

**A Bourdieusian Analysis of Intersectionality  
In Ontario's Community College System**

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A Bourdieusian Analysis of Intersectionality  
in Ontario's Community College System

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## ABSTRACT

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The main focus of my dissertation is a detailed investigation of how gender and race intersect in the Province's community college administrations thereby creating marginalized and oppressive social structures. My original contribution to knowledge addresses the daily lived experiences of gender performativity, white patriarchy and racial discrimination in the managerial sector of the Ontario college system. The theoretical foundation is based upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu and the scholarship of several prominent feminist theorists, including Kate Huppatz, Lois McNay, Patricia Hill Collins and Judith Butler. Each of them critically expands upon Bourdieu's concepts to focus on intersectional inequality, specific examples of which are found in the Province's college middle management sector. This thesis deploys feminist Bourdieusian concepts, such as social and gender capital, to highlight gender and racial power in the matrix of symbolic domination that is situated in the Province's colleges. It also directs attention to social practices of self empowerment to counter and resist the negative aspects of gender capital and racial hegemony.

The mutually constitutive social dimensions of the college bureaucracy have never been the topic of such detailed and extensive research. No prior, published investigations exist that examine the Provincial community college system over issues related to whether and how individuals utilize gender capital to negotiate hierarchical positionality or contend with intersectional disadvantage. My findings document a systemically gendered and racialized work environment. Some middle managers purport to advance their careers by dominating others in the workplace. However, in response, there are others who demonstrate a form of proactive resistance to what they characterize as discriminatory institutional regimes of neoliberal patriarchy and white privilege. They do so through strategic practices designed to navigate the hidden, intersubjective contours and oppressive consequences of gender and racial inequality. My findings illustrate the broad social dimensions of these behaviours and the manner in which they are played out in the social field of Ontario's community college system.

Using a sequential, mixed methods approach to data acquisition, my work focuses on whether agents experience networks of power differently because of the impact of systemic inequality and how they choose to respond to resulting workplace marginalization. I argue that organizationally ensconced diversity policies fail to neutralize the intersectional struggles that are endlessly reproduced in dominant workplace social networks. "One-size-fits-all" policies, even with the imprimatur of law, fail to rout and neuter historical influences of white privilege and patriarchy. This failure negatively impacts subjective identities in the complex relationship between the individual, and the objective structure comprising the middle management field of practice. The findings of this study demonstrate how inequalities are sustained and reproduced cogeneratively because of unremedied gender and racial discrimination in the Province's community colleges. My study brings to light an awareness of these intersecting oppressions and illuminates the implicit deficiencies of the institutional diversity rhetoric in Ontario. Ultimately, it brings into sharper focus the lived experiences of social inequity amid the naturalization of patriarchy and white privilege.

## PREFACE

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My post-graduate training is in the study of Law however, in 2015 I decided to pursue an MBA degree at Bradford University in the U.K.. In one of the courses, my task was to offer a short critique of a piece of scholarly literature written by sociologist Yvonne Due Billing that dealt with women occupying managerial roles who saw themselves as being victimized by the “phantom of the male norm” in the commercial business environments of Nordic countries. It was well received, and the encouragement I garnered from the positive feedback stuck with me. Billing’s journal piece haunted me like the ‘phantom’ had haunted her research participants. Eventually, when the time came to construct my management thesis, I resolved to test Billing’s premises using mixed research methods in a local Ontario college administrative bureaucracy where I was employed. My finished project was also well received, and it was approximately then, in 2017, that the idea came to me about how my master’s thesis could be redesigned, recalibrated, retheorized and expanded to include all the colleges in Ontario. It was a nascent but aggressive step toward completing this dissertation in pursuance of the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Manchester Metropolitan University.

My first significant contact at the University was with Dr. Christian Klesse in the Department of Sociology. I sensed that we shared the right working chemistry and, accordingly, this project took root in September 2017. Dr. Klesse suggested that I might consider the work of Pierre Bourdieu as the theoretical foundation for my study. I knew of his ‘theory of practice’, but I had never studied it beyond mere passing familiarity. That soon changed with the result that I spent the better part of 15 months reading a significant amount of just about everything written by and about this most abstruse French philosopher – sociologist. By the end of 2019, shortly before the COVID-19 pandemic, my field work had been satisfactorily completed and I had gained sufficient fluency with Bourdieu’s concepts so that I felt ready to ‘put pen to paper’; this dissertation is the finished product.

I wrote vastly more about my research than appears in this study and there are volumes of both theory and empirical data that I would have liked to include but for the regulated limitations which inevitably come to bear on any undertaking of this sort. Nevertheless, I have tried to present a fair, comprehensive, and accurate portrait of power, gender, and race issues in this Province’s college system with the hope for change in its existing diversity and inclusion policies.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I would not be writing this without the generous and often selfless support of many people who gave far more than they received. As my PhD project now ends, I am mindful of and forever grateful to all those individuals who supported me along the way, and I wish to thank all of them for their continued support and contributions.

Foremost, I would like to express unending gratitude for their generous support and encouragement extended to me by my three supervisors: Drs. Christian Klesse, Shoba Arun, and Susan O’Shea. Their patience, knowledge, and guidance were crucial. At times of stress and uncertainty, they provided succor; in darker times of confusion, and even despair, their guidance was my inspiration. In particular, I must thank Dr. Klesse to whom I will be profoundly indebted for the rest of my life. Finally, I acknowledge Dr. Benedicte Brahic who consistently offered kindness and support during my annual reviews.

I am especially indebted to all those individuals who participated in this study and all the administrative members of the many colleges I visited across Ontario who made this project possible. I was privileged to hear very personal and intimate narratives from the interviewees. Everyone was fulsome with their precious time and attention. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Ms. Nerys M. Rau at George Brown College and Dr. Lisa Schmidt at Confederation College whose profound, feminist insights inspired significant aspects of my writing and analysis; I will always be grateful. Thank you.

I must acknowledge and thank my colleagues and closest friends who championed my academic journey. Their kind words of support were always appreciated. And, of course, there is my dearest, loving partner of over five decades who was always there beside me throughout what was a physically and emotionally demanding endeavour.

*Richard O. Gasparini*

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## **DEDICATION**

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To the memory of my deceased parents Leonardo Otello (1919-1986) and Arena (“Irma”) Gasparini (1923-2019). They would have been proud.

## Table of Contents

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<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>PREFACE.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>TABLES .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>FIGURES .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: ‘IRON CAGES’ &amp; THE HABITUS OF MIDDLE MANAGEMENT.....</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	15
1.2 Purpose of the Study.....	21
1.3 Significance of Study.....	23
1.4 Research Goals .....	24
1.5 Contribution to Knowledge .....	25
1.6 Problem Statement.....	26
1.7 Rationale for Study .....	29
(a) Bridging a Knowledge Gap.....	29
(b) Addressing the Problem .....	34
1.8 Outline of the Chapters .....	34
1.9 Conclusion .....	40
<b>CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE &amp; CRITICAL CONCEPTS .....</b>	<b>41</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	41
2.2 Gender & Intersectionality .....	41
2.3 The Patriarchal Exploitation of Gender and Race .....	45
2.4 The Prevalence of Private Sector Patriarchy .....	48
2.5 Patriarchy in America, Europe, the U.K. & Canada .....	51
2.6 Racialized Patriarchy in the Private & Public Sectors .....	53
2.7 Gendered Bureaucracies in Middle Management .....	59
2.8 Performativity in Gendered Workplaces.....	62
2.9 Racial Inequity in the Ontario College System.....	66
2.10 Conclusion .....	67

<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH &amp; RESEARCH DESIGN .....</b>	<b>69</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	69
3.2 Epistemological Reflection on Bourdieu’s Theory of Methodology .....	70
3.3 The Tension Between Bourdieu & Foucault .....	75
3.4 Pragmatism & the Choice of Sequential Mixed Methods.....	78
(a) Practicality .....	80
(b) Contextual Awareness & Reflexivity .....	81
(c) Epistemic Self Awareness & Decolonial Feminism.....	86
(d) Real World Consciousness.....	89
3.5 Bourdieu’s ‘Social Praxeology’ .....	90
3.6 Ethics .....	94
3.7 Organization & Data Gathering Protocols.....	96
3.8 Data Collection Procedures for this Study .....	97
(a) Recruitment Process for Data Collection .....	97
(b) Processual Design Metrics.....	98
(c) Survey Design & Structure .....	98
3.9 Quantitative Data Gathering: Qualtrics.....	100
(a) Qualtrics Likert Scale Statements .....	101
(b) Survey Distribution.....	102
(c) Sampling Techniques.....	103
(d) Interview Design .....	104
3.10 Qualitative Data Gathering & Coding: NVivo 12 Pro .....	106
Coding Techniques.....	107
3.11 Physical Interview Logistics, Settings and Field Notes .....	109
(a) Interview Arrangements.....	109
(b) Interview Settings .....	109
(c) Field Notes .....	111
3.12 Personal Reflections on the Methodology .....	111
3.13 Conclusion .....	113
<b>CHAPTER 4: MIDDLE MANAGEMENT &amp; DIVERSITY RHETORIC .....</b>	<b>115</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	115
4.2 Middle Management Bureaucracy in the Ontario College System .....	116
4.3 Middle Management in Private & Public Colleges .....	117
4.4 The Structural Inadequacy of Mandated Diversity .....	124
(a) Laws .....	125
(b) Governance.....	126
(c) Ineffective Diversity Policies .....	129



(d) Collective Agreements .....	131
4.5 Conclusion .....	133
<b>CHAPTER 5: GENDER PERFORMANCE in MIDDLE MANAGEMENT .....</b>	<b>136</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	136
5.2 Principal Organizational Theories.....	137
5.3 Reflexivity & Relationality .....	139
5.4 Habitus, Agency & Structure .....	143
5.5 Bourdieu in the College Bureaucracy.....	146
5.6 Doxic Orchestrations.....	148
5.7 Mimesis & Following the Leader .....	151
5.8 Alternate Views of Foucault, Bourdieu & Connell.....	155
5.9 Conclusion .....	161
<b>CHAPTER 6: CONTEXTUALIZING MIDDLE MANAGEMENT &amp; SOCIAL CAPITAL .....</b>	<b>163</b>
6.1 Introduction.....	163
6.2 Capitals & Ronald Burt's 'Structural Holes' .....	164
6.3 Gendered Capital in the Ontario College System.....	170
6.4 The Relational Deployment of Power .....	172
6.5 Gender as Cultural Capital.....	174
6.6 Hegemonic Femininity & the Queen-Bee Syndrome .....	177
6.7 Gender Performativity as Management Capital .....	178
6.8 Conclusion .....	181
<b>CHAPTER 7: POWER &amp; SOCIAL CAPITAL IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.....</b>	<b>183</b>
7.1 Introduction.....	183
7.2 Chapter Plan & Organization.....	184
7.3 Historical Background .....	185
7.4 Intersectionality in the Ontario College System.....	186
(a) The 'Help Desk' & Spatial Relationality .....	187
(b) Gender & the Femininized Workplace .....	192
7.5 Masculine & Feminine Convertability.....	201
7.5.1 Sexuality in Ontario College Administrations .....	204
7.6 Gender Performance & Social Standing.....	209
7.7 The Impact of Race, Education & Cultural Capital .....	213
7.8 Social Class & Whiteness: the Gender-Based Model.....	216
7.9 Non-White Participants: the Racial Model .....	225
7.10 From Structuralism to Post-Structuralism & Queer Theory .....	229

