

The Enterprising Academic: Transforming the Master

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Universities are now lining up as corporations and demand that their academics perform appropriately. Consequently, corporate makeovers, so common these days, entail creating a new look for individual academics as well as changing the face of educational institutions themselves. This paper explores the new demands on academics to 'look' right. Being enterprising is now a key indicator of whether these educators have what they need for success. One important dimension of the face of entrepreneurial performance is the capacity to invest 'emotional capital' (Thomson, 1998a, b) in their work. The paper uses an analytical framework about practices of governance, developed by Foucault (1991), to offer a reading of the processes by which academics' identities (Hall, 1996) are currently shaped. The argument is directed to the forms of seduction, and the active role of educators themselves in what can be understood as nothing less than cosmetic surgery that irrevocably changes their image. Indeed, the paper argues, it is the elision of business imperatives with educational ones that provides a key tool for their governance. These makeovers result in new stresses and identifiable sculpted forms in the performances of the academic workplace.

Introduction

There are many new demands on academics. This follows the rushing tide of entrepreneurialism that is sweeping through educational institutions throughout the world (Davies, 1997). Governments all over the world, as well as management experts, are looking to new ways to shape the commitment of educators to these changing entrepreneurial values of education (See for example Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 1989; Karpin, 1995; The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's goals for the 21st Century, Japan, 2000). Educational leaders and the education enterprise are now imagined in ways unheard of 20 years ago. Global competition in education services requires educators to approach the *business* of education much as managers of successful corporations approach their responsibilities. Consequently, educational institutions today aspire to look more like corporations and enterprises than collegia and bureaucracies (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1999; Birnbaum, 2000) The catch cry, 'be entrepreneurial' applies across the board.

While there is undoubtedly a move to professionalise the management of educational institutions, academics themselves are also unable to escape notice. All educators must perform their everyday academic work while demonstrating qualities such as being innovative, passionate about the enterprise and everything associated with it, active rather

than passive, and communicatively competent (OECD, 1989). This means influencing others through looking, feeling and acting right. As a consequence, corporate makeovers aim to create a new look for academics, as well as changing the face of universities themselves.

This paper explores what, to use the term so familiar in modeling magazines, is the right 'look' for educators in the contemporary entrepreneurial environment. It traces the history of the emergence of a particular new form of 'capital' that marks the bodies of this new breed of academics. The significance of this new look can be compared to the substantial shifts in the management of the body that took place with the arrival of a distinctly organised courtly life after the Middle Ages (Elias, 1978). At that time, after a long period during which physical strength and an earthy quality were the required style of body management, courtiers were newly expected to demonstrate what came to be understood as a more *sophisticated* demeanour. Elias (1978) characterised these new displays of the body as a *search for distinction*. While academics of former days might have been able to enact an almost courtly etiquette characterised by displays of pompousness, unworldliness, absented-mindedness, loyalty to their discipline, and complete disregard of the dollar, expressed through unconventional dress and body language and the valorisation of intellectual activity, the contemporary academic is now required to conduct a vastly different body management aesthetics. The new search for distinction entails managing the *business* body and utilising entrepreneurial communicative skills.

The new resource that provides the competitive edge for leaders and, like the courtly behaviour of old, demands 'calculated and finely shaded behaviour' (Elias, 1983, p.111) has been variously branded, but the idea of 'emotional capital' (Thomson, 1998a) best captures a significant dimension of the spirit of this new ethic. This emotional capital is, to use communication expert, Kevin Thomson's words, the 'essential core competence' of organisations in the new century (Preface). This competence has been translated in various ways by management experts and governments, but descriptions such as tapping the 'Corporate Heart' (Cairnes, 1998) 'Igniting passion in your work' (Weider, 1999/2000), conquering 'The frontier within' (The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's goals for the 21st Century, Japan, 2000) and 'Passion at work' (Thomson, 1998b) capture a significant dimension of the various proposals to put emotional capital to good use. This new emotional engagement is a key indicator of whether contemporary academics, as managers, have what they need for success. This involves heightened engagement when communicating, selling ideas, selling courses in the marketplace and

even when disciplining staff and students. This ethical comportment of how to be properly emotional (indeed passionately so) is a form of collateral that has to be managed and drawn on constantly, if managers want to look and act as they are required. Indeed, the paper argues, it is the linking of increased self-surveillance with thinking about the business of education that provides a key tool for the governance of educators, and their institutions.

