members of the dominant class remain dominant simply by going about their day-to-day and adhering to the rules of the field / norms that maintain their privileged position. However, a distinguishing feature of symbolic violence is that the subjugated "misrecognise" the norms of the dominant group as their own norms (Grenfell 2014). In other words, there is an unconscious agreement, through internalisation and acceptance, between the dominant and subjugated groups to continue the acts of domination, thereby perpetuating the symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990).

When symbolic violence becomes exposed and challenged, critical reflection offers a pathway by which the struggle of symbolic violence can be escaped through the "chance of knowing what game we play and minimising the ways in which we are manipulated by the forces of the field in which we evolve" . also considers academics to be prone to symbolic violence in universities; "they have been subjected to it more intensively than the average person and that they continue to contribute to its exercise". Universities enact symbolic violence through its cultural or institutional practices (Bourdieu 1977). Table 7 presents a summary of the thus far acknowledged instruments used in acts of symbolic violence against academics in managerialised universities. However, we note that structures for organising, such as centralisation and decentralisation are yet to be explored in terms of symbolic violence.

Table 7: Managerialisms instruments used against academics in acts of symbolic violence in universities

Instrument	Form of unnecessary suffering inflicted on academics	Reference
Free market logic	Academics must reframe the university as a commercial entity and treat students as consumers, but neither actually express this orientation.	Saunders (2011) Fırat (2018)
Corporate logic	The identity of academics is undermined by the managerialised university as it applies corporate logic to its practices and environment.	Vican, Friedman and Andreasen (2019)
Private sector employment rules	Academic activities are subject to measures of inefficiency and cost effectiveness. Academics must focus on 'delivering' educational 'products' to 'consumers'. Yet academics want their activities measured for their transformative value.	Bunce and Bennett (2019) Wheaton (2020)
Academic mentoring	Academic mentoring is defiled as it is reduced from including matters of scholarship to advice on how to get promoted and play the university game.	Willson and Given (2020)
Long probationary period and casualisation	Job insecurity, insecure academic identity, precarity, sadness, crisis.	Knights and Clarke (2014) Wöhrer (2014) Baik, Naylor and Corrin (2018) Loveday (2018)
Performance reviews and audits	Profound anxiety due to constant judgement and scrutiny.	Shore and Wright (2003) Shore (2008) Stöckelová (2014)
Inconsistent and conflicting performance benchmarks	Academics experience failure due to unrealistic performance measures, which have negative economic, professional and personal impacts.	McKiernan et al. (2019) Ratle et al. (2020)
Student teaching satisfaction surveys	Academics are judged on gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and factors that are out of their control such as course characteristics.	Wang and Williamson (2020)
Journal rank benchmarking	Academics are subjected to high rejection rates and develop a 'list fetishism', which perverts their scholarship.	Willmott (2011) Tadajewski (2016)
Publication output targets	Research becomes instrumental – for the sake of creating ranked publications. Academic portfolios are no longer radical or ground-breaking, and their own values are compromised.	Wöhrer (2014) Alfrey, Enright and Rynne (2017)

Research income targets	Research income for the sake of targets rather than knowledge production.	Marlin (2009) Thompson (2017) Alvesson and Spicer (2017) Uslu et al. (2019)
Research impact targets	Academic's research is directed towards neoliberal private sector initiatives rather than societal issues.	Narayan, Northcott and Parker (2017) Rhodes, Wright and Pullen (2018)
Academic passion for research	An academic's passion for research is taken advantage of because to continue to research they must mould their traits and tailor their emotions, as only certain types of academic selves are valued. Academics suffer guilt as they become complicit in their own subjugation.	Churchman and King (2009) Lipton (2020)
Constant rapid technology changes	Constant updating and reskilling is required for the sake of being current.	(Gillespie et al. 2001) (Blackmore 2014)
Dysfunctional faculty systems and restructures	Academics are impacted by dysfunctional systems and ongoing restructuring that have economic, emotional, and professional impacts.	Maassen and Stensaker (2019)
Incivility and bullying down the hierarchical chain carried out by university leaders	Increasing incivility and bullying	Heffernan and Bosetti (2021)
Early Career researchers need to build research profile	ECR academics feel undervalued because of performance measures that privileges experienced researchers.	Gale (2011) Caretta et al. (2018) Aprile, Ellem and Lole (2020)
Undervaluing care	Academics (largely female) who undertake caring roles in the university (such as pastoral care) or have caring roles at home are undervalued as successful academics are 'care-less', individualistic and focus on research alone. As care-less academics become leaders the culture is perpetuated.	Lynch et al. (2020) Blackmore (2020)
Operational knowledge is informal, only accessible to professional staff who have the social capital to access it	Professional staff are required to share work tasks and be on-campus, while academics are permitted to work out-of-office, which disenfranchises them from operational knowledge.	

6.6.5 Centralisation as an organising structure

Universities continue to grapple with how best to organise themselves (Schulz & Szekeres

2008; Musselin 2021). Centralisation is one such organising practice favoured by universities

(Jarzabkowski 2002). It impacts the locus of decision making and how competencies are distributed between university leadership and collegial bodies (Barbato, Fumasoli & Turri 2019). The assumption is that more centralisation, formalisation, and standardisation will result in better coordination (Stensaker & Vabø 2013). This managerial tendency is no surprise given the unfounded lure of efficiency it espouses to provide.

For some, the shift away from the "organised anarchies" of universities in the 1970's and 1980's is regarded as beneficial (Maassen & Stensaker 2019, p. 457). For example, operational efficiencies are achieved when student services are centralised to provide a 'one stop student hub' (Buultjens & Robinson 2011). Or a 'whole of university' approach is said to positively impact student engagement (Baron & Corbin 2012). And, while not reporting on the staff perspective, centralised support service models provide adequate support for international students (Roberts, Dunworth & Boldy 2017).

However, in the context of public management, with its known susceptibility to political and managerial control, centralisation has dysfunctionalities or inefficiencies associated with hierarchies of authority and levels of decision making. These disfunctions manifest in coordination problems that impact reporting systems and affect the administrative capacity and allocation of resourcing that enables swift strategic action. The resulting centralised bureaucracy stifles flexibility, adaptability, and the integrative capacity to drive improvements. point out a rise in central executive functions within universities with increasing authority and internal power over core strategic and operational functions, whilst also noting a substantial reduction in professional staff who are dedicated to supporting core academic functions.

In summary, there is compelling evidence that symbolic violence against academics is commonplace in the managerialised university, and many neoliberal, free market, and private sector concepts underpin these acts. Centralisation appears to be a feature of many internal university structures, and this leaves us curious as to why centralisation is such a 'go to' for many managerialised university. We therefore ask, *is centralisation yet another act of symbolic violence waged against academics by managerialism?*

6.7 The study

Case studies are an effective means to examine experiences of change at universities (Zuber-Skerritt 1992). As such, our research question is examined by the analysis of interviews with academic (n = 13) and professional staff (n = 11) in a case university following a defined period (Figure 2) where professional staff where centralised away from academics and their role repurposed. This study has human ethics approval (H18REA293, Human Ethics Research Committee, University of Southern Queensland).

Figure 2: Step change where Professional Staff were centralised
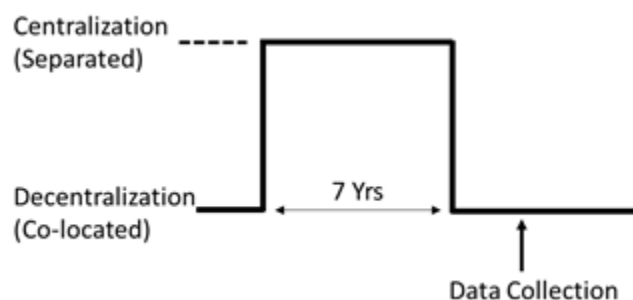
At the time of interviewing, professional staff had been recently relocated back into offices in the same building as their academic colleagues. These professional staff were also directed to once again, as before centralisation, provide support to academic staff.

Whereas the original centralisation of professional staff was driven by objectives of institutional standardisation across all faculties, rather than cost cutting per se, the decentralisation was driven by calls from academic Department Heads to reposition professional staff back to improve support to struggling academics. Of note is that staffing budgets did not change before or after the interim step change of centralisation. This is an important point because it demonstrates the later shift towards decentralisation was driven by operational concerns that were not financially driven.

6.7.1 Data collection and analysis

Data was collected through semi-structured, face to face interviews ranging from between 45 minutes to 1.5 hours depending on the length of responses. Participants within this study work within one university faculty and were all impacted by the same experience of centralisation. All interview questions where the same but contextualised to the participant's role. For example: What types of conversations or practices connect you to your professional staff/ academic colleagues? What are the types of conversations and practices that keep you disconnected from your academic/ professional staff colleagues? Questions were informed by reading Bourdieu's field work with a focus on distinction and power dynamics (Bourdieu 1984, 1999). Our questions did not aim specifically at the phenomenon of centralisation/decentralisation and the experience of being recently relocated. Narrative around this phenomenon arose organically. This allowance of emergent voices at the time of interview is theorised by and is characterised in his field work (Somekh & Lewin 2011).

All interviews were transcribed and analysed using a framework informed by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Smith, Flower and Larkin (2009). Firstly, interviews were read and reread. Then emergent themes relevant to the opinions around the co-location of professional staff

were coded using the Nvivo platform. These themes were then collated across all interviews and analysed.

6.8 Findings

We present our results in two sections. The first reveals the *conditions under centralisation*, where professional staff separation caused academics to struggle for power to control their field, and academics experienced this separation as a form of symbolic violence. Centralisation also intensified the distinction between academics and professional staff and academics cast professional staff as both inferior and working against academic values, for which professional staff fought back. The second section reveals the *conditions following the return to decentralisation*, where solidarity (an awareness of shared values) and collegiality (a sense of shared responsibility) became apparent to both groups, and the struggle to grasp power within the field was eased through their relationship to one another. We use the prefix [A] to indicate a quote from an academic, and [P] refers to a professional staff member.

6.8.1 Conditions under centralisation

6.8.1.1 Academics struggle for control of their field

Academics felt 'disenfranchised from one and other' and described how they 'couldn't actually go to [professional staff] anymore and ask. I did, but I had to do it covertly. I wasn't allowed to actually just knock on the actual door' [A22]. During centralisation, professional staff offices were in areas that had swipe access doors and a receptionist. Therefore, academics could not knock on a professional staff member's door as they had done previously. 'I was highly insulted I can tell you. It's not a feeling of being welcomed or let's have a relationship' [A11]. Because centralisation meant that professional staff were

separated from academics, this changed the nature of their relationship as 'the connection is different because it's nameless. It [who they were talking to] can change, whoever's in the office' [A10].

Their struggle appeared in day-to-day activities, as 'they [professional staff] are the so-called expert in doing that [operational activity]. They know what they are doing. They know how to do it correctly you know. It's more productive, and they can do it swiftly' [A13]. For one academic the decision to centralise was seen as 'one of the worst decisions in the world':

> It was one of the worst decisions in the world that … it would be a great idea to remove administrative support staff away from the academics. It's siloed them. We lost communication with one another. Or we can just send an email. Oh yeah, that'll be email 250. I'll get to that. No, you must have your administrative staff right here in the middle of the business. Not in a silo somewhere. Right in amongst it where they can see the academics crying in their fucking room because they can't keep up [A14].

However, for professional staff, the separation and refocusing of their role felt bolstering, as they felt they were given more control of the field. 'I felt, by statements made at meetings by supervisors or managerial staff, that support should become more student focused. So, we became a consolidated group of professional staff, and we would put more investment into supporting students' [P1].

6.8.1.2 Symbolic violence towards academics

Academics viewed the separation as creating unnecessary secrecy and monitoring. 'We operate as if it's a bloody Pentagon Building and everyone's got a secret number that you have to email, so it can be monitored' [A14]. Academics also felt their individuality was undermined; 'I know they're trying to actually put us all into little square pegs with the learning and teaching, and structure how everything should be uniform across the university'

[A22]. Another noted times where academics were openly distinguished by management in public forums as 'whingers':

> I mean sometimes we'd be called whingers and complainers in public forums. So, it was quite explicit. And, there was a close group of professional staff who wrote a lot of policies and made a lot of decisions, about all sorts of things. For example, about what to name research courses! That's not actually a professional role. I think the disparity between the two groups, the professionals and academics, was more apparent then [during centralisation] than in all my years of working here [A17].

6.8.1.3 Academics distinguish professional staff as inferior and working against academic values

Professional staff were aware of being perceived as inferior to academics; 'It's a sense of inferiority' [P8]. This sense of inferiority further led to the degradation of relationships; 'I've had staff members here being yelled at by academics down the phone, because they are upset because their [required output] aren't in on time, or their [required output] aren't ready for collection and it doesn't suit that academic' [P7]. This inferiority can manifest for professional staff as a lack of respect for the 'knowledge we bring to the table', as 'overall it [professional staff knowledge] is dismissed. People [academics] don't really think that professional staff add value' [P20]. For another, they felt blamed:

> Blame is laid generally with professional staff. And that might be completely valid. But I think sometimes there's just that default position of 'what admin person do we need to whack over the head to get that fixed', which is not a great starting point [P4].

Academics spoke about how they distinguish professional staff. 'I know academic staff talk down to professional staff' [A9]. There are 'hierarchies of knowledge and there are hierarchies of practice. So, academics traditionally are given more power within that kind of really strict western [university] model than professional staff are given' [A24].