7.11 Grounded Theory & Symbolic Interactionism.....	235
7.12 Conclusion .....	238
<b>CHAPTER 8: STRATEGIC NURTURING &amp; THE ‘OLD BOYS’ NETWORK’ .....</b>	<b>242</b>
8.1 Introduction.....	242
8.2 The Malleability of Nurturing, Resistance & Risks.....	242
8.3 Research Findings .....	245
(a) Nurturing as Chameleonic Practice .....	245
(b) Male Chameleonic Practices .....	248
(c) Response to Androcentricity.....	249
(d) ‘Feminized’ Resistance .....	251
(e) The Exchange Value of Nurturing.....	254
(f) Costly Tactics.....	255
(g) Nurturing as Social Capital .....	263
8.4 The Social Value of Homophilous Networks.....	267
8.5 Gendered Hegemonies .....	273
8.6 Toxic Masculinity .....	276
8.7 Conclusion .....	281
<b>CHAPTER 9: SYSTEMIC RACIAL INEQUALITY &amp; INTERSECTIONALITY .....</b>	<b>285</b>
9.1 Introduction.....	285
9.2 Symbolics of Racism in Ontario Colleges.....	286
9.3 The Demographics of the Ontario College System.....	288
9.4 Racism in a Culture of Masculine Whiteness .....	291
9.5 Deconstructing Diversity & Inclusion.....	294
9.6 We Are All ‘White’: Structural Homologies.....	298
9.7 White Careers in a White Bubble & White Fragility .....	307
9.8 Conclusion .....	317
<b>CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS &amp; RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>319</b>
10.1 Introduction.....	319
10.2 DISCUSSION: Key Findings.....	321
10.3 Summary of Key Findings .....	324
10.4 General Contribution to the Sociological Field .....	328
10.4.1 Gender Capital & Contribution to the Sociological Field .....	330
10.5 Further Perspectives on Gender Capital and Social Class .....	333
(a) Bourdieu, Connell & Social Class .....	334
(b) Racial Inequality, Foucault & Social Class .....	341
(c) The Concept of Class Hierarchies.....	343

(d) The Imbrication of Race, Class and Gender .....	349
10.6 Goffman, Queer Theory & Black Feminism.....	354
10.7 CONCLUSION: Summary of Main Arguments .....	362
(a) Distinctiveness of this Empirical Study of Intersectionality .....	368
(b) The Originality of the Methodological Approach .....	370
(c) Critical Feminist Scholarship & the Investigation of Intersectionality .....	373
10.8 Study Limitations .....	377
10.9 Controlling Research Bias .....	379
10.10 RECOMMENDATIONS: Policy & Research Implications .....	380
(a) Policy Analysis & Development .....	381
(b) Methodological Pragmatics: Implications for Future Praexologies .....	385
(c) Triangulation (Crystallization).....	387
(d) Theory.....	389
10.11 Looking Forward to Future Research .....	393
10.12 Post-Script on the Impact of COVID-19 .....	397
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>399</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>547</b>
<b>SCHEDULE A: QUALTRICS SURVEY .....</b>	<b>566</b>
<b>SCHEDULE B: INTERVIEW THEMATIC STRUCTURE .....</b>	<b>586</b>
<b>SCHEDULE C: MMU ETHICS APPROVALS .....</b>	<b>591</b>
<b>SCHEDULE D: ONTARIO COLLEGE ETHICS APPROVALS .....</b>	<b>593</b>
<b>SCHEDULE E: TCPS (CORE II) CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION .....</b>	<b>594</b>
<b>SCHEDULE F: INFORMED CONSENT (INTERVIEW) .....</b>	<b>595</b>
<b>SCHEDULE G: INFORMED CONSENT (SURVEY).....</b>	<b>600</b>
<b>SCHEDULE H: SURVEY &amp; INTERVIEW METRICS.....</b>	<b>606</b>
(a) Colleges Visited, Survey Deployment Dates & Closure Dates .....	607
(b) Interview Metrics : Quadrants, Participants & Duration .....	607
(c) Interviewee Socio-Demographics: Age, Children, Gender, Race, etc. ....	609
(d) Research Hours per College .....	610
(e) Research Cost Allocation .....	610
<b>SCHEDULE I: TCPS-CORE II ETHICS FRAMEWORK PROBLEMATICS.....</b>	<b>611</b>
Schedule 'I' References .....	614
<b>SCHEDULE J: THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PATRIARCHY .....</b>	<b>615</b>

1.1 Hierarchal Patriarchies in the United States.....	616
1.2 Hierarchal Patriarchies in The United States (Education Management) .....	621
1.3 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K.....	622
1.4 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K. (Education Management).....	628
1.5 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Canada .....	630
<b>SCHEDULE K: PANOPTIC VIEW OF THE ONTARIO COLLEGE SYSTEM.....</b>	<b>635</b>
1.1 Research Logistics.....	635
1.2 Colleges Across Ontario .....	637
1.3 Ontario College Students .....	640
1.4 Student Internationalization.....	641
1.5 Ontario College Employees.....	646
1.6 The Fifteen Ontario Colleges Studied .....	648
1.7 College Faculty vs. Management .....	656
<b>SCHEDULE L: SYSTEMIC IMPACT OF THE COVID 19 VIRUS.....</b>	<b>660</b>
SCHEDULE 'L' REFERENCES.....	664

## **TABLES**

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Table 1: Sequential Mixed Methods Design .....	94
Table 2: Distribution, Target Population Size and Response Rate .....	103
Table 3: Differences Between Men / Women in Gendered Leadership Preferences .....	618
Table 4: Representation by Corporate Role, Gender and Race (%), 2018, U.S.A.....	619
Table 5: Representation by Women in Corporate Roles, 2015 - 2018 (%), U.S.A. ....	620
Table 6: United Nations 2019 Human Development Report, Gender Equality Index.....	627
Table 7: Dimensions of Diversity Addressed by Educational Institutions in the E.U. (inc'l U.K.)....	628
Table 8: Female to Male Labour Force Participation Rate in Canada .....	631
Table 9: Employment in Services Participation Rate .....	632
Table 10: Mean Scores of All Genders - Survey Question 5 .....	633
Table 11: Ontario College Student Population Index.....	646
Table 12: Cluster Distribution of Ontario College Programming.....	650
Table 13: The 24 Colleges in Ontario - Establishment Date, Geographic Location.....	651
Table 14: Staffing Levels at All Ontario Colleges as of January 2014.....	652
Table 15: Ontario Post-Secondary Workforce by Occupation (2016) .....	653
Table 16: The 15 Participating Colleges, with Metrics.....	655

## FIGURES

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Figure 1: Average combined federal / provincial government funding as a percentage of operating revenues in Canadian post-secondary institutions: comparison between 1985 and 2015 .....	54
Figure 2: Typical Ontario College Organizational Chart.....	116
Figure 3: Defining 'Class' by Income in Canada .....	223
Figure 4: Conceptual Model of the Research Dilemma in Ontario Colleges .....	293
Figure 5: Panoptic Summary of Key Findings .....	321
Figure 6: 1950-2010 Gallup Poll Showing American Preferences for Male / Female Leadership .	617
Figure 7: S & P Companies - Higher Up the Corporate Ladder, Fewer Women.....	620
Figure 8: Doctoral Degrees by Field and Gender, 2016-2017, U.S.A.....	621
Figure 9: Domains of the Gender Equality Index (2017).....	622
Figure 10: Sources of the Domain of Work, EU Member States (incl. U.K.), 2005-2015 .....	623
Figure 11: Sources of the Domain of Work, EU (inc'l U.K.), 2015 % Change from 2005.....	624
Figure 12: Gender Equality Index Score - EU (inc'l U.K.).....	625
Figure 13: Gender Equality Index, Three Year Average (2014-2016).....	626
Figure 14: Comparative Land Mass - Ontario / England .....	635
Figure 15: Education Profile of Study Participants.....	636
Figure 16: Racial Profile of 308 Survey Respondents.....	644
Figure 17: Typical Racial Profile of Student Population in Ontario Colleges (Winter 2018) .....	645
Figure 18: Map of the 24 Colleges in Ontario .....	648
Figure 19: The Physio-Geographic Regions of Ontario.....	654

### 1.1 Introduction

Renowned management author Charles Handy refers to large 'organizations' as "prisons for the human soul" and cannot "think why anybody would want to work for them" (Handy 2019:23). Decades earlier, Max Weber (1930) labelled them *stahlhartes Gehäuse* ('housing hard as steel') which Talcott Parsons later translated into the now famous aphorism, "iron cage". Many people do spend a good portion of their working lives in such places of relative servitude whether by choice or necessity as they have done for over a century. These complex terrains of rational systemization are also sites of socially constructed, internecine power struggles. This dissertation focuses on those struggles in bureaucratic environments where contests over positioning, gender dominance, racial equality and respect are common, namely the middle management administrations of Ontario's Colleges. Since the latter part of the twentieth century, this interstitial leadership environment has been over-represented by women (Wallace 2004, Wiart 2016, Gidney 1999, Prentice 1977, Reiger 1993, Oram 1999).

The result, as Wallace (2004:105) puts it, is that "(w)hatever route was taken to administration, women have reshaped the educational environment through both formal and informal positions of leadership". Yet, it remains a racialized, androcentric field of power despite legislative and policy-driven initiatives promoting gender equality and racial diversity. Some managerial employees accept, while others strategically manipulate, this management norm (Heilman 2001, Eagly and Karau 2002), often simply to 'get things done' (Larson and Freeman 1997), to secure a career<sup>1</sup> trajectory (Ayman and Koranik 2010, Applebaum, et. al. 2002) or for another subjective purpose

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of 'career' lacks consensus. In fact, Coupland and Brown (2004:1327) suggest the term is "difficult to define yet frequently used, in theory as well as in lay discourse, as if it were commonly understood what it means." It appears to depend upon one's theoretical point of view. For example, Rousseau (2001:514) links the notion of a 'career' to a somewhat oversimplified picture of an organizational or professional context. He defines it as a " ... course of professional advancement; usage is restricted to occupational groups with formal hierarchical progression, such as managers and professionals." Mathis and Jackson (2011:136) refer to 'career' as the " ... unfolding sequence of any person's work experience over time" perhaps associating the 'unfolding sequence' to a more complex occupational strategic plan. Finally, social constructivist Mark Savickas (2001) argues that a 'career' does not unfold in the way that Mathis and Jackson explain, but rather it is constructed by the individual as the agent's view of self and identity are framed by a relational and micro-political interactive engagement with the social dynamics of the field as we might find with Bourdieu (1977), Mead (1934) and Goffman (1959). For the purposes of my dissertation, virtually all these conceptualizations could be applicable, depending upon the narrative context in which the expression appears.

one might locate on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943, Rigg and Sparrow 1994, Rizzo, and Mendez 1988). They understand that, in the Province's colleges, senior positions are dominated or led by white employees acting out a variety of 'masculine' gender presentations (e.g., typically time efficient and performance driven (Schein 1973, 1975, [Schein, et. al. 1989]). They often project what Billing called the "phantom of the male norm" (2011:298) or what Derks, et. al. (2011:50, 2012, 2015, 2016) have described as 'queen bee' behavior: women acting like men whereby they tend to treat other women in lesser managerial roles as supportive, situationally useful, and often helpful but nevertheless unassailably subordinate – a "phenomenon [...] itself a consequence of the gender discrimination that women experience at work" (2016:456). Somerset (2013) suggests that leadership aspirants frequently contend with opposing currents of masculinity and femininity when they try to create the architecture of an appropriate gender presentation on contested social ground (Jamieson 1995), more fully examined in Chapter 8, where 'hegemonic femininity' is discussed in some detail.

On the surface, gender and racial inequality in Ontario public sector workplace settings is slowly changing (Ontario Government 2017). Wiart (2016) contends that Ontario's colleges are "a space built for inclusion; a space for people with diverse social and economic backgrounds; a space for women." Legislation, anti-discriminatory union contracts and strong diversity policies promulgate workplace race and gender neutrality (Chepkemei, et al. 2013:61, Castro 2010, Leathwood and Read 2008). Patricia Lang, past President of Cambrian College in Sudbury, Ontario points out that "we must always maintain neutrality around gender issues" (Lyttle and Lang 2014:21). But that goal has not been achieved to mitigate either gender or racial inequalities.<sup>2</sup> Nor does the past President offer any reflection on whether the espousal of 'gender neutrality' is itself the implicit discourse of whiteness.