The paper is divided into four main sections. The first section provides an analysis of the changing imperatives of educational institutions and academics. This is followed by an overview of the analytical framework offered by Foucault (1991) which sheds light on the complexities of the production of knowledge about what academics should aspire to be, and the way these individuals are governed by this knowledge. The third section demonstrates the changing historical landscape (using Australia as an example of the types of shifts) that has produced the concept, significance, and linking of enterprising behaviour and emotional capital, and how academics have been incorporated into this model. It provides a brief case study of one formulation of the logic of contemporary educational practice. While acknowledging that certain disciplinary practices are important in bringing about this change, the argument is also directed to the active role of educators themselves in what can be understood as nothing less than cosmetic surgery which irrevocably changes their image. This section demonstrates how individual educational managers can thus become more amenable to the entrepreneurial fashion.

The analysis concludes by pointing to the implications of such seductions and sanctions for the government of educational institutions and individual managers. The risks for educators, entailed in the co-option of emotional capital as a governing practice, are also elaborated. In doing so, the paper signals some of the dangers that arise when the imperfect bodies of contemporary, sometimes egocentric and unhealthy academics are subject to body work that produces them as dispassionately passionate in their quest for the perfect entrepreneurial **10**.

Changing the Face of Educational Institutions and Educators

Universities, like most organizations, are the objects of considerable demand for change as well as financial strain (Hay, 1999, p.7). Consequently, the makeover of the sometimes-eccentric academic is inevitable, as they become increasingly understood as entrepreneurs of knowledge production and facilitation. This new entrepreneurial mantle entails new responsibilities and new challenges for them, as targets of new ways to do

educational business.

In part, this has been achieved by the alignment of corporate thinking about the morality of the market with an educational discourse about what constitutes a good education and the individual's right to buy it. This new morality is being inserted in an education discourse, which has traditionally shunned pragmatic outcomes such as monetary gain, practical worldly skill, and education as a product. The claims about enterprising behaviour therefore take on a new shape in this education marketplace (Karpin, 1995; McWilliam, Hatcher, & Meadmore, 1999). The educator has thus become a new player in selling his services, such as excellence in teaching or innovative vocational courses, to his clients. Indeed, academics must now see themselves as academic managers who manage knowledge, their students, and their colleagues at various organisational levels.

This claim for the *morality* of the market is sustained by linking the achievement of individual enterprise with the improvement of 'community' outcomes (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1999) and is conceptualised as 'community partnerships', for example. These are intended to foster community relevance and involvement (Hay, 1999, p.7). Such a re-configuration makes it possible to equate the market's ability to achieve a 'trickle down effect' (and so improve socio-economic standards) with greater democratic opportunity. Indeed, because some of the most influential architects of the 'free market', Friedman and Friedman (1990), have directly linked democratic values and capitalism, academic leaders can find ground to valorise new creative and strategic initiatives, based on private sector funding and free market competition. In countries such as Britain and Australia, this shift has major repercussions for what has been long recognised as the importance of loyalty to a discipline rather than to university or body of students. Such a representation rescues what is often despairingly and negatively described as 'economic rationalism', allowing world leaders since Margaret Thatcher to describe the 'free market' imperative as working positively 'to change the soul' (Thatcher, *Sunday Times*, 7 May, 1988 quoted in Heelas & Morris, 1992, p. 7). Concomitant with this appeal to enterprise is the portrayal of a culture of enterprise paying back the active participation of all citizens by being 'generating' and 'encompassing', rather than encouraging dependency (p. 7). This new 'active' participation is central to understanding how emotion has become the new capital to be used instrumentally by managers.

These new managers are asked to generate a new spirit of entrepreneurialism in others, to shape their souls and induce them to take responsibility through a passionate commitment

to this morality. It entails developing 'learning communities' of empowered 'partners' whose commitment is not so much to a discipline as to the achievement of the skills of problem solving, adaptation and innovation, all of which are utilised to add value to the enterprise (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996). Being a player in this new educational marketplace is a far cry from the academic performances of traditional academics. Selling a particular sort of education is part of a newly emerging identity demanded of all academics engaged in doing good business.