Professional staff resist this status hierarchy. One adopted the stance that they were equal and could address academics by their first name [P2]. This infers that there was a perception that it is not appropriate for professional staff to call academics by their first names or approach them. Another defied this distinction by stating 'I wouldn't want anyone in my team to feel like they have to bow and scrape and beg for something because they're asking an academic' [P4], and 'We're all human. I don't put on a show for an academic' [P3].

6.8.2 Conditions following the return to decentralisation

6.8.2.1 Solidarity emerged between academics and professional staff

Under decentralised conditions, professional staff felt united in a common purpose with academics to support students; 'We're working as a team; professionals, academics, to assist the students' [P7], and 'we were always in it together' [P2]. For others, 'they [students] are our core purpose for being here. We are all here trying to do the same thing' [P4], and 'to support students, to give them an education, to get them through their programs' [P8].

Academics felt the same way too; 'we need both [academics and professional staff] to deliver what the students' expectations or needs are' [A13]. 'We're both in it for students but we just come at it from different angles' [A9], and 'I work hand in glove with professional staff" [A10].

Academics viewed solidarity as a relationship where they are bound together with professional staff in a common struggle, as 'the jobs are different but equally important. It's kind of a symbiotic relationship' [A24] and 'I don't see the admin staff as being our enemies. Not at all' [A14].

> The best results are achieved when you've got a particular group of people, who work in a particular
> discipline, who are responsible for particular programs, or particular research supported by professional

staff and they all know why they're there. They're all collaborating and cooperating and working together to achieve set goals, whereas I think when you start pulling those pieces of the puzzle apart, then yeah, it just disconnects everything and creates tension [A23].

6.8.2.2 Collegiality reappeared between academics and professional staff

One academic distinguished decentralisation as being near the 'engine room', with the opportunity to understand the 'human' side of the work being undertaken by professional staff:

> They [professional staff] sat right in the middle of us, and we came to the engine of the faculty and it was really obvious I am walking into the pit here... You could see the buzz, and I know that there is something human about it where you come into the environment and go look here's the buzz. Part of our role [as academics] is to administer together and to collaborate, but we lost that opportunity when people moved [professional staff moved to a location away from academics] and we lost that engine [A21].

Once more professional staff enjoyed the 'ad hoc conversations that occur when you're geographically located near them [academics], that then allowed conversation to move outside of the workplace and become closer [to one and other] as a result' [P1]. Decentralisation improved social connectedness. As one remarked, 'no longer are they [academics] just coming to you when they want an answer about a student. It could be 'how was your weekend'. You know, you're building and maintaining those relationships and they're not as formal which I think is nice too. It's nice to see their face' [P3]. Moreover, these chats acted as conversational scaffolds; 'those small informal chats make you feel more comfortable going into their office and having a formal conversation about work' [P7].

> I'm enjoying being able to pop down the hallway and see a particular academic at the printer and say, 'Hey how's your day been going'. And it makes it so when I do have to email those people, I don't feel like I'm just cold calling them, and they don't know who I am. I know that when I send a particular academic an e-mail now, she knows who I am and she's going to be like 'Oh yeah I know who sent this' and it connects us. I guess which before we would not have really had that [P6].

Some academics expressed appreciation for the return; 'I do think proximity is very important and I've appreciated them coming back again' [A11]. Another said, 'I talk to the professional people within those areas, and that is why it's so important that those people are being put back into those specific area' [A23].

6.8.2.3 Struggle eased by renewed relationship to one another

As the professional staff returned to their decentralised state, there was an increased feeling that work could be achieved through the newfound comradery. The daily struggle of accomplishing work was eased. 'Physical presence, that is something that does make a huge difference. Not being close to them [academics] does impact the work that we do' [P1]. The sense of understanding and empathy for one and others' roles was seen as an enabler of work; 'I think being here – now – there's a little bit more exposure, and we are getting to know one another and understand their roles a little bit more because previously I didn't understand their role completely' [P3]. One academic explained, 'There's lots of people walking around hallways getting jobs done in minutes. Not days – minutes' [A14].

6.9 Discussion

Based on our results of the struggle inflicted by the centralisation of professional staff services, we believe this act can be added to the list (refer Table 1) of acts of symbolic violence enacted by the managerialised university towards academic and professional staff. More so, professional staff became the means through which managerialism enacted this symbolic violence. To explain, through centralisation, professional staff were removed from the academic field and repurposed to support students not academics. This change in the relationship between academics and professional staff and how they regarded each other, meant that the influence and power of academics in the field was sequestered, subjugating

academics in the field. Academics affiliated professional staff with the agenda of the dominant group yet classified professional staff as inferior as a result of their struggle for distinction. While professional staff felt bolstered as they felt they were empowered, this fuelled the replication of managerialised practices known to be incompatible with academia (Winter 2009; Shams 2019; Tandilashvili & Tandilashvili 2022). In short, academics internalised that professional staff were acting against their academic values.

From a managerial perspective, centralisation has an attractive veneer. It appears efficient, standardises decision making, and positions managers as powerful. However, it conceals how it harms relationships, is controlling, non-collegial, and massifying, and a structure that is imposed with little regard to the struggles it causes (Winter, Taylor & Sarros 2010; Maassen & Stensaker 2019). As this study shows, after a period of centralisation when professional staff returned to provide academics with direct support, the common value of supporting students once again became clear, and an appreciation for one another was rediscovered as struggle was replaced by concord.

While our findings align with existing literature, they provide a unique contribution by making transparent the domination and violence behind the decision to centralise. For example, we show similarities to Gibbs and Kharouf (2020) who reported the implications of centralisation to be problematic in universities and the benefits of co-location in nurturing co-operation, co-creation, trust and reciprocity between professional staff and academics. However, our study contributes another factor. We find that managerialism undermines its own efforts of control, efficiency, and standardisation, as assumed by university leaders to be best served by centralisation.

Our findings support Marginson (2013) regarding the impossibility of capitalist markets surviving in higher education. This is because knowledge is intrinsically free and therefore a public good (elite universities like Stanford and Harvard will always give it away – Mass Online Open Access Courses are examples of this). By placing universities in a competitive marketplace, universities must see students as consumers and compete based on student satisfaction scores (Tomlinson 2017; Raaper 2018; Bunce & Bennett 2019) which are themselves symbolically violent and inaccurate measures (Wang & Williamson 2020; Heffernan 2022). Universities choose centralisation in an attempt to achieve this (Baron & Corbin 2012; Roberts, Dunworth & Boldy 2017).

Managerialism compels leaders to commit these acts of symbolic violence even though, as our study reveals, centralisation inflicts unnecessary struggle and violence on the very staff who actually deliver education outcomes to students. In this example, higher education leaders are wooed by an illusion that the centralisation of professional staff leads to improved student support and that operational efficiencies are gained. But the centralisation of professional staff detrimentally lowers operational outcomes by increasing staff conflict.

6.10 Limitations

Generalisability of case results like these need to be considered with reference to similarity in case contexts . However, these findings may have particular application to other regional universities.

6.11 Conclusion

Centralisation can be considered yet another act of symbolic violence brought upon academics and professional staff by the managerialised university. Decentralised conditions resulted in a greater sense of collegiality manifested between academic and professional staff and a re-valuing of one and other was forged. Academic and professional staff interacted directly and bypassed unnecessary managerial controls. Decentralised conditions place the common purpose of supporting students at the heart of university operations, and the struggle to get work done is eased.

Plate 5: Set impossible targets

CHAPTER 7   BURNT OUT BY UNDERINVESTORS: WHY UNIVERSITY WIL ADMINISTRATORS SUFFER AMIDST THE AUSTRALIAN WIL SYSTEM

7.1 Preface

This chapter provided the full manuscript for the fourth peer reviewed paper developed as part of this doctoral research (Study 2: Mixed methods burnout study). This paper is titled *Burnt Out By Underinvestors: Why university WIL administrators suffer amidst the Australian WIL system*. This paper is under review with the *International Journal of Work Integrated Learning*.

In terms of this thesis, this paper moves away from the Bourdieusian lens of the previous three chapter and looks at burnout in professional staff administering WIL. It uses systems thinking to understand the pressures on the Australian WIL system which is underinvested by universities and industry and has limited growth to provide the increasing demand for quality WIL for all university students. The capability of industry to provide suitable placements that meet the policy and pedagogical needs of the universities, underprepared students, lack of resources and stressful relationships with colleagues, in particular with academics, act as the clamps that cause the system to be underinvested. For the professional staff involved, they are unable to deliver this quality WIL experience because the system does not allow it. They are burdened with maintaining and stabilising the WIL system, leaving them feeling responsible and disenchanted with their efforts. Burnout is the result of the emotional weight of this burden and being powerless to remedy the situation.

7.2 Key relevance to this thesis

- That the Australian WIL system is underinvested and has limited growth appears of little consequence to managerialism because it only wants the espoused performance metrics that drive competition

- WIL administrators bear the symbolic violence of being abandoned and unable to meet the values of quality WIL for all university students. They must lower their values to that of the Australian WIL system.

7.3 Citation and co-author details

Table 8: Citation details of original Chapter 7 publication

Citation details	Under review
# times cited	NA
Writing	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)
Data collection and analysis	Anita Wheeldon (100%)
Quality review	Anita Wheeldon (80%) Dr S. Jon Whitty (10%); Dr Bronte van der Hoorn (10%)

7.4 Abstract

Australian universities and industry see Work Integrated Learning (WIL) as important as they perceive it to equip students with skills to gain employment. This study contributes to the WIL literature by visualising that the sustained underinvestment in WIL by both universities and industry leaves WIL administrators burdened to maintain and stabilise the WIL system, which results in their feelings of burnout. We substantiate this contribution by combining extant literature with empirical data from WIL administrators at 12 Australian universities and use influence diagramming to visualise how university WIL administrators are positioned in a burnout loop within a Growth and Underinvestment systems dynamic archetype. As such, no matter how hard WIL administrators strive to deliver quality WIL experiences, their efforts are continually undermined by an underinvestment in job resources, industry placement opportunities, productive relationships with colleagues, and student preparedness for WIL.

Key words: work integrated learning, professional staff, burnout, systems thinking, Australian universities

7.5 Introduction

This study contributes to the WIL literature by visualising the pressured situation of professional staff who administer WIL amidst the various elements of the wider Australian WIL system. A visualisation of their situation is achieved by using a research methodology that takes a system thinking approach to data collected from WIL administrators and the WIL literature. The visualisation is an influence diagram that aligns with a Growth and Underinvestment system archetype. As such we are able to 'see' their compromised situation, which is that they experience burnout, and that this state of suffering is brought about by several factors of the wider WIL system that are attributed to both Australian universities and industry underinvesting in WIL.

WIL is an umbrella term that incorporates a range of "approaches and strategies integrating theory with the practice of work within a purposefully designed curriculum" WIL varies from industry placements, internships, simulations, industry projects, laboratory, and fieldwork, to volunteering, and students arranging their own experience. All learning experiences should be purposeful and linked to curriculum, assessment and to a workplace or employer (Edwards et al. 2015; Universities Australia 2019). Where external professional accreditations apply, there may only be the option of traditional placement models, such as in the teaching and nursing disciplines (Department of Education and Training 2015; Birks et al. 2017). However, as WIL becomes more widespread and resource intensive, the challenges associated with securing learning experiences increase (McLennan & Keating 2008). These challenges include a low capacity to supervise and identify suitable projects, and employers not being approached by universities in the first instance (Jackson et al. 2016). Furthermore, industry HR professionals play a decerning role in making WIL equitably available – or not (Mackaway & Winchester-Seeto 2018). And to add to this, the COVID-19 pandemic has created more complications as universities and industry struggle to respond to changed working conditions, such as working from home. These added challenges have a flow on effect to the ability of industry to supervise WIL (Dean & Campbell 2020).

WIL has an impact on preparedness, employability, and the ability of the future workforce to face challenges (Ferns & Lilly 2015; Winchester-Seeto & Piggott 2020). As such the national WIL agenda is one that universities and government continue to engage deeply with (Smith

2012; Cameron et al. 2019). Government funding and initiatives drive up the expectation that all Australian university students undertake WIL (Universities Australia 2019; Australian Government 2021). Industry also recognise WIL as an important way to manage future work forces and talent pipelines (Mackaway & Winchester-Seeto 2018). As such, students see WIL as an important element of skill development and in preparing them for their future career (Aprile & Knight 2019). These multi-layered forces mean the number of students desiring WIL increases, but the reality of WIL speaks more to a compromised workplace experience.

Compromises to WIL come from the high resourcing and workload costs (Bates 2011). And research into the delivery of WIL to large student cohorts at an Australian university shows concern about the sustainability of WIL. Reports such as these point to a cohort of university employees who are under pressure to deliver on the promises of WIL made by universities. Of concern is that WIL administrators, who are a niche and under-researched group of university professional staff (Clark et al. 2014),bear the administrative responsibility of delivering the vison of a quality WIL experiences for all Australian university students.

Using our visualisation of the WIL system we point out that not only are universities violating their legal obligations to the health and well-being of their workforce, but that WIL administrators who exit their roles because of burnout take with them vital knowledge, expertise, and informal relationships with industry partners, which again limits growth in the system. Put simply, the WIL administrator is compromised in their ability to administer quality WIL by factors that are outside of their control. The pressures of being under resourced in their job, placements being limited, students being underprepared, and limited capacity within industry to supervise WIL all act as inhibitors on the system, limiting growth. In reaction to these limitations, WIL administrators must compensate by lowering performance standards for suitable WIL experiences, which limits growth even more and compromised WIL experiences for all stakeholders.