The research goal of this dissertation was to address the diurnal lived experiences of individuals in these mid-level administrative positions in the Ontario college system. In several community colleges in the Province, research investigations were conducted examining the intersection of

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<sup>2</sup> Lyttle and Lang (2014:21) admit "there is a lot of work left to do" (2014:21). Beneath the grand overlay of law and policy a nuanced "relational paradigm" exists that expose a racialized, androcentric substrate where bias persists and change is its anathema (Depelteau 2013:110, Alvesson 1998, Marshall 1993). Middle managers in the Ontario college system consciously or unconsciously engage in "embodied practical action" (Crossley 2001:93) reflecting hegemonic white male constructs in order to gain and reproduce power, respect, and authority amidst a traditionally homosocial preserve (Reay and Ball 2000).



gender and race. To theoretically situate this objective, significant reliance was placed on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of habitus, capital, and field. (Bourdieu 1973, 1977, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1996, 2000, Passeron 1977, 1990, Wacquant 1992, 1994). One cannot over-estimate the influence of Bourdieu on the study and practice of sociology worldwide, especially the positive engagement with his work found in the separate and formidable corpus of feminist<sup>3</sup> political discourse, scholarship and critical theory (e.g., Adkins 2003, 2004, Lovell 2000, Skeggs 1997, McCall 1992, Reay 1997, 1998, Huppatz 2009, 2012, Fowler 2003, Arun 2018, Lawler 2004, Silva 2016, Walby 1997, Acker 1990, Biressi and Nunn 2013, Byerly 2012, Fraser 2013, Gill 2011, Zeisler 2013, Archer 2003, 2007, 2013, Bottero 2009, Emirbayer 1998, McNay 1999). Bourdieu, and the many feminists who have employed his theoretical foundations from which to expand upon their own sociological concepts, focus on the intersectional and strife-ridden practices of everyday life - just as was done in this study.<sup>4</sup> Amid the banalities of the everyday workplace in the Province's colleges, it becomes possible to theorize the complex relationship between power and symbolic domination given expression in practice through gender and racial constructs (Carli 1999, Frankenberg 1993).<sup>5</sup>

The original study concept focussed almost exclusively on Bourdieu's capitals and the feminist conceptual expansion of his ontological theories (Moi 1991). Feminist scholarship has advanced the notion of gender capital as specific, dialectical iteration of social capital (Burt 1998) negotiated in the workplace (Huppatz 2012) to achieve power-based intersubjective and institutional goals (Elliott and Smith 2004). However an emerging awareness of the project's multi-layered complexity

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<sup>3</sup> Delmar (1986:13) notes that the word "feminism" (and by extension 'feminists') challenges consistent definition. It is a word that "... is hard to pin down". However, for the purposes of this dissertation, perhaps Turner and Maschi (2015:151) best express its contextualization: "Feminism emphasizes the importance of the social, political and economic structures that shape human societies and stresses that gender must be considered when examining the effects of oppression and domination and power and powerlessness in our society".

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that, on a personal level, Bourdieu himself has been described as having demonstrated "awkwardness" and "inadequacy" when it came to mentoring women with whom he engaged professorially that allegedly vacillated "between far too great proximity and distance" (Lamont (2010:83). According to sociologist Michele Lamont, that fact "resonates with his ignorance of the feminist scholarship and of the literature on gender inequality that was available at the time" (2010:fn3 and see also: Silva 2005).

<sup>5</sup> These constructs comprise differentiated yet interrelated socio-cultural capitals – tools of domination, privilege and exclusivity that shape and are shaped by the habitus (Meisenhelder 2000). They are sites of intersectionality (Belkhir and Barnett 2001), the manifestations of which entail endlessly malleable, nuanced and discriminatory improvisations played out in struggled fields of action over the vast contextual and temporal fabric of life and work in the Province's college administrations. This intersectional framework is explored throughout this study, and it is more fully developed in the project findings.

necessitated a reimagination of the entire theoretical and methodological frameworks of the dissertation. A decision was made to adopt, in both cases, a diverse, hybridic approach consistent with the principles of grounded theory and incorporating the formidable conceptualizations of Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Raewyn Connell and Erving Goffman, featured throughout this dissertation. In particular, Chapters 3 and 7 emphasize the methodological tensions between Bourdieu and Foucault, whilst Chapters 7 and 10 add theoretical analyses of work by Butler, Connell and Goffman.

Much of this study, and a significant amount of data gathered in support of it, concentrates on gender intersectionality in the workplace. But there is an additional, originally unexpected variable: there was cautious awareness of the potential for racial narratives in the project investigations.<sup>6</sup> However naively, this consideration was relegated to being a social and increasingly political problem primarily centered in the United States - not ever Canada. That was an erroneous assumption. It had not been anticipated that racial intersectionality would significantly impact this project here in Ontario, well-known for its ethnocultural diversity and inclusion (Statistics Canada 2019). However, events unfolded that, to some extent, altered the direction this thesis would take. While it is primarily a qualitatively dominant, mixed methods study involving gender issues, an impactful human drama involving racial inequality was told through the texts and extensive narratives of the study participants. As a result, the contextual fabric of this, specific intersectional issue evolved into a potent, added project dimension. Without having been planned, it became an emergent and powerful theme that could not be ignored.

The main foci of this dissertation are the mutually constitutive, relational dimensions of the middle management sector of the Ontario college system that have never been the object of grounded research. The specific inquisition is whether:

1. career paths within the middle management sector of the Ontario college system [“the system”] are gendered,

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<sup>6</sup> For example, as I began my project, I knew of Crenshaw’s (1989:140) description of “intersecting oppression” as a social phenomenon that marginalizes some thereby creating further unseen, unspoken and deeply problematic obstacles to career ascendancy applicable in the environments of my investigations. I was certainly aware of American activist Black feminism of 1970s and 1980s (Levine-Rasky 2011) and early Black activists who decried and railed against the intersecting oppressions that had profoundly impacted upon Black lives in America (Collins 2000: 44).

2. gender-based and racial intersectionalities influence the subjective identities and agency of individuals occupying mid-level managerial positions in the system; and whether
3. Bourdieu's capitals are articulated dimensions of successful diversity management in the system and, if so, their differentiated manifestations.

Some argue that Bourdieu's relational paradigm (1998b) tends toward an "overly deterministic linear logic" (Mohr 2013:102). Yet his theory of practice inspires "an analysis of the humdrum details of ordinary organisational existence" (Everett 2002:57) within a broader, gender and race based, intersectional context. Bourdieu adds insight into how individuals construe their own, subjective identities in relation to the objective structures of the workplace. Human dispositions are fashioned by the artifacts of history which Bourdieu calls "structuring structures" (1977:72) or the unconscious *habitus*. The habitus is "an objective relationship between two objectivities [that] enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation" (Bourdieu 1984:95). The college administrative environment is such a 'situation', where gendered and racialized practices take place on the 'indefinable cultural terrain' (Frankenberg 1993) of whiteness and are produced and reproduced discursively and hexically (1984:437).<sup>7</sup>

Habitus shapes patterns of behaviour that are organized in a manner that informs, produces, and replicates an endlessly variable, often competitively negotiated social construct (Cohen, et. al. 2016). Habitus determines "our overall orientation to, or way of being in the world; our predisposed way of thinking, acting, and moving in and through the social environment . . ." (Sweetman 2003:532). The locus of the social environment for this study is the mid-level administrative segment of the Ontario college system which is the broad stencil for the project investigations. Through 'relational analysis' (Bourdieu 1998b: vii, Emirbayer 1997:283), or the relationship between the practices of agents and the objective structures in which those practices transpire,

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<sup>7</sup> The bodily hexis is the "durable organization of one's body and of its deployment" (Thompson 1991:13) within a field of practice. Words, physical mannerisms, and gendered agentic dispositions are inevitably influenced by the habitus, and, in this study, they play out in the objective structure of the college workplace. They can be consciously manipulated by individuals (i.e., 'agents') in the field. Moreover, they can be a source of symbolic domination over others, some of whom may be unaware of or otherwise unable to liberate themselves from the unconscious constraints imposed by their own histories (Bourdieu 1991:123).

workplace the various, oppressive facets of intersectionality are revealed (Bagalini 2020). The revelation can lead to answers about how and why agents construct and reconstruct their subjective identities in the pursuit of career positionality (McNay 1992, 2000). Through their narratives, it is possible to understand how agents navigate intersectionality to their own advantage (Osman 2019, Chan and Henesy 2018).

The structural fabric of intersectionality engages a thoughtful consideration of critical feminist literature. Maj (2013:np) contends that “(t)he concept of intersectionality has made a significant contribution to feminist theory”. And McCall (2005:1771) argues that “intersectionality is the most important theoretical contribution that women’s studies has made so far”. Feminist critical discourse about intersectionality is a highly developed domain of sociological inquiry but, in many cases, it is a ‘nodal point’ (Lykke 2011), replete with its own tensions (Butler 1990), but often founded upon Bourdieu’s seminal theory of practice. Feminist theory conceptualizes and often deconstructs (Brah and Phoenix 2004) social and cultural identities such as gender and race within objective structures defined by oppression and privilege (Collins 1989, 1991, 2000, 2015). Patriarchy, as an example, is a quintessentially constructivist embodiment of race and gender intersectionality and its concomitants (Lombardo 2016). The concepts are distinct but mutually constitutive (Kang, et. al. 2017) and they are explored extensively throughout this dissertation.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, throughout this dissertation, but especially in Chapters 3, 7 and 10, I draw on a distinctive concatenation of Bourdieusian theory and in particular feminist adaptations of Bourdieu’s work that have been enriched and expanded through intersectional thought. Black feminism (Crenshaw and Collins) and queer theoretical engagements (from Butler to Foucault) permit the relatively novel avoidance of the reductionist tendency toward class-based analyses found in so many Bourdieusian studies. Nor do I focus on gender in isolation as one finds in mainstream feminism, for example the works of Kate Huppertz in Australia or Yvonne Due Billing in Denmark and Norway. I also eschew essentialist notions surrounding In feminist theory and gender studies. In so doing I avoid any

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<sup>8</sup> For example, Moi (1991:1020-1021) stresses that feminist polemic characterizes gender as a social construct. Therefore, she views Bourdieu’s ‘microtheoretical’ analytic of the ordinary, everyday struggles of agents engaged in social interaction as a lens through which to understand intersectional inequality and its iterations. Moi’s contention is not exceptional; as I mentioned earlier, Bourdieu’s work on social agency has been both critiqued and ‘appropriated’ by many feminist scholars and several of their contributions to critical feminist theory are explored throughout the following Chapters.

biologized or universalist characterization of fixed essences that primarily serve to differentiate male and female subjective identities in psychological terms or within a framework of populist cultural expectations. Instead, I have sought to imbue this thesis with a level of deconstructive sensitivity or perhaps even radical skepticism that has been derived from the poststructuralist thoughts of Butler and Foucault which I explore throughout this dissertation but, in particular, Chapters 3 and 7. Indeed, whether it might be (a) Bourdieu's attempt to link relational existentialism with the structuralism implicit in the habitus or (b) the tense relationship Bourdieu's theories hold with Foucault's historicized poststructuralism or (c) Butler's rejection of "the claims of totality and universality and the presumption of binary structural oppositions" (Butler 1990:40), this dissertation reconciles these at times competing and at other times aligned viewpoints using power and power differentiation and the lens through which to address the theoretical and methodological reconciliations.