Thinking about governance

The analytical framework about how practices of governance work, developed by Foucault (1991), is a useful tool for understanding these processes by which academics' identities are currently shaped, and the sorts of disciplinary and self-regulating practices that provide the tools for their make-overs. In order to understand how governing occurs in advanced liberal democracies, Miller and Rose (1990) argue that the idea of 'government at a distance'¹ provides an explanation of the way allied interests come together in loosely aligned networks to produce technologies of governing. They suggest that adopting shared vocabularies, theories, and explanations, along with engaging with each other in ways that suggest consonant interests and objectives, and translating others' goals into the achievement of mutual ambitions result in policies and practices which appeal to multiple and disparate groups.

The governance of a population is, thus, the result of innumerable planned and unplanned outcomes (Miller & Rose, 1990). It involves operating through subjects and, as such, is dependent on the personal capacities of subjects as producers, workers, and citizens. Various authors (Rose 1991, 1996a, b; Miller & Rose, 1990; du Gay 1996) have tracked some of the key dimensions of the shifts that have occurred in the post-war period. They argue that the language of freedom, autonomy, and enterprise now dominates contemporary thinking about how we should be governed. They further claim that, since the 1970s, citizenship as 'solidarity, contentment and welfare' and a sense of security framed by organisational and social arrangements has been gradually replaced by the ideal of the citizen as being active, exhibiting individualism and exercising personal choice (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 24). Advanced liberal programs take 'the activity' of subjects as a given, and they focus on using that activity 'to establish a consonance between the self-promoting endeavours of those who are to be the subject of the rule and

¹ This idea draws on Foucault's (1982) definition of power as 'a set of actions upon others actions' (p.220).

the objectives of those who are to exercise rule' (Rose, 1996b, p. 146).

Seen in this light, there are various identifiable mechanisms in any specific historical period which produce the discourses of the ideal educator/ manager. Groups are targeted in various ways, including advertisements selling communication skills for managers, in training manuals, through training courses, in management books, professional journals and self-help books, and through organisational practices such as the development of 'human' resource departments.

Through knowing and enacting or resisting these discourses, individuals produce themselves 'as a work of art' (Foucault, 1986). Indeed, Foucault (1986) insists that the production of the self should be understood as 'a creative activity' (Foucault, 1986, p. 351). This suggests the notion of the performativity of subjects. It is possible therefore to conceive of the body as *continually* 'finely tuned', constructed, and reconstructed as a 'performing self' (Schilling, 1993). One of the key mechanisms by which this performance of the self occurs is through the constitution of knowledge about what is appropriate for a particular professional identity in any specific historical period.² This notion of identity, as a work of art, is used in this paper, following Hall (1996), to suggest 'the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between, on the one hand, the discourses which attempt to "interpellate", speak to us or hail us into place as subjects of particular discourses, and on the other, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be "spoken" ' (pp. 5-6). What is important about this conceptualisation is the recognition that the 'suturing' is merely a 'temporary attachment' (Hall, p. 6) to specific discursive practices, so that the fragility of the identity of the enterprising academic is recognised.³ New alignments of knowledge can shift and subvert these identities. However, I propose that this analytic is useful to study the production of the identity of the academic in contemporary universities. The section that follows examines three aspects of the 'suture' that produces this identity.

² The notion of identity is an important organising framework in modernity, and while it has been endlessly critiqued (Hall, 1996, p. 1), it has nevertheless not yet been 'superseded'; that is, no concept has been developed to replace it, and so 'there is nothing to do but to continue to think with [it]' (Hall, 1996, p. 1).

³ I concur with du Gay (2000), that Fournier and Grey (1999) overstated the case in their critique of his use of the idea of enterprise. Like du Gay, I use the idea of enterprise and emotional capital as ways to capture a key dimension of a driving logic, without implying a 'monolithic block' (p.178) or final vocabulary.

Reinventing Management Education

The impetus to rethink the characteristics of the good academic has many sources, at a national, international and local level. One way to trace how the academic has been shaped is through an analysis of one site in Australia. One concrete and clear national vision of the common sense logic that is now re-inscribing this academic identity can be traced to 1995. A federally funded, national task force was created to consider the 'problem' of improving management performance. The Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills produced a report entitled *Enterprising Nation: Renewing Australia's Managers to Meet the challenges of the Asia-Pacific Century* (Karpin, 1995). The Task Force conducted extensive research and drew on expertise from all over the world to develop its recommendations. A significant target of this improvement was the management educators. In creating this target for change, the meaning of being an academic, of learning, and of the relationship between learning and business was all placed under scrutiny.