7.6 Literature review

7.6.1 The Importance of WIL and the professional staff who administer it

WIL is important to Australian universities, as it equips students with employability skills that are hoped to lead to employment in the longer term (Dean & Campbell 2020). The National WIL Strategy recognises the benefits of WIL to students, employers, universities and the economy, and seeks to increase participation opportunities. Furthermore, the is financially incentivising WIL, setting a course for even more demand. While a range of national bodies, including the Australian Higher Education Industrial Association (AHEIA), the Australian Chamber of Commerce (ACCI), the Business Council of Australia (BCA), and Universities Australia all seek to make WIL a key priority, there are logistical challenges to delivering WIL that must be acknowledged.

WIL administrators are part of the 55% of professional staff contributing to the Australian higher education workforce in a number of different administrative roles (Department of Education 2017). Understanding the diversity of this staff cohort and their contributions to core functions enhances the sustainability of Australian universities. In the past, professional staff were considered the 'invisible workers' of universities (Dobson & Conway 2003; Szekeres 2004). In recent years, research into the experience of work for this group of individuals is steadily growing as their role in universities becomes professionalised.

In the increasingly complex and changing working environment of the neoliberalised Australian university, professional staff are taking on new and greater responsibilities and increasingly complex and specialised work (Szekeres 2006; Graham 2012; Simpson & Fitzgerald 2014). In fact, across the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States tertiary management is considered a maturing profession that requires expert professional staff with specific sector relevant skills and training. As observed by the current literature regarding professional staff focuses on research administrators, student support staff, and faculty managers. Within the current body of literature, the work experiences of WIL administrators in particular is absent, although call for the contribution of WIL administrators to be recognised.

7.6.2 The enabling benefits of quality WIL experiences

WIL helps universities to build industry partnerships and provides market advantage in terms of student attraction (Smith 2012). Through WIL, university graduates become more skilled and knowledgeable about their chosen profession, as well as being prepared for successful performance in the workplace (Jackson et al. 2016). WIL is also seen by students as an important way to interact with industry that can lead to enhanced employment opportunities upon graduation (Jackson & Collings 2017). In a study by Drysdale and McBeath (2018), students who engaged in WIL had stronger intrinsic goal orientation and motivation in their learning strategies and had higher grade point averages compared to their fellow students who did not participate in WIL opportunities.

WIL projects allow opportunities for students to apply curriculum to 'real world' experiences and workplaces, lending authenticity to their learning (Brewer, Lewis & Ferns 2022). Quality outcomes are evident for industry also. WIL is viewed as a way to nurture talent pipelines because it prepares students to be success in the organisation and reduces hiring risk (Drewery, Pretti & Church 2020). Students are considered to be better prepared to enter the workforce which meets the needs of industry in terms of work readiness (Ferns, Russell & Kay 2016). Students on WIL can also be viewed as valuable supporting resources. Education students attending placements during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns were considered by primary and secondary principals to be an important support for supervising teachers navigating increased workloads and changed teaching conditions during this stressful time (Leach & Wheeldon In press).

7.6.3 The range of WIL issues

For all the good WIL delivers, there appears to be a range of problematic issues that plague the WIL system that results in significant tension between the vision and the reality of delivering quality WIL (Bates 2011). Without the available job resources that increase the capacity to source and deliver quality WIL placements, the system becomes pressurised. Amidst the challenges of sourcing high quality placements there are the exacerbating effects of high levels of competition for available placements , which is exacerbated further when industry withdraw placements from the WIL environment due to dis-satisfaction with university support and processes (Effeney 2019).

Next there is the preparedness of students to undertake WIL, as this is an important matter for industry as this portrays the quality of the relationship with the university in the first instance (Grant-Smith, Gillett-Swan & Chapman 2017; Venville et al. 2021). Well prepared students can perform the tasks required of them during WIL experiences to acceptable standards (Cameron et al. 2017). But to be prepared for placements many students sacrifice leisure, rest, and social time, while also having to meet pre-placement requirements, such as obtaining a blue card which impacts negatively on them if they have not prepared ahead of time. For students, a range of issues compromise their WIL experiences, which speaks to them being ill prepared for WIL.

Financial hardship results when students have to forgo paid work in order to undertake WIL (Grant-Smith, Gillett-Swan & Chapman 2017). They also experience psychological distress associated with poor performance and suitability, injuries sustained in the workplace, along with conflict with supervisors (Cameron et al. 2017; Effeney 2019). For some students, they experience an eroding of their self-confidence because of the power their industry supervisor has over their successful completion of their WIL experience (Aprile & Knight 2019, p. 879). International students are particularly impacted when it comes to equity in accessing experiences due to language barrier and cultural differences (Jackson 2017).

Moving on, there is there is an undervaluing of the work of WIL administrators. McManus and Rook (2021) found that academics rank administrative assistance as one of the lesser important types of assistance in managing WIL programs. Less than productive relationships can manifest between academics and professional staff, particularly under managerial, centralised conditions where professional staff are separated from their academic colleagues (Wheeldon, Whitty & van der Hoorn 2022a). Gander, Girardi and Paull (2019) also points out that professional staff find themselves in challenging power relationships with academics. To further highlight this, although not referring to WIL administrators directly, this lack of credibility was supported by professional staff who describe themselves as feeling invisible (Akerman 2020, p. 127) as their work as administrators and skills and knowledge are not 'taken seriously' by their academic colleagues. Broadly, speaking there is an "us versus them" hierarchical divide between academics and professional staff (Haski-Leventhal 2020, p. 78).

Compromised WIL experiences are also characterised by industry's inability to provide adequate mentoring and supervision, and they feel unsupported by universities when confronted with a failing student (Yepes-Rios et al. 2016). This leads on to cancelled and postponed placements, and further withdrawal of dissatisfied industry partners from WIL, which is the undesirable and sometimes unavoidable outcome (Grant-Smith, Gillett-Swan & Chapman 2017; Effeney 2019). In an attempt to manage industry's negative experiences, some WIL administrators use academic selection criteria to 'risk manage' against poor student performance. But this effort to showcase the 'best' students to local industry is a practice that challenges as being inequitable.

Finally, all these WIL issues are framed against a vision of a quality standard for WIL placements that is underpinned by the pedagogical requirement of WIL, which is understandably of most importance to universities. WIL must have strong links to theoretical learning, be authentic in its replication of workplace requirements and expectations, be monitored and evaluated, and be integrated into curriculum so that objectives and outcomes are clearly established. WIL needs to be an integrated part of curriculum and not just bolted on (Patrick et al. 2009). What is required is a shared understanding between universities and industry of the meaning and purpose of WIL, as this ensures the supervisory role and what constitutes a quality placement is well understood (Jackson et al. 2016). When WIL is seen as a burden and where allocated supervisors just "tick a box" without knowledge of the competence of the student, these high quality placements become inaccessible.

7.6.4 Systems dynamics archetype: Growth and Underinvestment

Influence diagrams are used to reveal the links between different elements of a system (set of interconnected or coupled things) and also identify any reinforcing or balancing loops (Senge et al. 2011). The use of these influence diagrams to describe the interconnectedness of variables in a system is acknowledged as an effective sensemaking and engagement device (van der Hoorn 2020). The term systems archetype is used to identify various recurring patterns of behaviour (Senge et al. 2011). The system archetype of Growth and Underinvestment (Figure 4) is one such pattern, which is an elaborate form of the Limits to Growth archetype (Figure 3) (Senge et al. 2011). In the Limits to Growth system, an action produces a result, which in turn positively influences the generative action, potentially

producing unbounded growth were it not for the reality of a balancing loop (B1). In this balancing loop, the result interacts with a limiting factor to produce a slowing action / growth inhibitor, which inhibits the growth of the result. In the Growth and Underinvestment structure (Figure 4), there is an additional (often more than one) balancing loop (B2), where the slowing action / growth inhibitor interacts with a defined external standard to produce a perceived need. If this need is responded to, an inhibitor avoidance develops after a delay, which inhibits the growth inhibitor, and takes the pressure off the result enabling it to grow.

However, when a Growth and Underinvestment system becomes stretched beyond its limits to achieve the external standard it can respond in two ways. The first is where the system morphs into a Growth and Underinvestment with Drifting Standard structure (Figure 5) where over time the growth inhibitor induces a decline of the external defined standard. Of interest to this study is the second way, where the Growth and Underinvestment structure compensate by lowering its sensitivity to the defined external standard, and over time this reduction justifies underinvestment and reduces performance even further (Kim & Lannon 1997; Senge et al. 2011). As explains using the Eroding Goals archetype (Figure 6), this situation is problematic to those who have this compensation imposed upon them, because as one's vision or expectation for one's endeavours differs from the current reality, a creative tension develops, which can be resolved in two ways. The first is represented by the 'fundamental solution' loop, which represents how one takes action to bring reality into line with one's ideals. But to change reality requires sustaining this action, and the frustration generated by this loop leads to the emotional tension shown in the second 'symptomatic solution' loop, which pressures one to resolve the vision-reality gap by lowering one's sensitivity to one's standards. Caught in this system of pressures, people experience sustained emotional tension in the form of sadness or hopelessness as they continually fall short of their ideals and feel discouraged and disappointed at their effort.

Put simply, growth inhibitors act as a clamp on the system, which slows the growth action. Individuals labouring in the system experience sustained emotional tension as their attempts to achieve the action fall short. They feel discouraged and disappointed with their effort. In an attempt to overcome this, the standard of the action is reduced as there is a gap between the standard and what is achievable. Collectively this sustained state of hopelessness is a form of burnout.

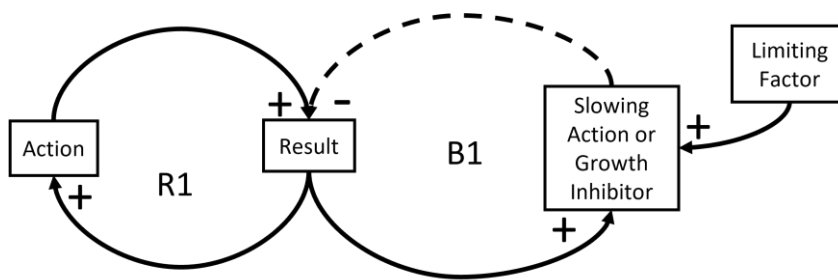**Figure 3: Influence diagram of the Limits to Growth Archetype**

Figure 4: Influence diagram of the Growth and Underinvestment archetype
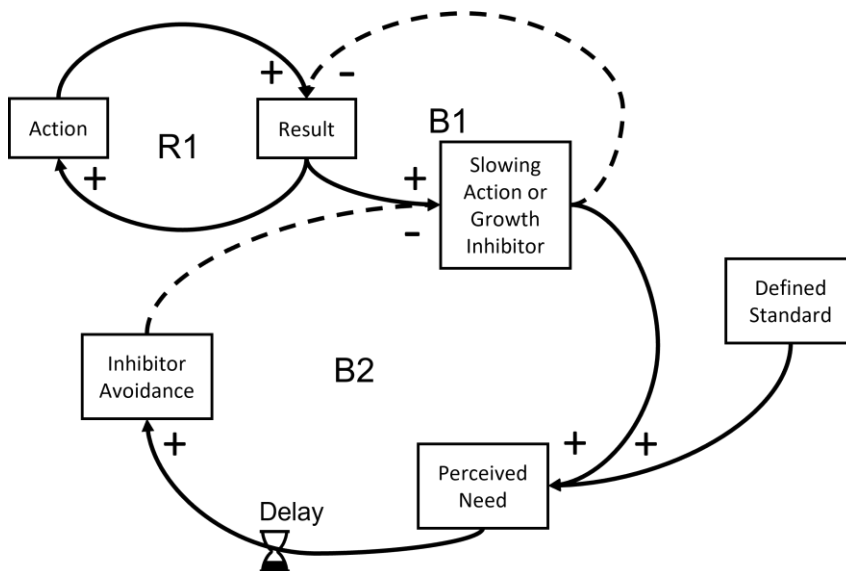
Figure 5: Growth and Underinvestment with Drifting Standards
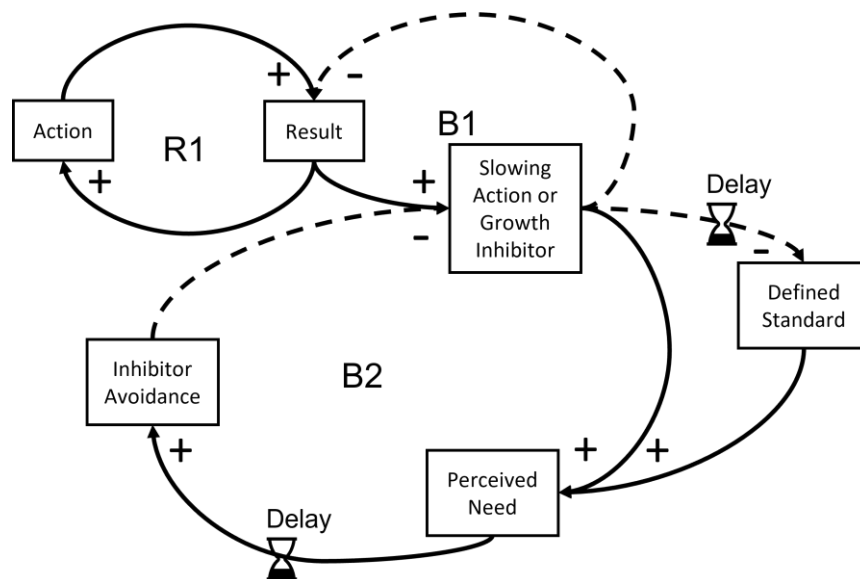
Figure 6: Influence diagram of the Eroding Goals Archetype
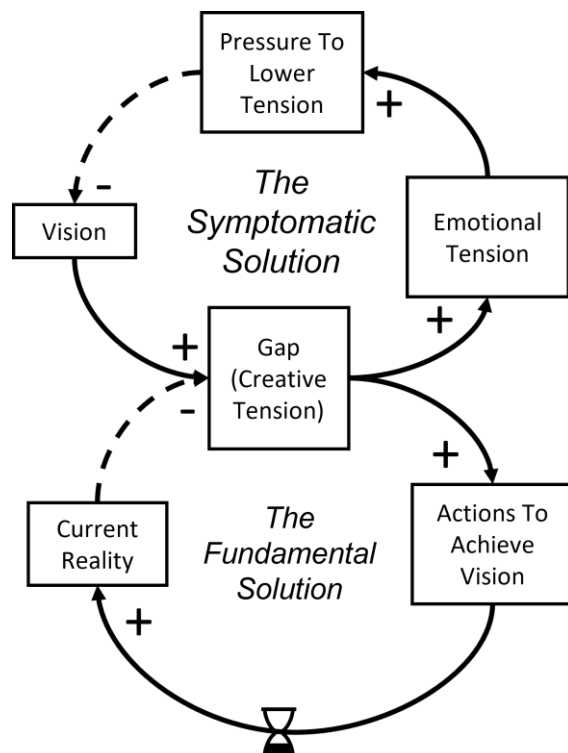
To comprehend the dynamic aspect of any system one must appreciate that elements of a system can 'feed' information to each other, such that they might produce growth or decline characteristics. However, they may, if the system is sustained (lasts for a while) move toward a state of balance or equilibrium, where the levels of the element in the system naturally settle at a stable state. It is important to appreciate this concept as a system's state of equilibrium could mean that individuals are kept in a sustained emotional tension.