## **1.2 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine the bromidics of an ordinary workday and the importance of gendered and racialized identities in the experiences of medial managers whose workplace is the Ontario college system. In this otherwise mundane structural reality, intersectionality plays a dominant role in everyday struggles for power, recognition, and respect. In such a bureaucratic environment, theoretical and methodological models of diversity management cannot be explained merely in terms of a solitary identity category of its own. The negotiated, identity-based initiatives, the goal of which is to gain access to vaunted structural network affiliations tend to afford privilege in response to certain strategic identity presentations while simultaneously marginalizing and, to that extent, disadvantaging others. Choo and Ferree (2010:130) highlight the importance of intersectionality to feminist scholars as a framework within which to study the resulting organizational inequalities. But they also suggest that investigating the intertwined, multi-dimensional complexities of patriarchy (as class), race and gender "has not become a key concern for the many sociologists not directly working on gender issues." Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to focus an analytical lens on the multi-dimensional realities of subjective identity construction and differentiation in diversity management systems such as those found in the Province's college institutions. It is a largely unexplored area where many scholars have been paid scant attention to the epistemic opportunities inviting more intensive examination (Nkomo and

Hoobler 2014:255). Through analysis of the data gathered in the administrative environments of the Province's public community colleges this study presents findings drawn from a specific investigative locus that never before has been explored with the dissertation goals in mind.

Any discussion of identity presentation must accord recognition to the work of Canadian sociologist, Erving Goffman, frequently mentioned throughout this study. His ultra-microscopic analysis of the banalities of social existence intrigued Bourdieu who is often regarded as an 'anti-essentialist' (Schinkel 2003, French 2000, Jenkins 2002). But, despite their noted differences in theoretical approach (Lunt 2020, Joas and Knobl 2011), Bourdieu acknowledged his colleague's meta-analytical mastery over the dyadic "bits and pieces of everyday life" (Bourdieu 1996). In Bourdieu's words (1983:112), "Goffman's achievement was that he introduced sociology to the infinitely small, to the things which the object-less theoreticians and concept-less observers were incapable of seeing."<sup>9</sup> It should be acknowledged that there exists an uneasy alliance between Goffman's interactionist theories and more prominent accounts poststructuralist identification however I address this tension in Chapter 10, together with Gregson and Rose (2000), Chris Brickell (2005) and a number of other feminist scholars proposing that there exists a potentially commensurable alignment between performativity and performance, between deconstruction and dramaturgy which invites further reflection and study.

However, at this juncture, it is sufficient to suggest that Goffman's meticulous presentations assist in contextualizing the purpose of this study. Through a relational analysis of how individuals exploit the minutiae of their own human, cultural and social capital (Weiss 2013:109), the purpose is to demonstrate how college managers attempt to manipulate their own gender and racial identities to their advantage in the form of reproduced and reproducible capital accumulation. This study theorizes these workplace, multi-dimensional and socially constructivist identities (Seidler 2016) with particularized insight through a feminist lens. Feminist articulations of Bourdieu's theory of practice support the overarching purpose of this study because they assist in explaining human, improvisational agency as gendered performances across fields within mediated, organizational

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<sup>9</sup> Tied to this dissertation, it is interesting that Goffman (1979:6) himself notably observed "... one of the most deeply seated traits of man ... is gender; femininity and masculinity are in a sense the prototypes of essential expression - something that can be conveyed fleetingly in any social situation and yet something that strikes at the most basic characterization of the individual".

structures (Huppatz 2012, Sommerfeldt and Taylor 2011). “[E]mbodied dispositions are generated by structural features of [the] social world and agents’ dispositions to act are themselves formed out of pre-existing social contexts” (Couldry 2004:354). Agentive performances are influenced and shaped by cultural and social capitals including gender and race (Portes 1998). While Bourdieu conceptualized gender and race by class differentiation (Woodward 2018), feminist scholars intuitively realized that his logic adapts to gender scholarship (e.g., Taksa and Kalfa 2015, McNay 1999, Kraus 2006, McDowell 1997, Skeggs 1997, 2004, Shilling 1991, Arun 2018, Huppatz 2008, 2009, Adkins 2004, Alvesson 1998).<sup>10</sup> Finally, the intersectional dimensionality of this research presentation is supplemented by an examination of not only gender but also the imbrication of white patriarchy and racial marginalization in a specific bureaucratic structural environment where research of this nature in the Ontario college system has never before been done.

### **1.3 Significance of Study**

This dissertation examines racialized and gendered experiences amid the sociality of an educated, well-paid segment of the Canadian workforce, where legislatively mandated, ostensibly common-sense, rational and functional diversity policies prevail (Government of Canada 2017). Bourdieu (1990) contends that “being the product of a particular class of objective regularities the habitus tends to generate all the reasonable, common-place behaviours”. One might expect to experience these behaviours across the networked communities of practice in the applicable fields. Law and policy imbue these fields with the institutional rhetoric of racial diversity and gender neutrality. Yet, in a seeming triumph of entropy, these fields are Janus-faced. Significant issues exist despite system-wide policies relating to gender and racial equality (Huang 2019). In reality, “we simply don’t exist in a gender-neutral world, [and] we [must] work towards building a more inclusive future and harness our differences” (Huang 2019:np). The same can be said for race which emerged as a particularly relevant category in the research for this project, and therefore it evolved into an attributed and integral position in this study. Issues center on the necessity to adaptively construct

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<sup>10</sup> Therefore, despite criticisms of Bourdieu’s ideas, they have been coopted by feminist scholars in the development of an ever-expanding and evolving corpus of scholarly feminist theory distinct from the postcolonial architecture of patriarchy and its concomitant, female subordination. Instead a good deal of feminist scholarship tends to be focussed “toward reconceptualising agency and less immutable versions of gender identity” (Ross-Smith and Huppatz 2008:3). My study reveals how capital-bearing agents appropriate racialized and ‘gender identities’ (Castro and Ruiz 2015) as iterations of social capital (Portes 1998) in college managerial fields not only to achieve and maintain desired career path goals but to resist the discriminatory consequences of intersectional domination (e.g., Sanchez-Connally 2017).

and reconstruct racialized and gendered identities as a form of social capital, sometimes as a support mechanism and at others to resist workplace oppression (Hash and Ceperich 2006). This study investigates how individuals accumulate social capital and negotiate agency to access structural networks, thereby assuring or at least supporting career advancement but also to navigate with a degree of equanimity the oppressive consequences of modern neoliberal practices – not least of which is the patrifocal embodiment of masculine domination and white privilege (Rubenson 2011, Field 2003, Fine 2007).

## 1.4 Research Goals

In this section, the major research goals are further refined to reflect a detailed inquiry of whether:

- a) diversity policies in mid-level Ontario college bureaucracies curtail race and gender-based ascription in workplace relations or instead obfuscate everyday intersectional struggles based upon the endless reproduction of an historically racialized and androcentric career habitus.
- b) individuals utilize Bourdieu's capitals to halt or perhaps resist "the losses devolved from [...] persistent masculine domination [...] or whether they 'trade-up' thereby accruing extra value" (Skeggs 1997:161) within the field but at the expense of their gendered subjective identities; and whether
- c) there are gendered and racialized intragroup differences in how virtuosic agents contend with intersectionalities in the mid-level stratum of Ontario college administrations.

This study examines the manner in which agents experience networks of power differently because of intersectionalities affecting them and it looks at how they choose to respond to nuance of workplace oppression (Jana and Mejias 2018, Lazaroiu, et. al. 2018). An important issue is whether the promotion of institutional diversity policies fulfil their valorized premises or whether, instead, they fail to neutralize cogenerative struggles and dominant workplace social networks that are based on intersectional exclusivity. 'One-size-fits-all policies' – even with the imprimatur of law - fail to rout and neuter the historical influences of white privilege and patriarchy (Gulsoy 2012). Arguably, this failure impacts subjective identities in the "complex interplay between the individual, and the dynamics of the social" (Nolan and Walshaw 2012:348). This context-specific data has



never been gathered in Ontario. The findings in Chapters 7 - 9 present a portrait of reproductively legitimated inequalities in the Province's college system (Soysal 2012). The knowledge gained from the findings will illuminate thoughtful discussions about diversity in Ontario with a view to improving the careers of those victimized by the impermeability of patriarchy and white privilege (Dei 2006, Adams 2007, Ontario Government 2008).

## **1.5 Contribution to Knowledge**

An original contribution to knowledge "... will challenge existing truths or assumptions, afford new insights into little-understood phenomena, or suggest new interpretations of known facts that can alter man's perception of the world around him" (Madsen (1983:25). This study addresses a critical organization-specific knowledge gap. It presents an original contribution to knowledge about the existence of gendered and racialized intersectionalities in the Ontario college system. Historically, any notion or even nascent awareness of discrimination and inequity in Provincial college management was non-existent. However, the past, female president of Fleming College in Ontario mentions that "(m)ost administrators, faculty, and students were men, and there was a large testosterone take on things" (2017:31). Fast forward to today, and this dissertation demonstrates that despite the influences of modern legislation, institutional policies and anti-discriminatory hiring practices and governance, not a great deal has changed in that regard.

Specifically, there has been a noticeable lack of investigation into this union-protected, sizeable cohort leaving a research gap that invites further interrogation. Several thousand college managerial employees work for the most part outside public scrutiny and, according to Fitzpatrick, they are, in fact, "shrouded in secrecy" (2017). The complex and labyrinthine Research Ethics Board ["REB"] process in Ontario reflects that secrecy. Ferguson and Master (2015:3) note that "(r)esearchers [...] report frustration with many aspects of [the] ethics review, including delays, the increased time, effort and cost to address changes, lack of cooperation between ethics boards, and the lack of standardization in ethics review". They agree that "unfortunately, the research community is experiencing major issues with the way [Ontario] ethics boards respond to multisite research protocols that may negatively impact researchers, potential and current research participants, and the public" (2015:3-4). Despite many logistical challenges encountered in the data gathering phase of this project, it was possible to successfully obtain a significant body of data

revealing the inadequacy of the Province's college diversity policies. The study findings explicate the unselfconscious privileges of symbolic white patriarchy and the prevalence of intersectional indifference in the college system, especially regarding gender and racial oppression<sup>11</sup>. Citing Choo and Ferree (2010), sociologist Laura Hamilton, et. al (2019:334) points out that "scholars rarely apply an intersectional framework to the study of people who hold positions of relative power in the matrix of domination". Middle management in the college system is ideally situated in that 'matrix' and, accordingly, addressing the previously noted gap in the literature is one of the primary objectives of this dissertation.

Finally, this study further contributes to social sciences episteme by offering suggestions and recommendations for future research relevant to gender and race inequality in Ontario's colleges. In so doing, this study brings to the table insights about systemic gender and racial identity construction and the intersection of the dominant, masculinist paradigm in a neoliberal workplace environment.

## **1.6 Problem Statement**

Lunenburg, et. al. (2008:114) suggests that, in every dissertation, "the statement of the problem clarifies, outlines, limits, and brings into existence an expression of the problem (being) investigated. It answers the question of what is being done in the study". Simply expressed, the problem is to bring clarity and insight as to how key aspects of cultural and social identity are affected by various sites of 'embodied practice' in college managerialist structures<sup>12</sup>. While

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<sup>11</sup> Most of the sample population remains convinced that (1) despite supposedly entrenched diversity hiring and promotion rules, traditional gendered and racialized homosocial norms prevail and (2) leadership inevitably involves subjective capitulation to postcolonial neoliberal practices that ensconce white privilege and patriarchy. Crenshaw (1989:140) labelled these practices "intersecting oppression" because they marginalize some and reward others thereby creating almost insurmountable career obstacles. Resentment (Locke 2015) toward these isomorphic yet mutually constitutive objective structures (King 2000) was a frequent theme in the data I collected. The data suggests broad systemic ineffectiveness of institutional diversity policies otherwise touted as being functional (Garr, et al. 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Embodied practice in this institutional context "is a response to social influence brought about by an individual's desire to be like the influencer [...] the individual does not behave in a particular way because such behaviour is intrinsically satisfying, rather, he adopts a particular behaviour because it puts him in a satisfying self-defining relationship to the person or persons with whom he is identifying" through the embodied practice being socially displayed (Aronson, E. 1960:27).