This wide-ranging report (Karpin, 1995) used comparative international standards to support its claims that Australian managers were failing to meet the challenges of the global environment. The Report identified one significant cause as the inappropriateness of the educational curriculum to prepare managers adequately for the twenty-first century: 'Australian enterprises, training providers and educational institutions are not moving quickly enough to address the new paradigm of management' (Karpin, 1995, p. xii).

The Task Force also asserted that a new relationship between learning and expertise needed to be developed in educational institutions. This is in line with the need to penetrate the 'enclosures of expertise' (Rose, 1996a, p.54) that developed as a result of the institutionalisation of management and psychological expertise in universities during the twentieth century (Hollway, 1991; Rose, 1991). The performance of expertise relies on the hierarchisation of knowledges, subjugating those based on 'experience', and substituting those based on scientific evidence. However, the Report reconfigures this relationship with expertise by developing a binary formulation of 'experience and training/ education'.

Thus, the conduct of training and educating managers is an important matter raised in *Enterprising Nation* (Karpin, 1995; Midgley, 1995). The accompanying Research Report (Midgley, 1995), containing empirical evidence and the opinions of experts, suggested

that a critical dimension of the 'learning' of managers is based on 'experience' (Callan, 1995; Clegg et al., 1995; Telechy, 1995). For example, Callan (1995), in his research chapter for the Task Force, identifies 'experience' as critical to becoming a manager. He argues that experience provides the framework for a 'profound transformation' (Hill, p. 5 quoted in Callan, 1995, p. 132), and that 'experiential on-the-job learning' is significant for 'the inner game' of becoming a manager. This 'accumulation of evidence and experience' (Hill, quoted in Callan, p. 133) allows the new manager to 'manage and master the transformation of a new identity' (Callan, 1995, p. 133). Drawing on these arguments and quoting from Senge, the Task Force claims that '[l]earning in organisations means the continuous testing of experience, and the transformation of that experience into knowledge - accessible to the whole organisation, and relevant to its core purpose'. The outcome of this should be mechanisms such as 'readily available self-assessment instruments', 'learning contracts', and 'management development plans' (Senge, quoted in Karpin, p. 277), according to the Report.

Importantly, thinking of learning in this way blurs the boundaries of personal/professional development. It makes learning a public display of the process of how to act appropriately, rather than thinking of learning as what is known (Gee, Hull & Lankshear, 1996, p.56). At the same time, it shifts the relations of authority, shaping the relationship of the self to the self in a particular way. In making this important link between training/education and experience, the networks of academic/training providers are also drawn ever more closely with industry and business. Indeed, not only are learners contained within the web of governmentalisation, but academics and trainers are also caught up in its logic. No one remains 'outside' the logic of management development.

Disciplining Management Educators

As a consequence, linked to the programmatic attempts to discipline managers is the move to discipline academics. For example, Clegg et al. (1995) discuss possible models of management. They describe the 'pracademic' model used by Swinburne University of Technology School of Innovation and Enterprise, which uses a 'fusion of "academic" and "practitioner" skills' (Clegg et al., 1995, p. 1325). The collapsing of the categories, whereby expertise is only possible in the fusion of academic and practical ability provides a powerful node for recoding the means through which the academic has the authority to speak. Thus, 'experts', who have previously been able to refuse the demands and constraints of economic imperatives, are refashioned so that they, too, are implicated in the new entrepreneurial culture. By implicating a range of groups who were previously

independent of such requirements, the logic of enterprise envelopes them all. In fact, a whole series of mechanisms to engage academics and managers of TAFE and training providers (in a variety of ways including ‘human resource management of academics’) (Karpin, 1995, p. lx), as well as activities to develop ‘industry linkages for management schools’ (p. lvi), the ‘professional development of TAFE personnel’ (p. xxviii) and ‘comprehensive accreditation’ processes for training providers (p. xxix) are engaged in the process.