7.6.5 Burnout

When people become burnt out at work, they become disinterested in making positive contributions (Bakker & de Vries 2021). Burnout is the psychological response people have as a consequence of their relationship with their work when it involves chronic interpersonal stressors (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001; Parker, Tavella & Eyers 2021). This response to the stressors in the work is captured in three dimensions: overwhelming exhaustion and feeling overextended and depleted; feeling cynical and detached from the work; and a sense of ineffectiveness, inefficacy, and lack of accomplishment (Maslach & Jackson 1981; Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter 2001; Bakker & Oerlemans 2019). The burnout dimension this study is interested in is the latter, namely reduced professional efficacy or professional inefficacy, which often arises from a lack of relevant resources being available and which builds up over time (Leiter & Maslach 1988; Schaufeli & Salanova 2007; Demerouti et al. 2021).

Employees confronted with increased job strain are more likely to use maladaptive strategies, such as avoidance and self-undermining, and less likely to use adaptive strategies, such as recovery and job crafting. Chronic fatigue, emotional and cognitive distancing are more likely, as are psychological and physical health problems, such as anxiety, depression, sleep disturbance, emotional instability, memory impairment, and muscle pain (Schaufeli, Bakker & Van Rhenen 2009; Bakker & Costa 2014). In contrast, energetic and invested employees are committed, innovative, creative, and demonstrate high quality performance standards (Bakker, Albrecht & Leiter 2011). These reinforcing experiences of depletion and rejuvenation have been described by as gain and loss spirals and can increase wellbeing or increase burnout respectively.

Individuals who lack resources become increasingly susceptible to losing even more resources (Demerouti, Bakker & Bulters 2004; Hobfoll & Freedy 2017) . Whereas gaining resources increases the resource pool and makes it more likely the individual will acquire additional resources, resulting in the vitality of thriving in the work environment (Goh et al. 2021). This study builds on this reinforcing systems perspective of burnout.

7.6.6 Summary of literature review and research question

Amidst the national call for more WIL, the Australian WIL system is under pressure to deliver on this increased demand for a range of reasons. Universities struggle to identify and deliver high quality WIL experiences and industry struggles to supervise and make available suitable experiences. Students have compromised experiences which then causes dissatisfaction for industry partners and further reduces the availability of high-quality experiences. The WIL administrators who work to deliver WIL experience the gravity of all these systemic pressures with burnout the outcome under investigation in this study. Burnout is an important and persistent problem in universities around the world and as such deserves attention (Otero-López, Mariño & Bolaño 2008; Ahsan et al. 2009; Barkhuizen, Rothmann & van de Vijver 2014). With an aim to understand and appreciate the pressures the Australian WIL system exerts on WIL administrators; this study addresses the research question:

Are WIL administrators suffering burnout from the underinvestment in the Australian WIL system? If this occurs, what characteristics of the system enable burnout to occur?

7.7 Research method

This study is conducted in two parts. Since we enquire about burnout, Part 1 uses the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (OLBI) with an open-ended question designed to extract a narrative about the burnout phenomenon, particularly the factors perceived to be impacting the experience of burnout, such as disengagement and exhaustion. In this way, the quantitative measure becomes a support for the narrative, which is also used as data for part 2. Because we want to visualise how the WIL system causes WIL administrator burnout, in Part 2 we produce an influence diagram from a synthesis of data gathered from both existing literature (from the literature review) and the narratives from the open-ended question responses.

By using the concept of systems archetypes, we can "construct credible and consistent hypotheses" that reveal the forces that govern systems. Archetypes reveal the reinforcing loops that generates exponential growth, such as the gain and loss spirals, and the balancing loops that generate forces of resistance that limit or inhibit growth. It is through these balancing loops that systems find their settling state of equilibrium where they maintain stability. We use the influence diagram to visualise and conceptualise the theory building approach this study adopts, which is an approach accepted for is appropriateness in complex situations where there is either no theory or a problematic one, and where there is focused attention on a variant of interest (Gehman et al. 2017). In this study that variant is the constraints of the WIL system that drive the WIL administrators to burnout.

7.7.1 Oldenburg Burnout Inventory Score

Grounded in the Jobs Demands-Resources theory (JD-R) and adaptable to any workplace context (Bakker & Demerouti 2017; Rattrie, Kittler & Paul 2019), the OLBI measures two constructs of burnout: emotional exhaustion and disengagement. Comprising of 16 questions, the OLBI results in three distinct scores: Disengagement (D), Exhaustion (E), and overall burnout level (O). This instrument was first constructed and validated amongst different German occupations, and its translation into English has since been validated.

One of the strengths of the OLBI are the positively (i.e., "Usually, I can manage the amount of my work well") and negatively (i.e., "Sometimes I feel sickened by my work tasks") worded questions. The mixed wording of items requires respondents to think carefully about their responses (Halbesleben & Demerouti 2005). Each question is answered using a 4 point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree) (Halbesleben & Demerouti 2005).

7.7.2 Narrative Response to the OLBI Scores

The open-ended question to the OLBI inventory: "Tell me about the circumstances inside and outside of work that have influenced your answers?", is intended to draw out inchoate thoughts and provide the participant with an opportunity to document the factors perceived to impact burnout. The use of narratives is well established in organisational and

communications research and provides a content rich way of exploring complex organisational issues.

7.7.2.1 Data Collection

For Part 1 participants were recruited from 12 universities across Australia with the assistance of the National Association of Field Experience Administrators (NAFEA), which is a professional association that represents WIL administrators across Australian universities (National Association of Field Experience Administrators 2017). Participants were responsible for administering a range of WIL experiences in a range of discipline areas. The online survey was distributed to approximately 200 NAFEA members via email. Only those responses that included both an OLBI ranking and narrative response were included in the findings (n=25).

All participants identified themselves as professional staff and that they spent between 75% to 100% of their time administering WIL. Participants also identified being responsible for a broad range of discipline areas: Accountancy, Allied Health, Biomedical Science, Business, Counselling, Food Science, Indigenous Health Law, Medicine, Nursing, Paramedicine, Pastoral Ministry, Psychology, Sports and Fitness Coaching, Teacher Education and Veterinary Science. Nine participants reported being responsible for multiple discipline areas.

This part of the study has human ethics approval. For Part 2, our literature review relating to WIL and WIL stakeholders served as the data source (Figure 7)

Figure 7: Methodological components
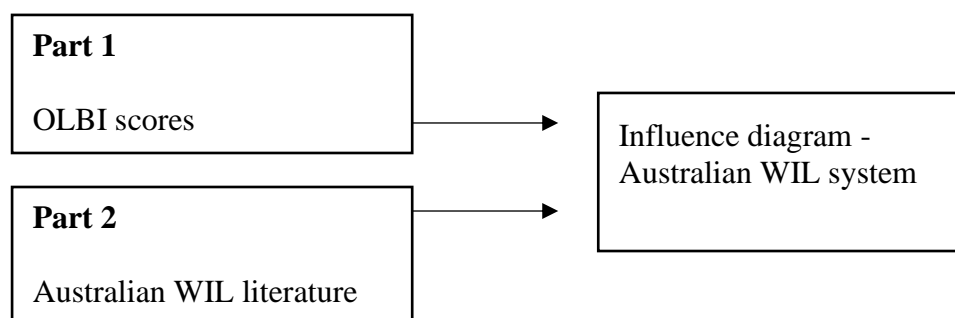
7.7.2.2 Data Analysis

For Part 1, the participant's overall OLBI scores were ranked in descending order. Secondly, narratives were thematically analysed in a three-stage process using the NVivo platform. During the first stage, the narratives were read and reread with initial notations. During the second, the narrative was coded for emergent themes before being connected across all transcripts. For Part 2, a thematic analysis process was applied to our literature review (also using NVivo) to summaries and categorise patterns or themes. We used a flexible analysis method where we focused our themes on actors in the WIL system (administrators, students, academics, and industry), the issues WIL administrators encounter with WIL, and how these themes and issues influence each other. Finally, these themes and their relationships were compared to the various systems archetypes so that a 'best fit' could be identified. We use the prefix [P] to indicate a quote from a WIL administrator (professional staff member), while each individual is identified by a letter of the alphabet.

7.8 Findings

7.8.1 Are WIL administrators suffering burnout?

Literature that specially looks at burnout that directly relates to WIL is scant. Even more so, burnout of professional staff who administer WIL. In this study most participants are experiencing burnout. There were two individuals fall into the high range (range 48 – 64); twenty individuals within the mid-range (range 32 – 47); and three in the low range (range 16 – 31).

Is underinvestment in the WIL system causing WIL administrator burnout?

Figure 8 depicts the burnout or reinforcing loop (R1) and five balancing loops (B1 to B5) in the current Australian WIL system. From our analysis of the literature and the open-ended question responses, we see that there are six significant elements (themes) to the Australian WIL system that influence WIL administrator burnout. Taking a systems approach, these elements are best discussed in terms of the growth or balancing loops they present themselves in, bearing in mind that this Growth and Underinvestment system is externally anchored to

the reference point of a pedagogical quality standard of WIL experiences. The loops in the system are as follows:

R1: The WIL administrator burnout loop

B1: The WIL reality loop. This is the product of the accumulation of limiting factors (loops B2 to B5), which put pressure on the growth of quality WIL placement.