Bourdieu did not use the expression “gender capital” himself, he did see the habitus as constructed and reconstructed relationally (Bourdieu 2001).<sup>13</sup> While “Bourdieu conceptualizes ‘habitus’ as a durable, but not entirely inflexible, system of learned attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors towards one’s probabilities and possibilities in life” (Barrett and Martina 2012:250, Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), it is clear that preeminent feminist theorists such as Beverly Skeggs and several others envision a considerably broader “range of things; it can be a resource, a form of regulation, an embodied disposition and/or a symbolically legitimate form of capital” (Skeggs 2004:24). Accordingly, while the habitus is about subjective dispositions and the behaviours of agents in institutional interactions, it appears self-evident that embodied cultural capital refers to individualized characteristics possessed by actors including their own racialized dimensionalities. In support of the foregoing, Reay (1995) makes an explicit reference to Bourdieusian theory in her argument in favour of both racialized and gendered habitus as a theoretical lens through which to bring clarity to the constitutive and agentive practices that comprise the interactional dynamics of any social order (also see Devine-Eller 2005:12).

This study looks at the conceptualization of both gender and race as subjects of intersectional oppressions in the intersubjective discourse with white patriarchy that is the socio-structural underpinning of the Ontario College system in Canada. Utilizing Bourdieusian notions of cultural and social capital, an explanation is presented to show how these intersectionalities are negotiated by agents in the field of struggle as a discursive means of strategic resistance to the negative interactive effects of institutional inequality and discrimination. Malen (2006) suggests that broad institutional policies which, in their field practice, result in a non-reciprocal reality and therefore do not correspond with unique, intersubjective, agential interests can be expected to be met with resistance. It would appear that that the form of resistance adopted by those negatively affected includes the broader ‘range of things’ referred to by Skeggs such as the calculated deployment of human and social capital in the workplace.

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<sup>13</sup> For example, Bourdieu positioned male and female habitus in opposition and thereby set the metaphorical stage for gendered presentations such as femininity and masculinity, Feminist scholars have developed Bourdieu’s conceptual typology of social order as the theoretical foundation for more elaborately constructed, unique and distinctive hypothesized discourses ‘played out’ in struggled fields. Subjective gender identities are understood within a feminist framework “as a primary, yet elusive social force which appears as natural and universal; it opens up the possibility for gender to be a significant form of capital” (Huppatz: 2012:25, McCall 1992:842, Brown 2012, Happe 2015, Strauss 2015, Samson 2010, Atkinson 2016, Harkess 1985, Lovell 2000, Avent-Holt and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012, Everett 2002, Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998).

However, a project of this broad scope and complexity necessarily must be contextualized. Empirical studies suggest sluggish growth toward race and gender equitable and socially integrated managerialist structures across Canadian public college administrations that are becoming increasingly corporatized (Côté and Allahar 2011, Richer and Weir 1995, Gupta 1999, Mallea and Young, 1984, Mansfield and Kehoe 1994, Vitality 2015). Higher education in Canada falls under provincial governance<sup>14</sup> and all Provinces have enacted human rights<sup>15</sup> and pay equity legislation<sup>16</sup> applicable to public colleges<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, anti-discrimination and race / gender diversity policies can be found in every provincial public college (Chan 2005).<sup>18</sup> Among their purposes, one is to foster – and even mandate - the creation of working environments in which career advancement is not otherwise impeded by the metaphorical ‘glass ceiling’. Among their effects, one is to demonstrate - at least numerically - quantifiable egalitarianism in college recruitment practices resulting in ostensibly non-discriminatory hiring and promotion protocols (Chan 2005., Agocs, et al. 1992, Dennison 1998).<sup>19</sup> However, Banks and Milestone (2011:76) warn that “(w)e should [...] be suspicious when neoliberals claim that there are no longer any barriers to progress in the form of glass ceilings and the like”. The fact is that, despite progress, the acceleration of one’s career remains problematic and a significant challenge for those who are negatively affected by gender and race intersectionality in this social space in Ontario. The following Chapters examine this problem. While white female representation in top-down managerial environments such as the Ontario college system (Cook 2001) is noticeable and quantifiable, the more nuanced sentience of

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<sup>14</sup> In Ontario, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities, the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario, the Ontario Research Fund Advisory Board, the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board and the Training Completion Assurance Fund Advisory Board. Administrative employees fall under the governance of the *Employment Standards Act* (2000), the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (where applicable), the *Employers and Employees Act*, the *Labour Relations Act* 1995, the *Ontario College of Trades and Apprenticeship Act* 2009 and the *Workplace Safety and Insurance Act* 1997. Collectivized college employees are contractually regulated under the Ontario Public Service Employees’ Union (Unified Agreement).

<sup>15</sup> For example, Ontario’s *Human Rights Code*, the first in Canada, was enacted in 1962. All the provinces in Canada have similar legislation.

<sup>16</sup> *Pay Equity Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. P.7 and *Pay Transparency Act*, 2018, S.O. 2018, c. 5 - Bill 3.

<sup>17</sup> The legislative mandate can be found in *Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act*, 2002, S.O. 2002, c. 8, Sched. F, the *Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities Act*, R.S.O. 1990, c. M.19 and the *Ontario College of Teachers Act*, 1996, S.O. 1996, c. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Significant Provincial policies include the *Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity* policy, the *Equity, and Inclusive Education Strategy* (2009), the *Multiculturalism Policy* (1971), the policy directives of the *Provincial Educational Quality and Accountability Office* (EQAO), and the *Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity*.

<sup>19</sup> For example, women predominate middle-level management roles in most Ontario colleges although non-white men and women remain significant minorities throughout college administrations. Undoubtedly, in Ontario, white women are slowly gaining representational legitimacy at vaunted top-tier levels (Wiait 2016).

patrilocality and white privilege concealed by the numbers has barely changed at all. Within this cultural fabric, the question becomes whether intersectionally disadvantaged agents are able to resource their own, accumulated social or cultural capital as a means of challenging, or at least to strategically resist the organizational power structures implicitly “recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu 1985:724 and see, e.g., DiMaggio, and Powell 1991).

The qualitatively dominant, sequential mixed methods research protocol developed for this study utilizes purposive, voluntary, non-probability sampling techniques (Vu 2002) as the optimal praxis to address systemic intersectional issues in the Ontario college system. This methodological approach entails the dissemination of surveys to the various target populations combined with more intensive interviews of those respondents who volunteered for a live interview. The homologous demographics of the target and sample populations imbued the study with rigour (Daniel 2012). Moreover, the plurality of homologously organized fields (Friedland 2009:887) generally assured representative sampling by Provincial region. As Lavrakas (2008: vii) points out a “representative sample is one that has strong external validity in relationship to the target population the sample is meant to represent. As such, the findings from the survey can be generalized with confidence to the population of interest” (see, e.g., Sahu 2013, Olejniczak 2019).<sup>20</sup>

## **1.7 Rationale for Study**

### **(a) Bridging a Knowledge Gap**

Here, the reasons why it was decided to address the knowledge gap are explained. While examining the extant literature available in Canadian sociology, it was discovered that this research focus, and development fills an epistemological space in which problematized workplace social relations in a

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<sup>20</sup> However, Hancock (2007a, 2007b) conceptualizes intersectionality as unified paradigms of both theory and research praxis. That view has considerable salience. The principal research objective is to examine the intersectional impact of valorized, neoliberal and masculine-dominated managerialism in Ontario college administrative environments. Bourdieusian concepts underpin the theoretical foundation upon which the project based, namely: an investigation of the relationship between patriarchal social structures and heteronormative, male-centered workplace practices. A feminist viewpoint suggests that the logic of Bourdieu’s theory of capitals lends itself commensurably to the praxis of gender study (Taksa and Kalfa 2015).

specific managerial sector of the Ontario college system have not been fully explored. Primarily single, identity-focussed intersectional discriminations in Canadian higher-education environments have been relatively isolated in relation to the teacher / student paradigm and the racial, socio-economic, and demographic complexion of student populations. Even then, studies have been concentrated on quantitative analytical techniques. No studies of this sort have been engaged with regard to Ontario's public, community colleges. Closely linked to provincial economies, race and gender issues tend to be more a question of statistics and the numerical internationalization<sup>21</sup> of college student populations (Galway 2000) with an institutional view in the direction of competitive fiscal goals. Qualitative explorations of these issues at the college administrative level have been virtually non-existent in the Canadian sociological landscape and there is a complete dearth at the provincial college level in Ontario. This study attempts to fill that void.

One difficulty is that Canadian sociology has been constrained by a traditionally quantitative focus (Harding 1986) and frequently misunderstood interpretations of the nationwide requirements mandated by the federal *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* ("TCPS"). As Ells and Gutfreund point out, "it is no secret that qualitative research and Canada's [TCPS] has been an unhappy union" (2006:361). Moreover, qualitative methodology is largely understood as being disfavoured by Canadian publicly funded researchers (Hamel 1997). Consequently, qualitative research is far more time-consuming and problematic to achieve here in Ontario. The complexities of TCPS governance add to the difficulty.<sup>22</sup>

This lack of qualitative exploration in Canadian sociology can be traced back almost a century. Between 1920 and 1960, the subject of sociology as taught in universities was interdisciplinary and primarily concerned with professional and scientific issues of public relevance (Hiller 1982:6-19). With the development of 1960s, sociology as a distinct concentration of study in higher education at the university level grew just as Canadian society experienced an unprecedented demand for the

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<sup>21</sup> This topic is fully explored in Schedule 'K', in particular Sections III and IV.

<sup>22</sup> Few Canadian researchers doubt that "the TCPS is in need of revision with respect to qualitative methodologies and social sciences" (ibid.:363). In fact, van der Hoonaard (2006) claims that the almost immediate result of the establishment of Canada's national 'TCPS research-ethics guidelines' in 2001 was a staggering decline, beginning in 2004, from 40% to 5% in grounded research involving field work among human subjects thereby widening even more the knowledge gap created by the dearth of ethnographic and narrative epistemology in Canada.

establishment of more universities to accommodate a burgeoning interest in post-secondary credentials (Axelrod 1982). Professors were needed to teach sociology. Since Canada was lacking in its own, many were hired who had been trained in the United States. The result was a relatively homologous professoriate expounding American theoretical models which became a significant part of Canadian sociological curricula taught in universities (Cormier 2002, 2004) with “emphasis upon the application of quantitative measurements to its phenomena, thus attempting to bring it in line in its methodology with the natural sciences” (Gillen 1926:23).<sup>23</sup>

Historically, taxpayer funded colleges of applied arts and technology were virtually non-existent and therefore sociology as taught in those institutions was relegated to a component of interdisciplinary studies. Sociology as a discrete intellectual discipline came to be dominated by the structuralist work of John Porter (1965) whose quantitative analyses demonstrated that Canada is not a classless society; social inequalities exist here, concealed within the nation’s main institutional systems. Porter’s influence prevailed through many subsequent empirical studies and was not until the disruptive intellectual fragmentation and epistemological diversification in the 1990s (Turner and Turner 1990) and continuing into the early 2000s (Phillips 2001) that Canadian sociologists began to recognize the work of continental theorists such as Bourdieu. Unfortunately, while his work is known here, scholarly engagement with his concepts, over the decades since Porter, has been problematic. Interpretations of his work have been somewhat uneven, misread and frequently misunderstood. For example, often in the literature citing Bourdieu, there is “a reductionist tendency to classify him as a neo-Marxist coupled with a substantialist misuse of the notion of cultural capital” (McLevey, et. al. 2015:4) primarily owing to research projects focussed on purely quantitative and arguably incomplete understandings of the role of embodied capitals.