In addition, the ‘learning in a work-based setting’ model becomes another means through which ‘expert’ knowledge can be disciplined and surveillance performed. Instead of the production of knowledge (what is to be taught) being defined by academics of management and psychology, their ‘enclosures of expertise’ can be breached by *consumer* demand and ‘experience’ based determinations of ‘quality’. To that end, for example, the Task Force pointed to its role in publishing the *Good Universities Guide to Management Education* ‘as a means of placing more information into the MBA marketplace’ (Karpin, 1995, p. 159). The Task Force claimed that this practice is in response to the ‘extremely localised nature’ and limited choices by ‘consumers’ of MBA’s (AFMD & Reark, 1995, quoted in Karpin, 1995, p. 159). In other words, the ‘failure’ of educational institutions to achieve an adequate response to the market of learners creates the conditions of possibility whereby new forms of authority produce that knowledge. As a solution for the good governing of the nation, this set of practices contributes to the achievement of a specific political rationality of governing where education and educators must respond to the demands of the market place and consumer choice.

Recoding the Relationship between Educators and Business

To achieve this response, a series of institutional arrangements to regulate the practices of management educators are recommended in the Report. The cascading sets of practices to reconstitute *frontline* managers demonstrate the process involved here. For example, starting with the ‘professional development of Senior TAFE managers’ (p. xxviii), a set of practices of normalisation allows the formation of ‘best practice’ models in particular colleges which would then be used as ‘case studies’ to model best practices ‘throughout the TAFE system’ and ‘for application in other enterprises’ (p. xxviii). The Task Force proposed that these ‘best practice’ managers would then be engaged in the training of frontline managers.

A particular program to deliver a *National Certificate in Workplace Leadership* to 80,000

frontline managers in five years completes the cascading process. Contained in this recommendation is a whole series of moves to give choice to organisations and individuals, and to constitute the 'business' of education 'as a customising service to meet enterprise requirements' (p. xlii). The relationship between authority and expertise is once again reconfigured with the recommendations that 'provision' for 'proposed funding' allows 'the enterprise to *select* the provider'. Educators and trainers are required to '*customise* their programs' (p. xlii, my italics) in this logic. In this formulation, the solution to the failure of current management education to be sufficiently sensitive is to change the way managers learn. Management education and management educators themselves become more manageable and calculable because they become part of the business of education. The naturalisation of 'customisation' and 'selection' demands specific behaviours and ways of operating previously unsayable in the realm of management education.

Refashioning the emotional life of academics

Refashioning the emotional life of the academic is another element in the shifting face of the performance of the academic. It is recognisable as one facet of their response to the imperative for them to become managerial in their approach to education. Academics are now required to tune in, not just to the gurus of their disciplines, but also to the insistent voices of managerial gurus. Tom Peters and Peter Waterman (1982) challenged managers to respond passionately to their work: Stephen Covey (1990) exhorted them to personal renewal to develop 'deep communication with 'another human soul' (p.241); Daniel Goleman told them that emotional intelligence is more important than IQ: and Kevin Thompson (1998a; 1998b) asserted that 'Passion at work' is the right way to communicate with and understand people and to achieve excellence at work. This selection of exhortations captures some of the appeals that produce the search for distinction that sets contemporary educators apart from their academic predecessors. When recognised as an on-going and active process of formation, identity is thus a process of fine-tuning and reinvention of the way academics are required to think, feel, and act.

Because of the new levels of responsabilisation and self-regulation and the decreased reliance on intellectual mastery and increased reliance on experience, new forms of management training set out specifically to train academic managers to manage their emotional capital, and to recognise when and how it should be felt and displayed in relation to their work practices. Emotional capital has thus become naturalised as

enhancing the capacity of managers, rather than diminishing it.

Contemporary managers are clearly 'made' through many different discourses (Foucault, 1996; Rose, 1991; du Gay, 1996), but one particularly persuasive, highly rhetorical form is the 'guru narrative' of high profile management experts (Clark & Salaman, 1998). This form of advice is very seductive because of its simple, accessible messages and promises. Managers are encouraged, through these, to become involved in on-going self-regulation through micro-practices such as personal development, performance appraisal and competency training. Currently, the management of emotional capital is one of the primary responsibilities of human resource and professional development units at the organisational level. Their role is a significant trajectory for the translation of guru ideas to support individual efforts to invent and manage emotion capital.