- B2: WIL administrator job resource underinvestment by university loop
- B3: Student are unprepared loop
- B4: WIL administrators experience conflict with academics loop
- B5: Industry underinvests in WIL loop

Figure 8: Influence diagram of the Australian WIL system
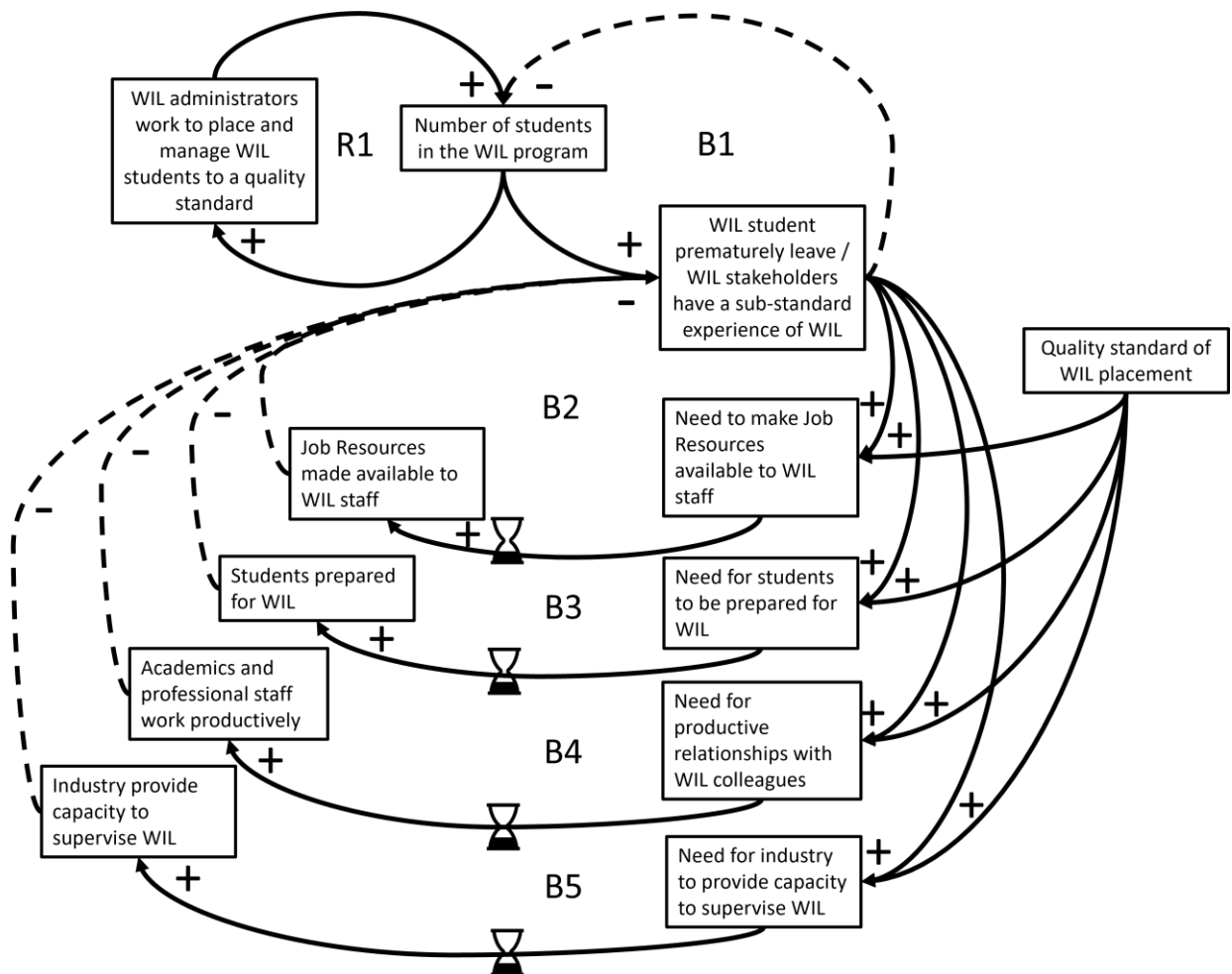
7.8.1.1 R1: The WIL Vision Loop – The WIL Administrator Burnout Loop

This loop comprises two elements: 'WIL administrators work to place students and manage WIL students to a quality standard' and 'number of students in the WIL program'. While all WIL stakeholders would have a vision of this being a growth or gain spiral, the reality is that it functions as a loss spiral because of loop B1. As professionals, the WIL administrators carry within them a sense of the vision of WIL, which because of the reality of WIL (loop B1) they are repeatedly pressured within loop R1 to give up on this vision, leaving them with a sense of uncertainty and questioning their value as professionals.

> I have a slight case of impostor-syndrome, or uncertainty of my value [PV]

> I know' that my job is so important. I would like to be more valued [PX]

> Issue regarding staff and workloads are forever fixed by band aids (temps)… lots of promises, but continually ignored! [PC]

The responses to the open-ended question demonstrate the struggle WIL administrators have in a range of ways, revealing how loop R1 actually functions as a reinforcing loss spiral.

> Many plates spinning as well as customer service via email, telephone and face to face adds to stress [PM].

> Difficult to perform all the necessary duties required to complete the placement process. Ring schools, do admin, normal day to day tasks [PJ].

> Combined work roles make the load extremely heavy, especially when you have limited people in your team [PO].

7.8.1.2 B1: The WIL Reality Loop – The Accumulation of Inhibitors

This loop is where the reality of placement experiences for all WIL stakeholders is brought to bear on WIL administrators, from their perspective (remembering that the WIL administrators are always speaking from inside loop R1), because of underinvestment by universities and industry.

High workload, high stress, higher numbers of complaints [PK]

I am constantly exhausted and in pain from tension. I don't know how much longer I can keep this up [PB].

We have too much work to do, and my health issues are mostly mental [PA].

As the reality of WIL interacts with the externally defined 'quality standard of WIL placements', a need to remedy the situation (an inhibitor avoidance) is developed, which can either be acted upon or ignored. Regrettably, both the literature and our participants reveal that there are four needs that implore a response that largely goes unheeded. Each of these needs are designated in

Figure 8 by the balancing loops B2 to B5.

7.8.1.3 B2: University Underinvesting in WIL Administrator Job Resources Loop

This loop reveals the need to make job resources available to WIL administrators.

I have experienced a huge amount of stress in the last 4 weeks, involved an incident that was bought on by staffing issues, unable to retain staff, role too big and overwhelming/NO SUPPORT - underlying stress over office. [PC, capitalisation in survey response].

constant pressure of work, from increased student load by not increased staff, having temps who don't pull their weight [PB]

possible staffing cuts looming [PQ].

7.8.1.4 B3: Student Are Unprepared for WIL Loop

This loop reveals the need for students to be prepared for WIL.

> I also spent a large amount of time dealing with two students who did not read the
> instructions correctly and will now not be able to make a placement selection. This has
> been frustrating [PL].

This participant reveals the pressure under-prepared commencing WIL students cause and the
extra effort needed on the part of the WIL administrator to manage and fix these situations. In
this case, this has diverted attention away from securing other needed WIL experiences. As
the literature supports, when students have not undertaken basic requirements or orientation,
such as securing appropriate licences, delays in their placement occurs, and this results in a
negative experience for both the student and the industry partner.

7.8.1.5 B4: WIL Administrators Experience Conflict with Academics Loop

This loop reveals the need for productive relationships amongst all WIL colleagues

> a change in academic team members has led to a feeling of being more isolated; where
> staff are 'played' off one and other. An environment of 'run with the foxes and hunt with
> the hounds' is encouraged [PE]

> new academic director who has a very manic personality and is very much a control
> freak, introducing rapid change and not allowing me autonomy. This has made my
> work very unpleasant [PA].

> working with negative colleagues who create stresses [PR].

> academics always making demands [PB]

7.8.1.6 B5: Industry Underinvests in WIL Loop

This loop reveals the need for industry to provide capacity to supervise WIL, as without
industry providing the capacity to supervise WIL the system is limited in its ability to grow,

which is recognised by who describe issues of supply and demand of placement opportunities in the face of larger numbers of students.

> we are currently experiencing a high volume of student enrolments, but a drop in the number of offers we receive from external sites [PJ]

> there's a lack of placements [PP]

7.9 Discussion

Our study found that WIL administrators in the Australian WIL system do suffer burnout, and that the system can be visually represented by a Growth and Underinvestment archetype. As a point of difference to a Growth and Underinvestment with Drifting Standards archetype (Figure 5), we found no indicators in either participant statements or in the literature that there was an erosion of the external quality performance standard for WIL taking place. This point in itself is insightful as it means that the Australian WIL system responds to underinvestment by forcing (in the burnout loop R1) the WIL administrators to absorb and internalise their own sense of inefficacy, which manifests for them as burnout (as evidence by the OLBI scores), which are both proxies for compensating by living and dealing with their professionalism towards their role being continually eroded and undermined.

We suggest that the Growth and Underinvestment influence diagram of the Australian WIL system (Figure 8) reveals the emotional weight of the burden that underinvestment creates for WIL administrators, and how vulnerable to its pressures they are – along with how powerless they are to remedy the situation.

Our enquiry reveals that burnout for WIL administrators is caused by the lack of response (by universities and industry) to the various needs (loops B2 to B5) as they surface. Without this response, the system moves toward a state of equilibrium, which in practical terms for WIL administrators means that they are put in the position where they have to subordinate their professionalism and the interests of the students to the interests of the industry placement provider, because of the need to "suck up to them, so they keep taking students" (Gillett-Swan & Grant-Smith 2020 p.397). The harder WIL administrators push (loop R1) to attain their professional efficacy, the harder the system (loop B1) pushes back (Senge et al. 2011)

and burnout is the result. In a sense, the WIL administrators must compensate for the underinvestment by bearing the emotional burden caused by a lack of shared understanding of the purpose and meaning of WIL between universities and industry. This contributes to the occurrence of unsuitable experiences, along with declining university contact hours, reduced rigour in WIL units and courses, and unsuitable supervision arrangements (Jackson et al. 2016).

In terms of recommendations for remedying the situation; universities and industry should respond to the perceived needs that develop in the system (

Figure 8), creating an Inhibitor Avoidance which suppresses the effects of the overall growth inhibitor (loop B1). Furthermore, some WIL experiences actually have limited impact on the improved career outcomes they are intended to support, leading to a call to universities to consider the design aspects of WIL activities. We suggest that our study reinforces the calls to think on WIL differently and with creativity (Effeney 2019; Dean & Campbell 2020; Sheridan et al. 2021).

7.10 Conclusion

From our exploratory investigation, we are left in no doubt that the Australian WIL system is under immense pressure. For this already underinvested system to experience growth, it relies on; industry to provide suitable quality WIL experiences that meet pedagogical thresholds; universities to adequately prepare students for their WIL experience, or face undesirable and unavoidable placement delays or cancellations; and universities to provide WIL administrators with the job resources to help them achieve the vision of quality WIL experiences for all Australian university students.

Our study has confirmed that Australian university WIL administrators suffer burnout, and has employed a systems thinking tool, in the form of an archetypal influence diagram of Growth and Underinvestment, to visualise the dynamic interplay of the various elements of the Australian WIL system that drive WIL administrators into a state of burnout.

For all those involved in WIL, the results of our analysis should be of concern. All the vital benefits WIL provides university graduates, industry, and the future of work are

unsustainable unless the pressures of the system on the WIL administrators can be released. Asking WIL administrators to work harder is not a solution. And exiting WIL administrators take skills, knowledge, and crucial industry relationships out of the system.

7.11 System delay - COVID-19 pandemic

In February 2020, the crisis of COVID-19 began to unfold in Australia along with its sudden impact on Australian tertiary institutions, resulting in a range of learning, teaching and assessment strategies being quickly deployed as universities scrambled to move from on campus teaching to 100% online. As an increasingly core component of learning, the delivery of WIL was also caught up in this unfolding crisis with many placements being cancelled and postponed (Hoskyn et al. 2020). The disruption to WIL experiences has been felt most in disciplines where professional accreditation requirements mean alternative placement models are problematic to existing accreditation standards. Explained from a systems perspective, the behaviour of the system can be dramatically changed when a delay impacts the balancing loops. Delays accentuate the impact of other forces and long delays can push the system well beyond its capability. Already, the capacity of industry to provide WIL experiences has been compromised and alternative experiences sought (Dean & Campbell 2020; Hodges & Martin 2020; Hoskyn et al. 2020; Wood, Zegwaard & Fox-Turnbull 2020). WIL is not the core business of industry. As the pandemic continues to unfold and its full impact yet to be felt, time will tell if industry has space for WIL amidst its own pressures in dealing with the many challenges of the pandemic.
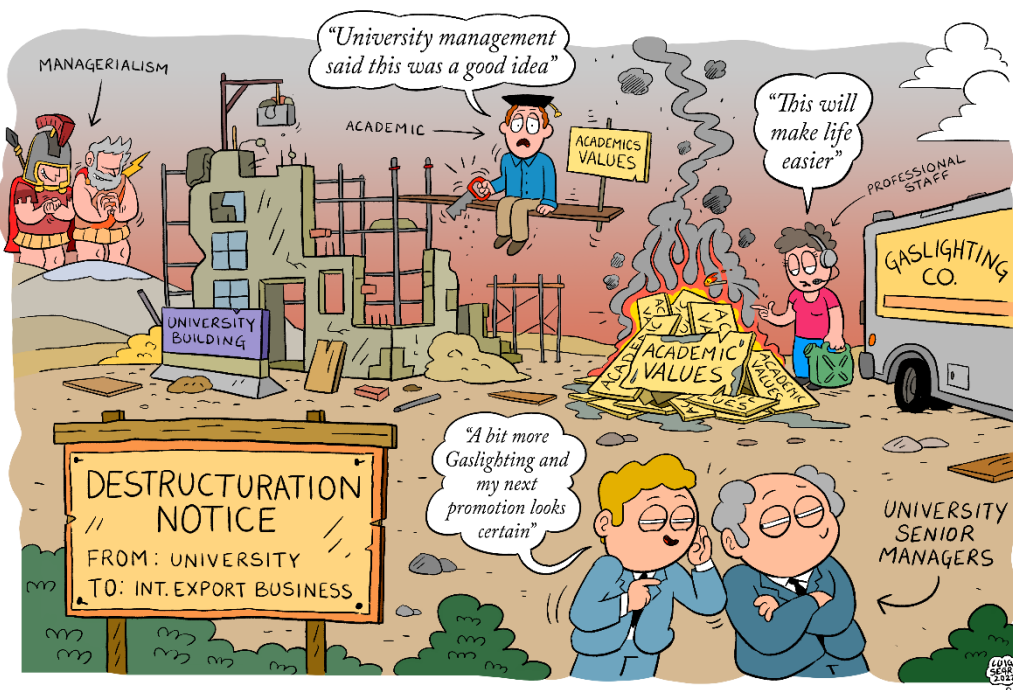
Plate 6: Managerialism's colonial endgame has begun

CHAPTER 8   DISCUSSION

8.1 Bringing the findings together

This discussion brings together the findings of Chapters 4 to 7 and how managerialism seeks to coercively and totally dominate and colonise Anglo universities. Managerialism has one purpose; serving power by seeking to deliver its totalitarian, oppressive mission of management as superior over core business, and as such it infiltrates every sphere of society and all normal human to human interactions (Klikauer 2013a, 2013b). To contextualise managerialism in the higher education sector, it is "the organisational arm of neo-liberalism" (Lynch 2017). It would have you believe that there is very little difference between managing a university and a car company (Klikauer 2013b). Managerialism has you believe this by gradually, and sometimes not so gradually, substituting its foreign values for the native or home-grown values it finds in the domains it colonises. At its core, this systematic replacement of one set of values with that of another is what symbolic violence is (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990).