There are several feminist scholars with lengthy academic pedigrees who are well known in Canada and whose work is notable for its Canadian perspective (e.g., Felt 1975, Rebick 2005, Creese 2009, Burawoy 2004, McLaughlin 2005). Even so, feminist sociology based upon Bourdieu’s vision has been sparse. For example, sociologist Sirma Bilge (2006:1) observes that, in Canada “Pierre

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<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that McLevey, et. al. (2015) and others (Clark 1978, Collini 1979, Freedman 1978, Allet 1981) point to a new form of intellectual indigenization, influenced to a large extent by the managerialist themes of Keynesian economics in a distinctively socialist state that took hold and became popular (Clark 1975, Hiller 1980, Helmes-Hayes and McLaughlin 2009) in the mid-1960’s. As a subject taught in Canadian universities, sociology started to flourish. Yet, despite anti-positivist currents, in terms of methodological approach, Canadian sociology as taught in universities, has remained primarily statistical and quantitative (Davies 2009:623, Turk 1998:26, Guppy and Arai 1994, Reiss 1992).

Bourdieu (has) had little influence on contemporary Anglo-Saxon feminist theory”. This seems commensurate with McLevey’s, et. al. (2015:4) contention that, in Canada, “(m)any [...] areas of Bourdieu’s work continue to be relatively neglected” and that “(w)e would like to see more sociologists working in the eclectic, relational, and multi-method way that Bourdieu himself did”. Brar (2016:11) confirms the gap. He “was able to find only a small number of studies that explored *cultural capital* in Canadian contexts ...”. McLevey, et. al. concludes that “despite growing citations, the Canadian engagement with Bourdieu has been uneven, with many citations being limited and ritualistic, and at times characterized by misreadings (and) despite methodological eclecticism, there is a clear separation of quantitative studies and qualitative studies of field, habitus and other concepts” (2015:89).<sup>24</sup> Understandably, opportunity revealed itself without difficulty and thereby contributed to the shape and formal structure of this dissertation.<sup>25</sup>

Accordingly, this project addresses the problem created by this epistemic gap in four ways:

1. With his theory of practice serving as the metaphorical needle guiding the intellectual thread, this project contributes to the large body of Bourdieusian scholarship by uniquely knitting together common Canadian sociological themes and agendas including the exclusionary dimensions of social inequality (Porter 1965, Brynn and Fox 1989, Riggins 2014) and race (Driedger 2001, Ramos 2013), symbolic violence (Brar 2016). But this thesis would be incomplete and theoretically bereft without the strong and panoptic influence of the distinctive and highly developed conceptual framework of feminist sociology (Armstrong 1998, 2013, Eichler 2001, 2002).

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<sup>24</sup> Therefore, it is possible to see an epistemic gap in both sociological theory and research in Canada: ‘theory’ because there is a sense that Bourdieu’s conceptualizations have not been accorded sufficient attention; ‘research’ because the traditional Canadian methodological tendency appears to be in favour of quantitative studies and much less so for studies based on qualitative field work.

<sup>25</sup> With regard to influences on the shape and structure of this dissertation, Baer (2005:493) points out that while the Canadian sociological landscape is slowly changing, he reluctantly agrees with the “intriguing” argument that there is a “flatness” to the Canadian higher education system and, in particular, Canadian sociology in part because of its tendency to prefer quantitative over qualitative research methodologies as evidenced by Canadian scholarly publications. Historically, according to Southcott (1994:335) “(t)his vision of sociology seems to be the closest to that envisioned, and desired, by [those who argued that] its empirical techniques [should be] as developed as those of economics, [to] provide regional science with the quantitative data on values and goal formation necessary for [...] mathematical models”. What is more disturbing is that, more recently, “the decrease in theses using field work is even more dramatic, from 40% to 5%. The decrease of theses involving field work is particularly alarming for a significant segment of [Canadian] sociology that must derive its material mainly from field work” (van den Hoonaard, 2006:79).



2. The Canadian preference toward quantitative research (Harding 1986) is difficult to reconcile with the ingrained subjectivity of feminist sociology (Graham and Rawlings 1980, Graham 1983, Miles 1983, Oakley 1974). McLevey, et. al. (2014) contends that study of gender and racial intersectionality, is informed by multi-levelled, mixed methods praxis engaging with both survey and interview data. This flexible and pragmatic methodology provides depth and richness to the analysis of “the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations (Bourdieu 1977:78) that facilitates career ascendancy within the Ontario college system.

3. Consistent with Bourdieu’s theory of practice, this study attempts to overcome the “false opposition between the objective and the subjective” (Griller 1996:3) by utilizing his concept of *habitus* - formed by the “internalization of externality” (Bourdieu 1973:63). It is measurable through surveys to understand an individual’s inherent “configuration of preferences” (Bourdieu 1984:506) but the interviews as well to comprehensively appreciate the “practical logic that determines our behaviour” (Griller 1996:6); and finally,

4. This project acknowledges the influences of many relevant theorists including Butler, Goffman, Foucault and Connell, each filling gaps left by the others yet fashioning a practical lens through which to observe and analyze the data. Many of the theorists have written extensively on the traditionally Marxian themes of power, structure, and agency but each from a unique perspective.<sup>26</sup> However, this study would be derelict without the added alliances of those engaged in feminist discourse including Kate Huppatz (2009, 2010, 2012) and feminist theories of subjectivity and bodily entanglement (Moi 1999, De Beauvoir 2010, Skeggs, 1997, 2004, Ahmed 2004, 2006 and Adkins, et al. 2004). The following Chapters interpolate and explore this feminist episteme to offer a unique understanding of race and gender intersectionality in Ontario college administrations and therefore a singular contribution to sociological knowledge and theory.

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<sup>26</sup> For example, Bourdieu in *Masculine Domination* (2002) and *Pascalian Meditations* (2002), Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* (1990) and Connell in *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (1987).

## **(b) Addressing the Problem**

A primary argument of this study is that careers within bureaucratic organizations in Canada remain blighted by a prevalent undercurrent of historical white, androcentric constructs that inhibit racial and gender difference in the workplace despite legislative and policy-driven diversity mandates which suggest otherwise. The data gathered suggests career paths within college bureaucracies are racialized and gendered. Individuals in the workplace are consciously driven by agentic motivations requiring strategic presentations of social capital to either gain access to, legitimate or reproduce fields of dominance in the organizational environment. They engage in such behaviours in order to preserve or advance their own careers. This study demonstrates how these internecine, workplace struggles in networked social fields that are focused on the disposition of power. This symbolic domination negatively affects the subjective identities and lived experiences of people occupying medial managerial roles in the Ontario college system. Intersectionality remains a persistent systemic blight.<sup>27</sup>

### **1.8 Outline of the Chapters**

The Chapter framework of this dissertation is structured as follows:

**Chapter 2** is a presentation of the literature review that addresses the problem statement above. Despite measurable progress over recent decades, career advancement remains a struggle for women and racial minorities aspiring to reach the highest managerial levels of college administrations in Ontario and elsewhere worldwide. As it refers specifically to the Ontario college system, the gap in scholarly literature offers an invitation to explore the problem of intersectionality through the multi-dimensional lenses of Bourdieusian scholarship and distinctive feminist articulations of his cornerstone benchmarks of social order: habitus, capital, and field. Accordingly,

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<sup>27</sup> Research for this study problematizes the issue by pointing out the various mechanisms in play that facilitate the reproduction of symbolic domination derived from power imbalances that produce both race and gender intersectionality. Symbolic domination also engages various conscious and unconscious strategies employed by agents in workplace administrative environments either to subtly promote or even to resist change.

the habitus of white, male patriarchy in the workplace field is discussed extensively with focussed attention on the work of prominent feminist authors. Patriarchal bureaucracies flourish on a global scale including the private or public sectors and private or public community colleges. Finally, whilst acknowledging the influence of Bourdieu's canonical theory of practice, a feminist perspective is adopted to theorize that modern leadership in either the private or public sectors - including college administrations - is a gendered reflection of 'androcentric' habitus endlessly reproduced in the Ontario college system. The Chapter concludes with an introduction to the main theme of Chapter 4: middle management, its intersectionalities and fields of symbolic dominance.

**Chapter 3** offers a discussion of the methodological eclecticism applied to this study and presents the methodological praxis, a sequential, mixed methods design, that was chosen as the praxis for data collection in this dissertation. A number of theoretical arguments supporting this methodology with particular focus on the overarching goal of methodological pragmatism. The constructivist idea suggests that knowledge of the phenomena being studied is obtained through practical experience in the field. But there is a tension between the social constructivism of Bourdieu and the poststructuralist ideology of Michel Foucault which impacts on the choice of methodological approaches for any sociology-based research project. I explore this tension in Chapter 3 and once again later in Chapter 7 when the analysis of the project data is broached through the methodological divergences of both theorists and a number of others including Goffman and Butler whose theoretical positions are examined in some detail. However, I also introduce the importance of contextual awareness, including epistemic self-awareness and reflexivity leading to a grounded sense of real-world consciousness. Reflexivity is important because, as an occasioned component of interaction, it is a natural concomitant of pragmatic methodology. Reflexivity necessarily compels the researcher to be self-aware and to give analytic attention to the role played by the researcher in the process of studying the social field and the interactions of its constituency. Finally, I discuss the quotidian mechanics of my methodology. I explain the necessarily precoordinated ethical considerations and TCPS: Core II measures, the data collection procedures and techniques I followed including the deployment of a comprehensive Qualtrics survey preceding live interviews, Nvivo 12 coding and thematic analysis. I conclude with my own, personal reflections on the choice of methodology for this project.

**Chapter 4** adds context to the literature review and methodological approach by focussing specific attention on a detailed portrait of the middle management sector in college administration and the hierarchal layers of its bureaucracy. Arguably, the bureaucratic characteristics of the structure legitimate and reproduce a disproportionate power imbalance along gendered and racialized paradigms. An argument is made that the neutered and imploded language of diversity in Ontario colleges remains weak and ineffective in its simplified and rhetorical equivalencies. Individual subjective identities are compromised, and coping strategies are invoked to achieve personal and systemic targets. Some might argue that, in terms of social equality and efforts at curtailing masculine domination, broad based social inclusion initiatives have achieved scarcely more than social and moral dramaturgy. Arguably, the dominant abreaction to perceived intersectionality is merely maladapted data processing of racialized and gender-based hiring numbers.

**Chapter 5** offers an intensive exploration of the principal theories and processes underpinning the typical social structures of the type found in most public colleges. In addition to Bourdieusian concepts, the views of principal interactionist theorists including Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman are considered. Together, their writings assist in understanding the social dynamics played out in Ontario college middle management bureaucracies. These interactive processes including dynamic power devolution and the relational positioning of actors within this complex multi-levelled social structure<sup>28</sup>. Accordingly, the cultural and social phenomena are explored through both micro and macroscopic lenses both of which reflect both Bourdieusian and feminist scholarly viewpoints. The Chapter begins with Bourdieu's foundational theories. Following another brief discussion of reflexivity and pre-reflexivity, Bourdieu's reconciliation of objectivism and subjectivism provides an explanation of the relationship between agency and structure. The key concepts of habitus, agency and the field of struggle are discussed in some detail as is the concept of relationality. Other pivotal social theories, with focus through a feminist lens, introduce the idea of gender capital - a concept explored more fully in subsequent Chapters. The Chapter concludes with an exploration of mimesis as understood by Bourdieu, followed by Connell's conceptualization of 'hegemonic masculinity' and concluding with Foucault's theory of power and governmentality applied to the college bureaucracy.

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<sup>28</sup> Hunnicutt (2009:555) theorizes that "(t)here are labyrinths of power dynamics (*italics original*). Privilege and rewards cannot be understood as a simple formula of 'oppressor' and 'oppressed'. Patriarchal systems must be envisioned as 'terrains of power' in which both men and women wield varying types and amounts of power"

**Chapter 6** explores gender capital in some detail. The topic is introduced by American sociologist Leslie McCall who theorizes that gender identity is a reconversion process that produces a gendered form of cultural capital that manifests itself in pre-reflexive dispositions forming one's gender identity shaping its ultimate value as cultural capital. The Chapter also addresses one of the key project questions: does gender capital as well as other forms of human and social capital assist in achieving career goals within a college bureaucracy? Particular attention is given to Ronald Burt's study of 'structural holes' in the context of an exploration of the idea that social capital is gendered. The suggestion is made that those bonded to a network that comprises certain, managerial, male dominated 'structural holes'. Emanating from that implicit culture of power they are, as a function of that connectivity, able to fashion commensurable oligopolies or even monopolies. They do so from within the habitus of a socially constructed and inscribed doxic economy of practices relative to those in other non-affiliated and disconnected, (possibly intersectionally disadvantaged) networks. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of gender as management capital by exploring differences in how men and women engage in market logic of managerial practices. An inquiry is made as to whether, in the virtuosic presentation of differing subjective identities, individuals in managerial positions within the provincial college system construct gendered role performances and, in so doing, create social architectures that become a distinct form of managerial capital. In particular, there is a discussion of the feminist critique of discursive masculinity as the inimical, androcentric core of patriarchal managerialism and its manifestations.