Attention to emotions and their relationship to productivity has increased over the last 70 years. The groundbreaking work of the Hawthorne studies in the 1930s, and the later work of the Tavistock Institute researchers placed emotion on the agenda for organisational life (See Hollway, 1991, Miller & Rose, 1994; Hatcher, 1998). The discovery of the importance of the 'sentimental' worker established concerns about the disruptiveness of unfulfilled emotion in most organisations. Indeed, a whole reform movement, based on managing human relations, developed as a result of these concerns (Connor, 1999). Consequently, managers in business have been under scrutiny for some time to encourage them to manage their emotions. Universities, on the other hand, as institutions where the intellect has traditionally been idealised, have escaped much of the attention of such human relations specialists until the 1990s.

Starting in the 1980s, and more intensively in the 1990s, *managing* the heart has received increased attention because now it is thought of as not just potentially disruptive, but as a source of considerable productivity and energy by management experts. Recent intense academic interest in the emotions has produced edited collections, books, and articles in academic journals (See for example, Fineman, 1993; Mumby & Putnum, 1992; Lupton, 1998; Cairnes, 1998) as well as a raft of empirical studies (see Fiebig and Kramer, 1998). Self-styled management gurus have also discovered the value of the 'heart' as a management tool. It has also changed the shape of organisational arrangements.

Universities, like business corporations, now have or are encouraged to have designated human resource departments (Karpin, 1995) and, quite commonly, professional

development units that handle the shaping up of academic managers. Clearly, the academic world has long been a disorderly place where only the minds of academics have been subject to discipline. However, the new entrepreneurialism requires the discipline of bodies to produce a more ordered space. While this new competency, with the makeover of posture, clothing, indeed the very heart of the eccentric, non-conformist academic is a disciplining practice of unprecedented governance, it is also the site of resistance. And the proliferation of professional development and managerial training courses is evidence of that. However, Birnbaum (2000) has made a substantial case, in his analysis of US institutions, that some academic managers publicly endorse the language of reform, even while they protect the core traditional values of their institutions. The challenge then, is to create images that entice these academics to take on the new entrepreneurial identity.

Imagining managerial performance

Why has the idea of personal transformation become such a central feature of entrepreneurial behaviour and central to good management practice? The excellence literature (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Peters, 1989) popularised this truth in the 1980s. The distribution of over four million copies of *In Search of Excellence* (1982) around the world sparked attempts to think differently about what it meant to be a good manager. Peters and Waterman formulated a critique of bureaucracy that has been enlarged and embellished to debunk traditional approaches to managing organisations. *In Search of Excellence*, as the title suggests, set a new path for the way managers should fulfill their responsibilities. It alerted business leaders to the needs of the changing world for flexible, creative, and intuitive qualities of employees, to reduce routine and the administrative mindset. Risk and uncertainty were also targeted as key values in the new, successful organisations (Peters, 1989). With this, the notions of stability and rationality that was characteristic of traditional bureaucratic organisations were replaced with a heightened sense of the drama, spontaneity, and emotional vigour of the good manager in the entrepreneurial organisation.

Since the emergence of the excellence literature in the 1980s, gurus have argued for a 'balance' of the rational and the emotional, for as Peters and Waterman (1982) warned, 'we have to stop overdoing things on the rational side' (p. 54). In achieving this new anti-bureaucratic stance, managers were induced to identify with what has been traditionally understood as the ir/rational and disordered side of human development. The moral integrity credited to enterprising behaviour, where managers commit themselves to ardently selling their ideas, their services and their hearts, makes it both desirable and

admirable in Peters' (1989) logic. He positioned 'the inventive genius', the risktaker, and innovator, as the champions of organisations (pp. 245-294). This heroisation of routine behaviour, as managers are interpellated to live the 'vision' and become a 'beacon and control', is an important regulating device; but it also makes these activities and feelings very seductive for managers. In this scenario, the heroic manager figure is given an opportunity for renewal and reinvention. These seductive images of the transformed manager engaged in the exciting task of destroying bureaucracy and creating entrepreneurial spaces induce managers to willingly perform in ways amenable to the new organisational imperatives.

In this paradigm, excellent organisations take advantage of the 'emotional, more primitive side (good and bad) of human nature' (p. 60). The valorisation of this emotional side is contained within the logic that it can still be managed: 'All that stuff you have been dismissing for so long as intractable, irrational, intuitive, informal organisation can be managed' (p. 11). Indeed, it allows Peters and Waterman (1982) to claim that 'soft is hard' (p. 11). It is interesting to note here, the way that terms like soft and hard have become critical in entrepreneurial thinking. The 'hard' and difficult processes of scientific reasoning are juxtaposed with the 'softness' of emotional work. In their move to remake the meaning of emotional activity as a hard task, Peters and Waterman compare favorably it with the rigor of intellectual work. This move has a particular significance in a university setting and supports the seduction of academics into the new logic.