Bourdieu's logic of colonialism describes a racialised system of domination rooted in coercion and, as Bourdieu terms it, the destructuration of a society. Table 9 presents Bourdieu's mechanisms of colonialism and associates them with the mechanisms uncovered in this thesis, along with the chapters of relevance.

Table 9: Bourdieusian mechanisms of colonialism uncovered in this thesis

Mechanisms	Supporting quote	Relevance to this thesis	Chapter of relevance			
			4	5	6	7
Abandon to subordinate	"leave them to what they are, abandon them in order to subordinate them, or grant them the dignity of being on condition they cease to be what they are" (Bourdieu & Sayad 2004, p. 460)	Managerialism privileges access of knowledge within the field through accumulation of social capital which academics struggle to accumulate. Managerialism does not value the cultural capital academics must accumulate, thereby abandoning them. WIL administrators are abandoned by managerialism because it seeks only the performance metric WIL provides and does not care for the human cost associated.		✓		✓
Control the system mechanisms	"Once a system of mechanisms has been constituted capable of objectively ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion, the dominant class have only to let the system they dominant take its own course in order to exercise their domination"	Managerialism favours centralisation which repurposes the support of professional staff away from academics, thereby controlling the mechanisms of the system. Professional staff have mastery of the managerialised game. Managerialism exploits this to establish, replicate and strengthen its colonisation objective.	✓		✓	
Position agents in relationships of domination	"Institutions, by implicitly privileging particular types of linguistic competence, bodily comportment, and other markers of social location, position agents in relationships of domination and subordination, including some and excluding others" (Bourdieu 1998; Topper 2001b, p. 48)	Managerialism privileges professional staff through accumulation of social capital which unveils administrative knowledge that is informal, dynamic, and accessible by way of the social capital that pertains to it. Centralisation of professional staff and exploiting their mastery of the managerialised game and positions them in a relationship of dominance over academics.	✓	✓	✓	
Create conditions where the successful succeed further	"It is the hysteresis effect or inertial of habitus, which provides opportunities for the already successful to succeed further, while the less successful continue to misrecognise the strengths and weaknesses of the relative field positions" (Bourdieu 1977, 1996; Grenfell 2014, p. 130)	Managerialism shifts the operational mechanisms and decision making into the hands of professional staff, making them even more successful and academics increasingly unsuccessful.	✓	✓		

8.1.1 Abandon to subordinate

Academics are abandoned in the managerialised university by virtue of their decision to either hold on to their academic identity (being left to what they are) by accumulating the cultural capital that the managerialised university does not value, which disadvantages them, or accept and proliferate the power mission of managerialism (grant them the dignity of being on condition they cease to be what they are). The experience of this ultimatum was described by when interviewing Australian Vice Chancellors (VC) regarding their ability and comfort in effective strategic planning, driven by managerial agendas. One VC observed having to choose whether to oppose managerialism in the university sector by democratising decision-making and be seen as the "academic's academic" or to uphold the imposed managerial requirements of their position, therefore supporting managerialism and becoming the "managerial bastard".

For academics who choose to hold onto their 'academic-ness' and continue to accumulate the cultural capital this requires, their investment of energy must necessarily be away from the home university field to build their national and international profile. Consequently, the knowledge of how the university is run is made inaccessible to these academics as they do not possess the necessary social capital that gives them access to this knowledge. On balance, academics become subordinated to professional staff in the operational aspects of the field, which meets managerialism's end goal of excluding them from the running of the university, rendering them suitably deficient and thereby neutralising resistance.

Chapter 7 showed a different instance of this abandon to subordinate colonialising mechanism at work. In this example, professional staff are subordinated in the WIL system because the university does not invest in resourcing them in their job, and they have no ability to influence or control the mechanisms of the Australian WIL system. As such, they constantly fall short of reaching their own internalised values of providing quality WIL for all university students. These WIL administrators suffer burnout as the pressures of the system clamp down more and more on their efforts, until their ability to succeed is rendered impossible. To survive they must cease to be what they are, sequester their values, and take on the values of the underinvested WIL system. This is in stark contrast to their professional staff colleagues in other areas of the home university, where managerialism has granted them

a great deal of control and privileged access to knowledge and decision making. This too, no doubt, would make WIL administrators feel abandoned.

Managerialism cannot control the WIL system in the same way it controls the internal home university mechanisms, as the WIL system is obliged to work within the parameters of the needs of the industry partners who are crucial in making WIL (regardless the quality) a reality. As one participant commented in the study by , the nature of the relationship between the industry partner and the university is "tenuous" and that "we are trying to basically stuck up to them, so that they keep taking students". This human cost, in terms of WIL administrator wellbeing, is of no consequence to managerialism as its only care is the maintenance of the WIL performance metrics, which contribute to rankings and league tables. Managerialism disregards the struggle of WIL administrators, academics, WIL mentors, industry partners and even the students themselves.

8.1.2 Control the system mechanisms

If managerialism is to continue its colonising mission by controlling system mechanisms, it must have agents, military, or a colonising force as it were, that it can mobilise as troops on its behalf. In the university field managerialism deploys professional staff as this colonising force, which the management class have direct control over. As the findings from Chapter 4 reveal, these professional staff are recruited from the commercial sector and deployed in the university field, already inculcated to managerialism. The alternative would be that university management home-grow their professional staff. But with their proximity close to academics, this could cause a managerialism values-alignment problem. A simple way around this is to recruit an already trained colonising force from outside the university field. These are the accidental university administrator as Lewis (2014) terms it. They may even have been taught managerialism's ways in the very business schools that are currently being colonised (Klikauer 2013b; Parker 2018).

Preference over academics in the general university field (as opposed to the WIL system) means that professional staff are given access to decision-making powers and can influence and change the university field to reproduce managerialised practices. This suits managerialism as it sees only the core business of managing, and consequently the inherent purpose of the university to society is rendered irrelevant. Because of their imported 'admin

school' habitus, professional staff appear to academics to be the dominant class in the managerialised university field. They have the access and contacts to not only get things done, but the power to create the very processes and procedures that justifies their roles and breathes life into the recruitment of supplementary professional staff. This makes the expansion of professional staff its own cause by the day-to-day motion *of* professional staff.

As illuminated in Chapter 6, increasing management power by controlling professional staff through centralisation was a deliberate act by managerialism to also control the system of colonising mechanisms. Not only were professional staff physically removed from academic spaces and put behind a technology wall of depersonalised email addresses, but their roles were repurposed to support students only – not academics. Not only was this an act of structural violence but it importantly served as an instrument of symbolic violence, as it caused academics to question their values and abilities. In short, this centralisation was a grab for power to capture the system mechanisms so that they can be used to reproduce managerialism. Without academics to interfere, these mechanisms take the university on its own managerial course.

The studies featured in this thesis reveal how managerialism becomes established in the system and proliferates its total control objectives of standardisation, massification, and misrepresenting students as customers. And this latter point is worth dwelling on as a piece of colonising machinery. In the case of Chapter 6, where professional staff were centralised and made student facing, the new structure effectively drove a managerialised wedge between student and academic, as it was now the job of a professional staff member to deal with student matters as they would as though they were customer. Rather than the academic who dealt with them as a learner. Not only is this structural and symbolically violent act (where those suffer the consequences of it) towards academics, but it is a symbolically violent act towards students, as students are actively redirected *away* from academics. Their exposure to academic values is reduced through the misrecognised message of efficient and customer friendly 'one stop shop' for student support (Buultjens & Robinson 2011). This repurposing of professional staff is an instrument that inflicts symbolic violence because it is a reification of the managerial message that – as a learner, you have no need to engage with those people who are principally responsible for your learning – the academics.

8.1.3 Position agents in relationships of domination

One could claim that academics are the original inhabitants of universities and therefore have a historical standing in the university field, placing their values as sovereign. It is the academics who have what was the once valued cultural capital (i.e., high levels of education in the form of PhD's and intellectual prestige) of the university field. This was revealed in Chapter 6, where academics and professional staff alike acknowledge their current feelings of inferiority not only towards the management class but to each other, as they expressed a sense of resentment towards each other. This is a mechanism that managerialism deploys where it pits one marginalised community against the other, such that any anger or resentment is directed away from the oppressor. This is a way of inflicting lateral violence or a minority-on-minority violence, which keeps the community subjugated and preoccupied, wasting its efforts and resources combatting each other on internal matters and making it easier for the oppressor to gain advantages and impose their will.

Chapter 5 revealed how a combination of making professional staff work on-campus and share work activities, while resourcing academics to work from home, placed professional staff in a dominant position where they control the system mechanisms of the field. Consequentially, and academics related to professional staff as though they were agents of managerialism, even though professional staff still felt inferior to academics. Therefore, managerialism positions its agents (the professional staff, who are also a subjugated group) against academics in the struggle for power, and these professional staff help impose managerial values at the top of the hierarchy. Professional staff demonstrate all the social markers managerialism needs to colonise and these are legitimised in the field as a result. Professional staff speak the managerial 'language' and make the 'correct managerial decisions' that managerialism requires to colonise. By sufficiently making academics deficient, resistance is naturalised.

There is an argument that academics and professional staff need to spend personal time together in order to optimise their work, otherwise the fundamental social mechanisms that help to 'get work done' is eroded. A false economy is set up through the notion that centralisation better supports students, as mechanisms such as collegiality, knowing one and other, knowing who to talk too, are lost. Collegiality is the currency of the field which

academics and professional staff use to lubricate work and which in the end drives both groups towards a common mission of supporting students through their university studies. The managerial concept of centralisation causes the human aspects of work to disappear behind a screen of anonymity because to know one another and to seek direct support from one another does not serve managerialism's purpose to control through divide and subjugate. As Chapter 6 contests, the renewed respect that academics and professional staff found of one another when relocated together could be seen as an awakening awareness of the existence of the common social markers, language, and comportment each group has when managerialism is not deflecting and distorting it.

8.1.4 Create conditions where the successful succeed further

"In some remote corner of the universe, poured out and glittering in innumerable solar systems, there once was a star on which clever animals invented knowledge"

Friedrich Nietzsche, (originally written in 1837 and unpublished in his lifetime)

For, the star is earth and the clever animals are humans. He goes on to make the case that the knowledge these clever animals invent or uncover isn't actually about the truth of how the world really is. What they actually invent and subsequently call knowledge 'is a way of organising their understanding of the world' such that it supports the continued life of that animal. What then we regards as truth, is really about what's needed to survive. Nietzsche (1968) asks the question; if it's not the pursuit of knowledge or truth that drives us, as we have misrecognised what these are – what is it that drives us? His answer is Power! What he means by power is power over our conditions that lead to our survival. As beings that not just survive but thrive, we (and other lifeforms) appear to have an energy to not only survive but improve our conditions *for* survival. He argues that we physically experience and internalise this energy and we call it the 'will'. This will is what drives us to invent knowledge that improves our survival chances. More succinctly, he describes this as the 'will to power' (Nietzsche 1968).

Ideologies have self-replicating mechanisms built into them, which are largely psychological devices (Nescolarde-Selva, Usó-Doménech & Gash 2017). For example, the cost-benefit analysis is a concept managerialism deploys to replicate and sustain itself, as it sticks well in

our the minds and process. It's a concept that just feels right. In the managerialised university, as Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate, it is professional staff who have decision making authority and ability and can access operational knowledge through their social capital when academics cannot. Not only have professional staff mastered the managerialised university game, as they are conscripted and already conditioned for it, but they can change the game to favour their survival, which in turn suits managerialism. As for academics, those who do not surrender to the managerialised conditions are punitively punished, and abandoned based on measures of non-performance (Alvesson & Spicer 2017).

Where settler colonisation is an illegal appropriation of land so that its resources can be forcibly acquired and exploited, so managerialism's colonisation is the creation of conditions that metaphorically appropriate university land, or in this case – university academics. In this knowledge land grab it is the academics that are forcibly acquired and exploited for profit. Yes, professional staff prosper as they are legitimised as dominant in the field and exert managerial authority and reproduction. And yes, academics are led to think or believe there is no alternative, and that somehow, they are the 'wrong' ones in the field. However, as revealed in the transcripts of this thesis, an academic heterodoxy persists, which demonstrates that not all have given up, and that some academics still understand their legitimacy and sovereignty in the university field.