**Chapter 7** introduces general findings derived from the analysis of the empirical data obtained from the qualitatively dominant mixed methods research. The quantitative portion of the project was designed to obtain descriptive, socio-demographic information about all the survey respondents and more intensive background information from those respondents who volunteered to participate in comprehensive, follow-up interviews. The Chapter provides a qualitative account of several interviewees who volunteered for face-to-face interrogations at the various colleges where they were employed. The process of transitioning from data description to analysis using NVivo 12 coding techniques is explained to show how emergent themes linked to the research objectives became evident through the coding process. This Chapter includes an intensive discussion of intersectionality in the Ontario college system with attention given not only to gender and racial issues in this feminized workplace environment but also to intersectionality in spatial geography

that exists on either side of the student 'Help Desks' in every institution I investigated for this project. I explore the notion of masculine and feminine convertibility as strategic ploys engaged to reduce or avoid heteronormative workplace micro-aggressions which, in turn, leads to a discussion of sexuality in college system and its impact upon career progression. Finally, I suggest that gender performance is inextricably linked to perceived social standing in the managerial sector of Ontario's colleges as is race, education and cultural capital, all of which are examined in some detail from a number of theoretical perspectives from structuralism to poststructuralism, grounded theory and symbolic interactionism.

**Chapter 8** explores specific prominent themes that emerge from the various qualitative coding processes employed. The themes include: (1) nurturing, (2) the 'old boys' network, and (3) hegemonic femininity. The Chapter closes with comments about the impact of gendered constructs on subjective identities. An explanation is offered to show how agency has the potential to maximize reactive capital accumulation built upon intersubjective opportunities as potential resources to accrete volumes of capital. In particular, there is a focus on the frequently mentioned stereotypically caring image of women's 'nurturing' behaviours in the workplace but through an analytical lens focussed on survival and resistance. In other words, 'caring' and 'nurturing' can be understood as counter-vailing forces resourced to contend with or, in the case of the 'old boys' network, resist patriarchy and intersectional domination. The 'old boys' network' exists in the Ontario college system, and it is a concept examined through the lived experiences of those both inside the network looking out and those outside looking inward. The Chapter offers insights on how a dwindling few manage to survive in their managerial roles by clinging to the vestiges of a dominant workplace coalition that comprises the 'old boys' network. Finally, the Chapter returns to the starting point of this dissertation. Consistent with the original goals of this project, there is an examination of the impact of the gender constructivist paradigm on the subjective identities and lived experience of people occupying and advancing through workplace managerial roles in the Ontario college system.

In **Chapter 9**, a discussion of the key study findings is continued. This Chapter concentrates on racial data obtained from the survey and interviews referred to in Chapter 7. Common intersubjective and socio-spatial themes emerged in the data collection process that exposed an unspoken, neatly concealed under-region of racial prejudice, discrimination, and dominant white male privilege

prevalent across the college system in Ontario. The Chapter begins with an 'unfolding story' of 'how things work in the particular context' of the Ontario College system and, in that context, there is a discussion of systemic discrimination, based on race, that is shrouded by a culture of secrecy.

**Chapter 10** is an extensive, concluding Chapter that assembles the key findings that are linked to the research questions in this Chapter. The comprehensive discussion and conclusions presented are extrapolated from the study which is based upon Bourdieusian and significant other theoretical and methodological frameworks. Following a summary of my key findings, I bring together a reconciliatory appreciation of the principal theorists whose ideological positions collectively gave vitality and thrust to this dissertation including Bourdieu, Goffman, Connell, Foucault, Butler, Crenshaw, Collins and several others. I explain how a pragmatist's understanding of their theories and methodological approaches imbued my work with novelty and richness reaching beyond more traditional, reductionist and/or essentialist interpretations of the data set developed in Chapters 7 through 9. Finally, I demonstrate the distinctiveness of my empirical investigation into the Ontario college system by explaining the originality of my methodological approach. I further demonstrate how my analysis of gender capital is utilized in the managerial workplace represents a unique contribution to sociological epistemology.

In my conclusion, I reassert the key findings of this study which clearly demonstrate that symbolic domination continues to exist and to reproduce itself in the socio-spatial environments of the Ontario college system. It does so in a way that creates intersectionality with regard to certain gendered practices and racialized minorities. The findings also show that diversity policies in the Province's college bureaucracies attempt to promote the curtailment of race and gender-based ascription in the Province's college communities. Unfortunately, despite those initiatives, the result is less than satisfactory. These same, legislatively mandated policies tend merely to obfuscate the persistence of intersectionality beneath a social structure that is based upon a historically racialized and androcentric career habitus. The data shows that the Ontario college system is gender biased and racist, heavily influenced by the persistent, neoliberal concomitants of white male privilege. My recommendations for further research in this environment include the need for further policy-level analysis to address the fundamental failure of diversity and inclusion mandates across the province's higher education system. In that regard, I bring to the attention of future researchers the methodological pragmatics involved in the investigation of what some observers have called a

'culture of secrecy'. I point out the merit of a triangulated (or crystallized) methodology as a phenomenological approach to similar projects in the future always supported by a sound basis in theoretical construction. Finally, I introduce a brief post-script to my project that takes into account the ravages of the COVID-19 pandemic with which the world has contended since the beginning of 2020, and which continues to plague civilization even today in late 2021 as we now must deal the new Omicron variant. I expand on the sociological implications of COVID-19 in Schedule 'L' to this dissertation.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

In summary, this Chapter has introduced the reader - for the first time in the Province - to a detailed exploration of a hitherto under-researched cultural milieu that has never before been the subject of intensive qualitative examination. The study findings demonstrate that, for reasons explained throughout the dissertation, the underpinnings of intersectionality in the closed, politically correct ecology of the Ontario college system have succeeded in eluding the attention of Canadian sociological inquisition. The author's own work for this dissertation is a novel incursion. Employing a qualitatively dominant, sequential, mixed methods practice as the approach to investigating the phenomena, the author is able to present insightful voices of those whose lived experience in the system recount the oppressive reality of gender and racial discrimination in their workplace fields of struggle. The participants offer simple but eloquent narratives. Their stories provide context, depth to and a deeply profound understanding of the incremental adoption of neoliberal practices in the Ontario public college system. These practices have produced a cumulative effect that marginalizes gendered subjectivities and racialized differences. In sum, a discriminatory internal paradox is portrayed. Provincially legislated diversity policies that promote gender neutrality do little to mitigate the blanket of silence that permits the replication of a privileged, masculinist workplace. It is the symbolic domination of white, patriarchy and the systemic reproduction of social injustice.



## CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE & CRITICAL CONCEPTS

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### 2.1 Introduction

This Chapter begins with a discussion of feminist literature on the persistence of gender inequality in both private and public organizations, including the Province's colleges. Gender theory and the complexities of intersectionality are explored in some detail. 'Gender' is comprised of a suite of behavioral practices that, in binary terms, serves to differentiate masculinity from femininity. The term also implicates a differential in the power relationship between individuals whose workplace roles are situated in hierarchically disparate positions within the context of a patriarchy. The word 'patriarchy' has long been associated with accounts of a capitalist social structure in which men hold symbolic dominance over women. The underpinnings of postcolonial and white, racist patriarchy incentivized and augmented by a neoliberal form of capitalism are discussed with attention given to the work of numerous feminist authors including Sylvia Walby (1989,2005,2011,2012) and Anna Pollert (1996, 2012 and see: Pollert and Charlwood 2009, Charlwood and Pollert 2014). Empirical data from America, Europe, the U.K. and Canada are offered to support the causal explanatory premise that in virtually every capitalist, white patriarchy, the predominance of men in authoritative leadership positions wields power and privilege over multiple social categories including women and racial minorities. This Chapter explores how the same phenomenon exists in the middle management sector of the Ontario college system. The relational composition of this predominantly white, patriarchal field of power exposes symbolic and doxic practices that are aligned with long-standing and inexcusably stagnant social capital portfolios. An explanation is offered, theorizing how structural networks are characterized by the hegemonic practices of racial inequality and marginalization that propagate multi-dimensional intersectionality, only to reveal the Canadian mythopoeics of a plenary race-less and racism-less higher education community.

### 2.2 Gender & Intersectionality

Close entanglements exist between gender and sexuality; often the boundaries between them are unclear although there are slight differences (see McIlvenny 2002, Williams, et. al. 2010, Brown

2021, Valocchi 2005, Wright 2016, King and Almack 2019). Sexuality is commonly understood as a reference to one's biological makeup over which there is little control (Dea 1985:1). While this premise finds support in mainstream popular discourse, most constructionist and queer scholars agree that sexuality, gender, and one's gender identity are inherently fluid and malleable processes unbound by structure (see Klesse 2011, 2016, 2018, Binnie and Klesse 2013, Jacobs and Klesse 2014, Egnar and Maloney 2016, West and Zimmerman 1987, Howard 2000, Antaki, et. al. 1996, Baumeister 2000, Shapiro 2007, Katz-Wise and Hyde 2015, Knutson, et. al. 2020). Therefore, the concept of gender is primarily regarded as a neo-modern and reflexive form of self-hood that benefits from the gradual evanescence of traditional and binaristic, normative prescriptions (Mestrovic 1998, O'Brien 1999).<sup>29</sup>

In her book, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Judith Butler (1990:25) suggests that “[t]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender, that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results”. In other words, gender has very little to do with an agent choosing a particular expression of it (1990:140). As such, gender is not necessarily expressive in itself. Rather, it “is composed of precisely what remains inarticulate in sexuality” (Butler 1997:140). Deriving the approach from Derrida (1995), Halberstam (1998) deconstructs related, historical essentialisms by isolating ensconced societal notions of white, male masculinity so that both gender and masculinity are understood in terms of their concomitants. By rationally disassociating maleness from masculinity for example, Halberstam's queer theory allows for the validation of a spectrum of marginalized inflections and self-identifications in queer culture which could properly align with homosexuality, lesbianism or even with gender identities not readily capable of any binary definition (Prosser 1998).