It is easy to recognise the work of the logic of excellence in *Enterprising Nation* (Karpin, 1995). This report also formulated its assertion about significance of changing modes of operation around the idea of 'soft' skills. The Report identified human resources management strategies as one of the two 'enabling' capabilities (the other being the use of information systems). Drawing on the binary formulation, hard/soft, the Task Force pointed to the inadequacy of approaches using 'traditional strategies where quantitative analytic skills associated with cost, scale and market position'. In addition to these traditional skills, in the new 'capabilities-based organisation', 'soft skills' are required by leaders (Boston Consulting Group, 1995, p. 1248). These 'soft skills', the Boston Consulting Group pointed out, are 'a misnomer, surely, since they are typically much harder to master than the so-called "hard" skills' (p. 1248).

A further enticement to academics is achieved by the popular work of Daniel Goleman (1996) on emotional intelligence. The language of emotional intelligence has entered

everyday language from newspaper reports to professional development journals. Goleman used the authority of the academic discipline of cognitive psychology to re-present the emotions as 'a different kind of intelligence' (p.36) and to signify their relationship to other forms of intelligence. This is a timely contribution to smooth the way for the legitimisation of emotional responses by academics who are typically resistant to and wary of such calls. He uses Gardner's (1993) book on multiple intelligences to claim that interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligence are the keys to self-knowledge and other-knowledge (Cited in Goleman, p.39) and that what individuals can achieve is 'appropriate' emotion (p.56). Goleman provides a rationale for the changing valorisation of the emotions, giving EQ an equal significance with IQ, describing emotional intelligence as a 'master' aptitude, one that 'affects all other abilities, either facilitating or interfering with them' (p.80). The Enlightenment ideal, so important to academics, of the pursuit superiority of the intellect, is unsettled by this type of discourse.

More recently, communication guru Kevin Thompson has provided carefully elaborated strategies for achieving the idealised state of 'Passion at Work' (Thompson, 1998b). In this book and his companion text 'Emotional Capital' (Thompson, 1998a), he argues for the role of emotional capital as central to business success. By linking emotional capital to intellectual capital and eliding the latter with intellectual property, he gives his ideas considerable respectability and appeal.

He goes on to argue that emotional capital is the 'fuel to fire your intellectual capital' (1998b, p.6). This emotional capital is 'begging to be valued as brand and corporate capital' (p.6). Legitimising strategies such as these make the idea of emotion and the more specific instrumentalisation of passion very attractive to managers looking for success in their work. Thompson offers simple, accessible promises for success based on these ideas. In 'Six Secrets for Personal Success' (Thompson, 1998b) he suggests, again and again, that passion is the key. The final chapter puts this idea in perspective. It is called the 'Passion Pack: The 'How to' Mobilise Hearts and Minds and Generate Buy-in to Change' (pp.169-211). This section contains a set of 'practical tools' to 'arouse your desire' to be passionate (p.170).

Enterprising academics

The seductiveness of this mode of working is intensified because the idea of enterprise and enterprising behaviour has a new salience (Foucault, 1991; du Gay, 1991,1994, 1996, 2000; Gordon, 1991). The search for distinction as academic entrepreneur is now

endemic in most university workplaces. It is a key platform of most promotion rounds and is daily monitored as a test of organisational skill (Coaldrake and Stedman, 1999, p.12). For example, professional development programs for educational leaders are offered in direct in-house programs and managers are also sent to out-service training, to turn disorderly academic bodies into entrepreneurial ones. Courses in 'Marketing Education' and 'Expanding your Influence' are now as common in University settings as they are in corporate ones.