8.2 The impact of managerialism's colonisation of universities

This thesis shows the impact of colonisation and the symbolic violence inflicted, as everything in the university becomes a commodity for managerialism to wield in order to reach its objectives, without care and concern for the very workers who make it a university. This thesis records the voices of engaged professional staff who show up day-to-day on-campus with the intention to provide the very best support to students and academics, but in truth have been conscripted by managerialism for its own objective to seize control of academics. This thesis also records the voices of passionate academics whose daily working lives are compromised by means of them being who they are – academics. In a bygone age, professional staff worked in harmony with academics in a common cause. But somewhere, not within the scope of this thesis, by manipulating field conditions university management

gained direct control of professional staff and have used them as an instrument in their struggle to control academics. How have they used them? By directing their behaviours such that it becomes impossible for academics to act and succeed in their own university field. Academics are left confused about the value of their values, and this makes them vulnerable to managerialism changes.

8.3 Against the orthodoxy of the managerialised university

Maintaining the orthodoxy of 'correctness' is essential to managerialism's quest in universities. This correctness valorises the image that 'this' is how universities ought to be run. The audit culture with its measures such as H-Index scores, journal impact factors, league tables, rankings, reporting, marketisation and massification, are just some of the artefacts that evidence managerialism's orthodoxy. An orthodoxy it uses to try to coerce academics into believing this is the correct and only way of things. Yet, there is a growing literature showing academics in an ever increasing states of distress, terror, overwork, bullying, failure, exhaustion, and fear (for example: Edwards and Ashkanasy (2018); Holdsworth (2020); Jones et al. (2020); Ratle et al. (2020); Heffernan and Bosetti (2021)). A struggling workforce like this is not sustainable. This is the irrationality of managerialism (Klikauer 2013b). Set loose in the university sector, managerialism is destroying the very thing it is attempting to manage.

It could be argued that the capitalist agenda of deskilling workers to eliminate labour costs is at play here. Managerialism colonises universities using professional staff as its foot soldiers to managerial academics, abandoning them and deskilling them. Work that would traditionally be thought of as academic work is handed over by academics to professional staff to manage, audit, and reproduce under managerial rule. Administrative knowledge is made inaccessible to academics and their academic capital is undervalued. Eliminating academics from the university would be the final act of managerialism in its colonisation. And yet, universities will not be universities without academics, and therefore academics prevail, subjugated under the yoke of managerialism. Without academics, universities would become something other. If capitalism and managerialism continue to have their way, universities look set to be reduced to education factories, with knowledge produced according to consumer taste and popularity.

However, perhaps the cyclical rise-fall-rise nature of capitalism and managerialism (Murphy 2020) is cause for hope. Just as new technologies give way to new ways for capitalism to capture new avenues of productivity, new knowledge provides the possibility of new ways of being. Without response, universities are unsustainable, and the heterodoxy of academics should be the overdue and much needed call to action to senior leaders, government, and the sector as a whole. Without a thriving academia, the very purpose of the university to deliver public good is compromised. Whilst managerialism might have us believe that 'all is well, there's nothing to see here', all is not well in universities, and there's plenty to see.

8.4 A matter of Sovereignty

"Mr. President, We are not employees of the university. We are the university."

Attributed to Nobel Laureate Isidore Rabi

Apparently, seconds into his speech, this is how Nobel Laureate Isidore Rabi interrupted Dwight Eisenhower President of Columbia University (not yet President of the United States), which he began with "Now, you employees of Columbia University . . ."

For me, the concept of sovereignty in the university is germane to this thesis. Afterall, sovereignty is essentially what the struggle in the university field is all about; namely, what group is regarded as having legitimate power? Even though sovereignty is not centrally dealt with throughout the thesis, for reasons of it distracting me from my cause of revealing managerialism's acts of symbolic violence to maintain its usurped sovereignty, I cannot consider the thesis finally realised unless I address sovereignty in the university and its legitimacy, in some way.

To begin, I will quickly overview the main concepts that scaffold sovereignty to help with this discussion. Sovereignty can be assigned to a person or collective body or institution, such that either of these have the ultimate authority over other people. Therefore, for sovereignty to be assigned, sovereignty must initially lie somewhere with the sovereign. An example of this principle of assigning sovereignty is demonstrated in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America, which opens with the statement "We the People … do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America". The point made here is that

sovereignty lies with the people of the United States, i.e., we the people of the United States are sovereign. So, the power of the American national government is assigned to it by the American people. Subsequently, the government sets up its governing machinery (departments, etc) and assigns authority (distinct decision-making powers) to them. A government formed in this way is deemed to have legitimacy, where legitimacy refers to the moral authority a group has to govern, and this moral authority signifies the reasons why anyone should respect what this group has to say. In the past, a Monarch would declare themselves as legitimate based on the moral authority they derived from religious doctrine, which implied that they had a divine right to rule. Alternatively, rather than a mandate from heaven, some rulers would claim their legitimacy based on might, as they simply had a big army, and their will would be exercised through that army.

In John Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government' (Locke 1773), he points out that it was because of the patriarchal structure of society at the time that people had been conditioned to believe that a monarchical government was the 'natural state' of things. It was this patriarchal conditioning, a 'structuring structure' in the context of this thesis, that enabled people to let themselves be ruled by absolutism. However, Locke's social contract theory, therein contained, which influenced the United States Declaration of Independence, stated that the legitimacy of a government can only be derived from the explicit and implicit "consent of the governed" (U.S. 1776). Therefore, legitimacy is the status awarded to a governing institution or group *by* the governed people. To put this differently, a government is legitimate when the governed determine who governs them.

Who governs the Anglo universities, and do they do so legitimately? From all accounts in this thesis and from the literature it draws on, one would have to say that the management class govern the Anglo universities, and they claim their legitimacy based on a mandate that *they* derive from the neoliberal and capitalistic society their universities are surrounded by. This legitimacy is structured (a further structuring structure as Bourdieu would call it) by the interfering manoeuvres of the civil governments and their education department who position universities as a private good rather than a public good, despite those who study this phenomenon and contend that this cannot work. Furthermore, since the 1990s, international organisations, the United Nations human rights treaty bodies, and NGOs have all referred to education as a public good (Locatelli 2018). Moreover, "this conceptualisation of education

as a public good underlies, along with the right to education, the humanistic approach to education adopted by international organisations such as the United Nations Education. Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child" (Daviet 2016, p. 2). To drive the moral authority of this point home even further, if need be, UNESCO in their position paper on education post-2015 (United Nations Educational 2014, p. 3) reaffirm their guiding principles with the following 4 points, and I deliberately draw attention to point 2:

1. Education is a fundamental human right and contributes significantly to the realisation of other rights.
2. **Education is a public good. The state is the custodian of education as a public good.** At the same time, the role of civil society, communities, parents and other stakeholders is crucial in the provision of quality education.
3. Education is a foundation for human fulfilment, peace, sustainable development, economic growth, decent work, gender equality and responsible global citizenship.
4. Education is a key contributor to the reduction of inequalities and poverty by bequeathing the conditions and generating the opportunities for better, sustainable societies.

To deploy point 2 in terms of discovering who is sovereign in the university; the state is the custodian of education, and as the state is legitimised by the people, the people are therefore sovereign in matters of the university. However, somehow, which is a matter beyond the scope of this thesis, managerialism leveraged its way into education, and in an act of usurpation replaced authentic academics in university leadership roles with manager-academics.

One could argue that because the state education departments sanction these acts of usurpation, then managerialism has legitimacy, but this is not what the public would think were they consulted on the matter. points out that on scientific, educational, and intellectual concerns both the public, journalists, legal, and government officials would recognise the legitimacy of academics as having the most sound and trusted judgments on such matters. Therefore, given the opportunity, the public would assign their sovereign powers for deciding on scientific, educational, and intellectual matters to university academics. In short,

academics should (as the people thinks them best for the concerned subject) hold sovereignty in the university, not the managerial class.

Of course, the management class will not easily relinquish their leadership positions for one simple reason – money. A 2020 survey of Australian university Vice-Chancellors by the Australian Financial Review revealed that many Vice-Chancellors were earning an annual salary in excess of AUS $1 million. And while the salaries of ordinary academic appointments up to Professor are publicly available via university websites, this transparency is not the case for appointments such as Head of School, Executive Dean, or other senior university administrators in the management class. One 2021 New South Wales Parliamentary Enquiry revealed that "Australian vice-chancellor are very generously paid" and commented that University Vice-Chancellors are "paid 25 or 30 times more than many of the people undertaking the core work" and that "universities must be reviewed and the failure to do this by the governing bodies of universities is evidence of a failure of leadership. This is a matter that should be reviewed by the Auditor-General" (New South Wales Parliament 2021, pp. 21-2). Unfortunately, even with parliamentary enquiries into the university sector such as these, I'm reminded of the Financial Accountant's adage: 'revenue hides all manner of budgetary sins'. In short, this means as long as you focus on revenue, then nobody asks for the profit and loss accounts. If enquiries such as this did ask for the balance sheet, then perhaps we would see what a huge tax the managerial class are on the university coffers.

8.5 A university that privileges humans

Universities are an expression of the human condition. It is inherently human to seek knowledge, to wonder at unknowns, and to strive for societal good. To paraphrase Aristotle, 'our desire to know is innately human' (Aristotle 1981, Book 1, Part 1). Universities help us fill this desire; to create and share knowledge, to solve the problems of the world – known, emerging, and yet undiscovered. Managerialism, with its market orientation threatens to undermine universities that agnostically strive for the good of humanity. When driven by government agendas, the danger is universities will also become "synonymous with powerful vested interests" , such as China, India and Nepal, which collectively generated in 2019 AUS $2.4 billion in revenue to New South Wales universities (New South Wales Parliament 2021).

Managerialism is inhuman and sees humans as 'things' only. Resources or commodities to be utilised in its quest for control, power and profit maximisation. The colonisation of managerialism has contributed to universities, forgetting its human purpose. Not only in terms of its service to society but in its treatment of those labouring within universities to try to achieve this public good. Settler colonialism has taught us much as a global society about (in)humanity. Understanding the mechanisms used by managerialism to colonise universities may illuminate the (in)humanity of this symbolically violent act. This thesis contributes to the extant literature documenting the lack of institutional care shown for university workers, as evidenced by experiences of struggle and wounds of symbolic violence. Moreover, it documents the inner workings of the university as perceived by academics and professional staff, and how managerialism instrumentally and systematically hijacks the university field to achieve colonisation.

In its striving for arbitrary and unscientific rankings, the colonised managerial university puts processes, marketisation, commercialisation, auditing, managing, controlling at the centre and disregards its workers. As such it is important that this thesis reflects on the future state of universities. calls this "The Good University"; an institution that is democratic, engaged, truthful, creative, and sustainable and which searches for a better logic and reform. Therefore, this thesis calls for the post managerial university where our human desire for knowledge is once again privileged.

8.5.1 Looking to the post managerialised university

In a hopeful way, this thesis creates a space to reflect upon the future state of Anglo universities. It supports Smyth (2019) in defiance of the dominant political agenda, which silences and ignores the current toxic state of these universities. At a phenomenological level, universities are places of knowledge creation that bring societal change. They mobilise the ability and gift of being able to understand current states to influence future states of being within the world, and this power to discover and craft the future is what an academic life is about. An academic life is for all of us, not just academics. But we all need the stewardship of academics in this pursuit.

The pervasiveness of managerialism as an ideology means that individuals may not be aware their minds have already been colonised by these misrecognised managerial concepts. This

thesis adds to the call to use the available weapon of critical thought leadership and intellectuality, to hear these heterodoxic struggles and sufferings and to use whatever political influence can be found to influence the regulatory and political landscape of higher education towards an era of postmanagerialism. If senior university leaders have the ability, and most critically the will, to act as champions and drivers of sector change, then lobbying for a postmanagerialised university that seeks societal, political and structural changes to our currently toxic university sector is what is needed.

But as managerialism continues its colonisation of universities and society, academic senior leaders, who have built successful careers on corporate values, must necessarily face an identity schism where they have to reconcile the values and culture of traditional academia with the managerialised corporate culture and identity we see today (Winter 2009; Cannizzo 2018; Howes 2018). In the view of Winter (2009), this reconciliation exists in an acknowledgement that one identity cannot change without recognition of the value of the other. For universities to realise a postmanagerial future, these identity schisms have to be reconciled.

Sabelis (2020) suggests that as the COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted the operations of universities, perhaps this is now the time for contemplating the limitations of the sector, and ways in which academic knowledge and education is produced. said that political awareness through disruption and a questioning of the 'taken for granted' creates space for reflection and escape. Thought leadership on managerial colonisation and the symbolic violence this inflicts on university life can enlighten and challenge the orthodox of managerialism and embolden the political will and action of academics, just as thought leadership on settler colonisation has done. Chapman et al. (2019, p. 6) asks "Scientists represent some of the most creative minds that can address societal needs. Is it now time we forge the future we want?"

8.6 The methodological contribution of multiple perspectives

Capturing the voices of professional staff alongside those of academics is an important research aim of this thesis. These multi-perspective studies allow for a much more detailed and richer account of a phenomenon to be gained. This these has made a contribution to this dual perspective.

The comparative approach of this thesis allows the contrasting views of the working lives of academics and professional staff in the managerialised university field to come forward. It contributes significantly to the identification of the symbolic violence of colonialism and the machinery managerialism uses to achieve this colonising objective. Without these methodological approaches, the tensions of power within the field that distinguish and legitimise, that dominate some groups and subjugate others, and that allow the replication of managerialism in the university would not be made obvious or as examinable.

CHAPTER 9   CONCLUSION

9.1 Both a summary and reflection

As someone who has transitioned from professional staff member to newbie academic, I've experienced many different parts of the university field, either directly or indirectly. That, coupled with witnessing senior management meetings from different perspectives, I appreciate why academics feel such despair. It's because the structures that create their academic life and identity are being systematically dismantled by managerial practices, and they believe only they – and not all of them – can see this happening. And these academics not only fear for themselves for the time when academics no longer live in universities, they fear for the wider society at the loss of universities and the inability to access an academic life.

My studies were inspired by not being able to easily see an answer to the question: why was this happening? And if I could answer that, then how is this happening? After reading the extant literature on the state of the higher education sector and the role managerialism appeared to be playing in creating much of this turmoil, it became clear that managerialism is, in its own particular way, colonising the higher education sector for capitalistic reasons. And managerialism is doing it in a hegemonic way by installing a management class and distorting the field, such that academics almost readily relinquish their powers, quite often to professional staff, who the management class directly control. So while the 'why was this happening' question was largely already answered, the specific of 'how this was happening', other than saying it's through imposing an audit culture, was largely unanswered. And this, or at least part of it, was the cause I chose as my PhD.

The rationale for why I chose a Bourdieusian line of enquiry I've set out in Sec. 3.1, though suffice it to say, a Bourdieusian lens enables one to look at how despair can be derived from a struggle that's taking place in a field of endeavour, such as a university. The struggle is about who's values are regarded as valuable. One group triumph over the other, not simply by devaluing the other's values, but by removing from the field the structures that build and support the values of the other. What is crucial to understand is where these structures are. Sometime these structures exist in physical space; they are where things or people are

located, they are technology or access to systems, or they are spaces where practices and rituals can be performed (such as academics in round table discussions). However, more often than not, these structures are in the minds of a community in the field, which ontologically exist in terms of concepts such as 'what is important', 'what is the right way of doing something', 'how to know something to be true'. Using the feature of structural violence in the Bourdieusian lens it's possible to see how the physical features of the field can be manipulated to one's advantage to gain dominance. While using the feature of symbolic violence in the Bourdieusian lens it's possible to see how 'the other' can be made to not only question their own values but assume the values of those seeking to dominate the field and contrive their will.

In one sentence, this thesis shows that while managerialism continues to colonise universities using symbolic violence, universities are strangled and compromised in their purpose of delivering public good to society.

Through a series of four journal articles (Chapter 4 to 7) and two data sets, I posed a total of 6 research questions. To follow are the questions along with an abridged answer.

Chapter 4:

> RQ 1 - *As an aspect of habitus, does role preparation of both professional staff and academics assist with an ability to 'play the game' of the managerialised university?*

Role preparation makes a significant difference, as professional staff already know how to play the managerialised university game. Whereas academics mediate 'the game' through their academic values, and it makes little sense to them, and as such they are left at a disadvantage. From managerialism perspective, it rigs the game in its favour by importing managerial values en-masse by recruiting as many professional staff from the corporate sector. This has the effect of diluting the pool of academic values. Consequently, academics feel in the minority and out of touch.

Chapter 5:

> RQ2 - *How do academic and professional staff field conditions differ?*
>
> RQ3 - *Do their respective field conditions enable or hinder the accumulation of necessary capital?*
>
> RQ4 - *Could field conditions collectively contribute to the agenda of managerialism?*

Academic and professional staff field conditions certainly do differ as they are a reflection of their occupational values. Professional staff share their work and are required to be on campus, which enables them to hold the operational knowledge of the university across their social network, and they maintain this social network in their day-to-day-ness of being together. Academics on the other hand are supported to work from home. But this puts them at a disadvantage with being able to build the social capital to access operational knowledge, and so they question their abilities in operational matters. With what appears to be a rather simple structural device, a significant amount of symbolic violence takes place, which gas-lights academic capability. Academics are made to feel like they don't have the capability to run the university. What academics thought (a misrecognition) was flexibility to work from home turns out to be a form of isolation and abandonment, and they willingly hand over their admin/operational decisions to professional staff.

Chapter 6:

> R5 - *is centralisation yet another act of symbolic violence waged against academics by managerialism?*

In short, yes! Not only does centralisation make life difficult for academics by pulling admin staff support away from them, but professional staff were also placed in a student support role, which in a way wedged them between the student and the academic running their course, so the professional staff members were the first point of call for any student inquiries, not the academic. In this simple move managerialism places professional staff in a more dominant position in the field to academics, where professional staff had more influence over the student's university experience. From the perspective of the academics, this was a breach

of their values concerning the teacher-student relationship. From a symbolic violence perspective, it destructures an aspect of what it means to be an academic.

Chapter 7:

> *RQ6 - Are WIL administrators suffering burnout from the underinvestment in the Australian WIL system? If this occurs, what characteristics of the system enable burnout to occur?*

While Chapter's 4 to 6 took a largely 'from the academics' perspective, this chapter examines the field conditions from a particular form of professional staff member that administers the WIL program. For managerialism to control academics, it must subjugate the professional staff, which it does simply by underinvesting in them. This too is a form of symbolic violence; the symptoms of which are burnout. The mechanism works by underinvest in the systems that are required to deliver a WIL educational experience. Subsequently, these professional staff assume that any failure to deliver is their fault rather than the system. The harder they work the worst they feel about the failure. As such, they become more complicit in adopting the dominant values (how things should be) – even if they don't believe in them.

In the discussion (Chapter 80) I applied Bourdieu's logic of colonialism to these findings in terms of the four mechanisms of colonialism, namely, abandon to subordinate, control the system mechanisms, position agents in relationships of domination, and create conditions where the successful succeed further. What is revealed is managerialism's mechanisms for colonising universities, and that these mechanisms achieve their aims by being symbolically violent and inflicting psychological wounds. More succinctly, the mechanism of managerialism revealed in this thesis, subject university academics to a destructuration of their academic life and the unsustainability of this threatens the academic life of all people.

9.2 Summary of thesis contributions and implications

The contributions and implications of this thesis are summarised according to the actor who benefits from their disclosure. The following sections are couched as if I were addressing the actor directly.

9.2.1 To academics, professional staff, and senior leaders

- Managerialism imposes symbolic violence upon professional staff and academics, weakening them both. Awareness and illumination through field disruption offers escape from this violence

- Centralising professional staff away from academics is an act of symbolic violence that weakens the ability of both groups to get work done and realise their common purpose of supporting students

- There is an important need for academics and professional staff to spend personal time together to collegially understand the roles of one another

- Professional staff have the influence and decision-making authority to either reproduce or disrupt managerialism. The hope is for the latter

- Professional staff have been known as the accidental administrators. Deeper understandings of academia through education and inculcation could shift the professional identity towards the professional (home-grown) university administrator. Universities themselves have opportunity to play a direct role in this.

9.2.2 To the university sector

- The managerialised university is unsustainable and destructive to the public good of universities

- Managerialism in the university sector becomes self-destructive, destroying the very thing it attempts to manage. The market logic of managerialism does not build universities

- The search for knowledge is a cornerstone of the human condition and universities exist as part of that drive. Managerialism disregards humans in favour of serving power

- The future university is within the grasp of academia. Researchers create knowledge to solve societal problems and the thought leaders to tackle the problem of managerialism are already a part of academia. Academics must unite to be heard by sector leaders, government and society.

9.2.3 To society

- An academic life is for everyone, as all humans have a drive to seek knowledge and to wonder. Harnessing this drive will solve societal problems. Universities play a unique and important role in the harnessing of creators and sharers of knowledge
- Reform to the managerialised university will ensure its sustainability and purpose is retained for future generations. Universities exist to solve societal problems – known, emerging and yet undiscovered
- The orthodoxy of the managerialised university must be challenged. The wellbeing of workers in the university sector is compromised as they struggle and suffer daily under managerialisms regime. This cannot go unattended.

9.2.4 To managerialism

- You bring harm to democratic ways of working, collegiality, academic and professional staff wellbeing and the very purpose of the university as a public good. You destroy universities
- Those working within your embrace do not thrive. They struggle under the power regime, even professional staff who have been inculcated into managerialised objectives and positioned as dominate in the university field. You harm those very people whose passion and labour make universities
- You commit many acts of symbolic violence on Anglo universities. You do not care for or about humans.

9.3 Limitations

In Chapter 4 to 6 this thesis adopts a case study methodology. As such the generalisability of its findings cannot be guaranteed. Although when connectivity to the specific case is maintained there is evidence that singular case studies have transferability to other contexts (Simons 2009). There is also evidence that the use of case studies is common when exploring the experiences of change within universities.

The Bourdieusian study was conducted at a regional Australian university which may have limitations when applying its findings to other larger metropolitan universities or to universities outside of Australia. Although there is an extant body of literature to suggest these experiences are common. During the submission process of one of the papers a reviewer commented "I was left wondering if the university the authors had investigated was indeed MY university… which is a good sign" (email received 07/12/2021, capitalisation in email).

This thesis projects views of the academic and professional staff experiences that have further research implications for both regional and metropolitan universities. It also incorporates narrative from academics and professional staff working within one faculty. It therefore does not capture any potentially divergent experiences of academics working in other areas of the university such as research institutions or performing learning and teaching roles in centralised units. It also does not capture the experiences of professional staff working in other areas of the university such as facility management, human resources, finance or marketing departments.

Lastly, data contained in this thesis was collected at a singular point in time and does not reflect longitudinal changes to the case university field or the Australian WIL system.

9.4 Further research opportunities

Future research opportunities exist:

- Further exploration of the colonisation of managerialism in universities to better understand the way to emancipation
- Adopting the use of comparison between academics and professional staff to further explore their alternative experiences and find further synthesis between their roles and functions
- Deterministic work around the cultivation of other forms of capital that (dis)advantage academics and professional staff, inside and outside the home university
- Further exploration of issues of academic loneliness, given the individualist nature of academic work, compared to the collective experiences of professional staff
- Extend the literature around the experiences of non-third space professional staff, to deepen understanding. In particular, how these individuals can be better prepared for a career in universities with a university professional identity, not a managerialised, corporate identity
- Explore the lived experience of academics and professional staff in centralised areas of the university (such as student support, finance, human resources) to determine if other divergent experiences are also enabling the colonisation of universities and inflicting symbolic violence
- Seek to generalise the finding of this study by extending this same line of investigation to other universities both within Australia and globally
- Repeat a study such as this after field disruption has occurred, for example after a change in the approach to university governance or the COVID-19 global pandemic
- Repeat a study such as this in another industry (for example, the School sector, Health, Law Enforcement) to seek out similar and different experiences as a way of illuminating mechanisms and learnings that overcome the crisis of managerialism and colonialism
- Seek to explore if academics in metropolitan universities are disadvantaged in the ways identified for their academic colleagues in smaller, regional universities

9.5 Final remarks

Universities are unique and hold a very important role within our society which managerialism does not care for or care about. The comparative experiences of academics and professional staff in this thesis illuminates the destructuration project that managerialism embraces, and the symbolically violent mechanisms it uses to colonise Anglo universities. The university management class have taken control of professional staff for the purpose of subjugating academics in their own universities.

An academic life of enquiry and regeneration is what we humans need as much as we need food and shelter. It is the thing that makes us uniquely human and drives our society forward for the good of humanity and the terrestrial and celestial universe in all its glorious diversity. An academic life is for all people, not just academics. A life of enquiry teaches people to think and reflect on their morals, and to think critically about their current state and so logically argue a counter position to anything. An academic life can guide us in solving the problems of the world - *known, emerging and yet undiscovered.*

Managerialism is not suitable for sustaining universities. I therefore implore senior university leaders to use whatever political capacity they have to seek reform. A collective will is needed if we are to recover from our current state and realise a new future university.

To end on an optimistic note, although academic values are subjugated by the orthodoxy of managerialism, my investigations reveal they are not gone. These values appear in the critical commentary of academics as a coherent heterodoxy. Voices that could be strong enough to challenge the dominance of managerialism in the Anglo university sector, if only a way could be found to unite them in this endeavour.

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APPENDIX ONE – DATA COLLECTION

This appendix outlines the data collection for both studies that contribute to this thesis

Study 1: Qualitative Bourdieusian study - The lived experience of academics and professional staff in the managerialised university - H18REA293 (Human Ethics Committee, University of Southern Queensland)

Table 10: Study 1 – Data Collection

Participant	Staffing category	Date of interveiw	Location of Interview
[P1]	Professional Staff	January 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P2]	Professional Staff	January 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P3]	Professional Staff	January 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P4]	Professional Staff	January 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P5]	Professional Staff	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P6]	Professional Staff	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P7]	Professional Staff	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P8]	Professional Staff	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A9]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A10]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A11]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P12]	Professional Staff	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A13]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A14]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A15]	Academic	February 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P16]	Professional Staff	March 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A17]	Academic	March 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A18]	Academic	March 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A19]	Academic	March 2019	Participant's on campus office
[P20]	Professional Staff	March 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A21]	Academic	April 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A22]	Academic	April 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A23]	Academic	April 2019	Participant's on campus office
[A24]	Academic	April 2019	Participant's home via Zoom meeting

Study 2: Mixed methods burnout study – Occurrence of burnout of professional staff administering work integrated learning - H17REA005 (Human Ethics Committee, University of Southern Queensland)

- The OLBI Survey instrument and open ended question was distributed nationally to National Association of Field Experience Administrators (NAFEA) members in February 2017
- The invitation to participate was via an email from the President of NAFEA to a member data base of n= >250
- Survey data was electronically collected via an embedded link in the invitation email.