One such offering to academic managers on 'Dealing with conflict at work' promised that academics could learn to 'develop strategies to remain calm, and to utilise appropriate language and behaviour in high pressure situations'. Another suggested that it was possible to learn to manage the 'people side of downsizing'. A third claimed that 'marketing is emerging as one of the hottest topics in tertiary education' and the course offered 'a sound theoretical background along with practical skills in marketing'. The programs, offered by the Association for Training in Education Management (ATEM) are designed for academics as a professional development service, supported by Human Resource departments, and advertised on an Australia-wide university network. The elision of corporation and academy has already been achieved in such moves. Other courses seductively draw academics to improve their entrepreneurial skills by commercialising their research and so achieve promotion and academic success. The passionate production of scientific research is also high on the agenda of the new corporate universities. Professional development brochures and journals similarly promise to facilitate 'access and use of passion' as a 'powerful tool for having more time, balance, success and joy' (Weider, 1999/2000, p.13). Promises such as these are powerful seductions for unruly stressed bodies in search of success. For most academics, who, to make it to the academy in the first place, have been bred on success, attention, and autonomy, albeit in other forms, these are exciting if daunting prospects.

Conclusion

The constitution of the enterprising academic relies on 'infolding' (Deleuze in Rose, 1996, p. 143) these many attributes that have been described throughout the paper. Through a variety of mechanisms, an 'heroic quest' (Cairnes, 1998) is being mapped out for academics. Each academic is called on to monitor, test and transform him or herself. Training their bodies to feel in particular ways plays an important part in this process. While an incitement to 'initiate creative ideas' (OECD, 1989) evokes a sense of freedom, many other dimensions of the entrepreneurial academic suggest less spontaneity. The

aptitudes and self-regulation required for the individual to take responsibility, become a risk-taker, a collaborator, a marketer, and a negotiator, and to develop the capacity to be a people manager and a master of emotional intelligence suggest both constraint and the cultivation of self-discipline.

Such seductions are, however, no more than the word implies. There is space for resistance, and academics do and can refuse such invitations (Birnbaum, 2000; du Gay, 2000). A passionate commitment to this new approach to doing business demands facelifts and makeovers that result in new stresses and identifiable sculpted forms in the performances of academics in the workplace. The spaces where academics of a previous era could shed their worldly performances of dress and personal style and absorb themselves in the passionate intellectual pursuit of some highly specialised idea are increasingly disappearing (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996, p.50-57). This is evidenced by the increasing calls by entrepreneurial- focused universities to break the image of academics as 'equal members of a scholarly community' and, instead, to reward those who can 'capitalise' on opportunities in the market place with status, resources, and financial benefits (Coaldrake, 2000, p. 12). It is clear, then, that refusals to an invitation to enter the entrepreneurial university are increasingly risky.

To resist the comportment of the enterprising academic in the contemporary environment risks failure in research grant funding as well as promotion. For example, one university Deputy Vice Chancellor asserted that success can be measured, in the entrepreneurial university, by the level of 'adoption of more distributed and externally focused types of operation, which depend on the ability to mobilise people and facilities flexibly into impermanent project groupings' (Coaldrake, 2000, p. 12). 'Disciplinary research status' is no longer an adequate measure (p.12). The management of the research team is embedded as strongly in enterprise skill of managing the heart as is the performance of writing a research grant. The management of emotional capital has thus become as critical for the academic leader as the management of intellectual capital is. This refashioned and legitimised form of emotional intelligence must be used instrumentally, to achieve both personal and business success.

Clearly, leadership in the new academy makes a considerable number of new demands on academics. The appeal of this new ethical comportment is somewhat understandable when considered in the light of the logic of entrepreneurialism. However, the unruly academic, in taking up such heroic quests in its various guises, must be engaged, in many

instances, in learning distinctly different ways to feel about themselves, other people, their tasks, and their careers.

The new vocabularies and styles used in producing the new entrepreneurial 'master' are making a significant contribution to the changing face of academic life, and the elision of the goals of the corporation and the university has potentially many risks for the individuals who seek out such positions. The governance of academics through the mobilisation of their desire to succeed reduces their Otherness as outsider voices of critique and distance. It makes the space of the academy more ordered, as emotion itself falls within the bounds of order and where it becomes merely another form of disposable capital. This fits well with the vision of the new universities as places where personal autonomy is reduced and management is more centrally driven (Coaldrake & Stedman 1998; 1999).

Nonetheless, the valorisation of emotional capital to a place beside intellectual capital will irrevocably change the look of these institutions and the bodies within them. This new look academic will be a player alongside their business counterpart, and for many, this glamorous new look is understandably exciting. This is particularly so, when recent attitudes to academics have led to claims about their uselessness, as squatters in the 'ivory tower'. The new quest for the academy is about the ordering of bodies. It is about making-over how staff and students feel and what they do to show they care.

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