In Canada, legislation and regulatory institutional policies directed toward the elimination of gender, race and ethnic discrimination have resulted in the essentially monolithic, law-based framing of comprehensive diversity management practices in all organizations, across the province (see, e.g., O'Leary and Weatherington 2006, Cox 1993, Woods and Sciarini 1995). Their

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<sup>29</sup> Giddens (1991:52-55) refers to gender as a “reflexive project of the self”. For Ulrich Beck, this detraditionalization ultimately produces a robust form of ‘individualization’ that emancipates people from essentialist, pre-assigned gender roles so that there is the implicit freedom of agency to ‘build up a life of their own’, all the while curating their own biographies (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995 [1990]:6. According to Beck, self-prescriptive gender identification implies that “biographies become self-reflexive; socially prescribed biography is transformed into biography that is self-produced and continues to be produced” (Beck 1992: 135).

effectiveness cannot be evaluated solely on the numerical outcomes of hiring policies based on single-identity categories such as male / female or gay / straight. These categories are convenient, easily quantified equivalency yardsticks ideal for head-counting. But the concept of gender is far more complex and adaptable; it is a challenge to understand this elusive social construct when the analytical tools are restricted to identity essentialisms. Derived principally from Aristotelian metaphysics, it should be mentioned that traditional, essentialist assumptions include, for example, the idea that all men and women can be identified by certain immutable characteristics and that any differences observed are mere statistical variations or deviances from an ideological or statistical norm.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, Bourdieu provides certain 'thinking tools' (Grenfell 2004) with which to explore gender and race from an intersectional perspective, one of the most important of which is 'relationality' (Bourdieu 1998c). Fundamentally, it is an anti-essentialist concept which implies that social positioning is not dependent upon substantialist essentialisms. Rather it is the convoluted matrix of differential relations in a multi-dimensional, socially constructed terrain that shifts tectonically as relative positions are manoeuvred (Bourdieu 1985:723-724), proscribing differential access to opportunity and power. The properties associated with gender and race intersectionality affect relative social positioning and its commonalities (1990:127).<sup>31</sup>

Because field practices reflecting historical androcentric essentialisms continue to thrive despite anti-discriminatory legislation, workplace policies and education, it seems evident that the logocentricity of diversity does not adequately address the invidious nature of intersectionalities

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<sup>30</sup> This historical preconception about residual values and norms characterized by "a deeply sedimented essence attaching to or inhering in particular groups" (Ortner 1997:8-9, 1984) is a feature of Talcott Parsons' writing (1949, 1951, 1965), the cultural anthropology of Franz Boas (1896, 1911), and the work of ethnographer Margaret Mead (1935:307) whose research in the South Seas remains the definitive portrayal of the essentialist model. "Historically, those who promoted essentialism provided natural evidence to exclude women, non-whites, Jews, unwanted immigrants, and other marginal types from political, social, and educational opportunities" (Cody 2015:np).

<sup>31</sup> Stephanie Shields (2008:301-2) provides a comprehensive definition of 'intersectionality'. It is comprised of "the mutually constitutive relations among social identities ...". By "identity" she means "social categories in which an individual claims membership as well as the personal meaning associated with those categories" and by "mutually constitutive" she means "that one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category." She adds, "It is also widely agreed that intersections create both oppression and opportunity (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). In other words, being on the advantaged side offers more than avoidance of disadvantage or oppression by actually opening up access to rewards, status, and opportunities unavailable to other intersections. Furthermore, an intersectional position may be disadvantaged relative to one group but advantaged relative to another."

(Bottero 2009, Acker 2006) as if 'one-size-fits-all' (Benischop, et. al. 2015, Tatli and Özbilgin 2012, Acker 2006, Holvino 2010). The rhetoric of 'diversity' simply does not apply to every member of a categorical group. Rather, intersectionality intervenes disruptively. "Since its inception, the concept of 'intersectionality' - the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination - has been heralded as one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship" (Davis 2008:67).

There is an argument, extant in the literature, in favour of theoretical coherence with regard to conceptualizations of feminist intersectionality (see Collins 2015, McCall 2005, Garry 2011). The suggestion is that the expression has become something of a 'buzzword' (Choo and Ferree 2010:131). Critics say that it is frequently used to identify non-specific intersectional practices in a variety of multi-layered and semiotically diverse contexts. Examples principally include but are not confined to gender politics (Lombardo et al. 2009) and research-based theoretical constructivism (Ken 2008, Weldon 2008 and Hancock 2007). Therefore, this dissertation attempts to provide clarification of the particular semantics associated with feminist intersectionality at critical junctures throughout.<sup>32</sup>

Intersectional discrimination regarding ethnicity, sexuality or virtually any overlapping social, racial or political identity almost invariably results in disadvantage or oppression (Browne and Misra 2003, Carbado and Gulati 2013, Solanke 2009, Kings 2017, Scheim and Bauer 2019). But intersectionality in any form can refer to a broad assortment of multiplicities, interdependencies, and differential oppressions (Sandoval 2000). Unfortunately, this results in the relatively myopic tendency to reduce anti-discriminatory diversity legislation and policies to addressing 'single-identity categories' that are systemically overlooked by policy makers often "underpinned by an

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<sup>32</sup> Race and gender, for example, are multi-dimensional intersectionalities that embrace "much more than the psychosocial ramifications of biological sex. [It] is a complex phenomenon with many different facets [which] include gender schemas and stereotypes; gender role identity; and gender-role traits, attitudes, and values" (Barry, et. al. 2017:130, Korabik 1999, Bern 1993). These intersectionalities, often linked to layers of systemic gender and racial discrimination (Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012), are based upon historical essentialist assumptions discussed throughout this dissertation.

inaccurate assumption of a certain similarity of various categories of difference”(Dennissen 2018:3).<sup>33</sup>

### **2.3 The Patriarchal Exploitation of Gender and Race**

Earlier, allusions were made to the sources of symbolic power in the Ontario college system. According to sociologist Jeff Hearn (2015:78) one source is in the architecture of patriarchy. He argues that “[t]he concept of patriarchy remains a useful way of focusing on the societal and broadly structural forms and flows of gendered powers [...]. It is also useful as part of the gendered critique of academia ... “. Women and minorities are affected, but men are not excluded (Hearn and Collinson 1994). For example, Battle and Ashley (2008) make the point that the patriarchal assumption of heteronormativity in the workplace sometimes disadvantages homosexual males (Gannon 2013, Krener 1996, O’Byrne and McGinnis 1996:4). Consistent with the foregoing, Mary Becker (1999:38) argues that “(p)atriarchy is not primarily organized around the interactions of women and men. The core of patriarchy is a battle between men who fear each other for power and control over each other.”

Hearn (2015:87) suggests that “masculinities theory developed from the late 1970s at the same time as feminist and anti-racist critiques of the concept of patriarchy. Both these debates around patriarchy and around masculinities [focus on] intersectionalities. The rethinking and problematization of patriarchy and the identification of differential classed, raced, patriarchal arenas [...] can be seen as part of the debate on intersectionalities”. The concept of ‘intersectionality’, itself, has been defined as “intersectional oppression [that] arises out of the combination of various oppressions which, together, produce something unique and distinct from

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<sup>33</sup> For example, “[t]he invisibility of gendered ethnic privilege is the normative position, yet to be problematised in many organisational studies [...]. When privileged whiteness is unnamed or ignored, the norms, values and assumptions accompanying whiteness go unquestioned and the ways of whiteness are empowered” (Dennissen 2018:4, Atewologun and Sealey 2014, Rossing 2012, Grimes 2002). Gottfried (1998:4) points out that “inequalities [therefore] persist as a result of an accumulation process in which dominant classes monopolise not only physical capital but also political, symbolic and social capital, loosely corresponding to and operationalised on different fields” including college administrations. Despite legislative and broad-based policy-level attempts at the enforcement of institutional diversity in the college system, intersectionality goes unnoticed or is largely ignored in the bureaucracy where white patriarchy continues to exist and is reproduced with negative effects on the administrative constituency.

any one form of discrimination standing alone....” (Eaton 1994:229). The feminist polemic issuing from the intersectional debate rails against historical domination by men. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is frequently coopted by scholarly feminists to frame their own unique theorizing that illustrates and explains the embodiment of symbolic power characteristic of the patriarchies exemplified in most Weberian bureaucracies including college administrations (Hammer 1990, Collinson, and Hearn 1994, Boccock 1986, David 2015, Jeppesen and Nazar 2012).<sup>34</sup>

The word ‘patriarchy’ has long been associated with accounts of a capitalist social structure in which men have power over women (Walby 1989, Alkana and Lerner 1988, Segal and Walby 1991, Miller 2017, Patil 2013, Sultana 2012, Smuts 1995). Watanabe (2014:np) defines it as “a sociopolitical and cultural system that values masculinity over femininity”. Moane (1999:25) suggests that “[a]lmost all of the major systems of society - politics, economics, religion, education, mass media, art and culture - which are hierarchically organized are male dominated”. Pollert views patriarchy as “the institutional embeddedness of different forms of male power” (1996:653).<sup>35</sup> However, debate exists among feminist scholars as to whether patriarchy and capitalism are inextricable components of one, coherent social system or whether patriarchy exists semi-autonomously as a gender-based, self-perpetuating form of social reproduction.

If patriarchy and capitalism are inseparable, then patriarchy has an obviously indispensable functionality that is understandably commandeered and exploited by the male dominated capitalist enterprise in furtherance of its proficuous objectives (Brown 1975:29, Bell 1992, Chibber 2013, Dawson and Katzenstein 2019, Fanon 1967, Hamilton 2013, Lipsitz 1998, Mies 1986, Mills 2007, Montoya 2016, Preston 2014, Menon 2015, Golash-Boza, et. al. 2019, McGuire 2019). It is endlessly

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<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, Page (1951:94) notes that “[t]he most apparent indication of bureaucratization in higher education is to be seen, of course, in bureaucracy’s most fruitful field, administration” from which it is incapable of escape. Ramsay and Parker (1991:258) further suggest that “most current bureaucratic solutions arise from the twin imperatives of patriarchy and capitalism. Bureaucracy as a prescription [...] reflects the rationality of capital accumulation as well as the rationality of patriarchal domination”. Therefore, it is necessary to examine patriarchy in greater detail. Understanding patriarchy from a feminist viewpoint is a post-modern, intersectional phenomenon that invites a more comprehensive analysis of its saliences and semiotics in college administrative bureaucracies.

<sup>35</sup> Hearn (2015:79) points out that “(t)he concept of patriarchy remains a useful way of focusing on the societal and broadly structural forms and flows of gendered powers, even if the earlier structuralism now has to make way for the insights of poststructuralism and some other ‘posts-’. It is also useful as part of the gendered critique of academia and the social sciences (O’Brien 1981; Smith 1989; Sprague 1997). This is not to posit any gender essentialism, but rather to focus on the construction of gender and gender categories within patriarchy and patriarchal relations.

reproduced and legitimated in a way that perpetuates oppression based on gender and virtually all its imbricated intersectionalities (Hearn 2009:177). The implication, according to Gottfried (1998:456) is that patriarchy and capitalism, should be understood as two “[m]utually constituting terms”.

If, on the other hand, patriarchy and capitalism are driven by semi-autonomous, dialectical parallels that are nevertheless mutually reinforcing rather than constitutive (Sargent 1981, Beechey 1979, Acker 1989, Pollert 1996) then Sylvia Walby’s (1986) schismatic and highly influential views must be recognized. Her more abstract conceptualizations characterize the relegation of domestic responsibilities to women as the source of an historically patriarchal social structure while the Marxist view of economic production is the source of capitalism with its class distinctions and their related intersectionalities. Ashley Bohrer (2019:15) contends that “there has never been a form of capitalism that is not structured through simultaneous reliance on oppression and exploitation”. Both are tied to the patriarchal exploitation of race, gender, and sexuality as an instrument of power and dominance (Fraser 1995, Peake 1993, Ross 2016).<sup>36</sup>

The foregoing views point to the inevitable reproduction of social structures that subordinate many women and minorities by ignoring or refusing to consider complex gender issues and related intersectionalities. This regime of subordination simultaneously perpetuates neoliberal capitalist ideologies, “a prime target of Bourdieu’s critique of the competitions of the social field” (Sayer 2011:10). According to Gottfried (1998:456), who accepts Walby’s theoretical position, this understanding formulates patriarchy as a nihilistic “abstract semiautonomous structure” from which there is little room for agency and change and virtually no acknowledgment of the exquisitely subtle dynamics of gender and its intersectionalities. Walby (2005, 2011), in her more recent writings, ultimately concedes that patriarchies have the capacity to be somewhat more yielding and transformative if they are informed by the impetus of agency. More recently, she also accepts the

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<sup>36</sup> Anna Pollert (1996:640) suggests that Walby’s explanation of patriarchy “perpetuates the theoretical tradition of abstract ‘semi-autonomous structures’”. However, she contends that Walby’s explanation “loses the tension between agency and structure necessary to understand social process” (1996:640). The result is a “static form of systems theory” (1996:640) that effectively diminishes the socially embedded “motivations, interests and strategies for male domination of women either to the abstract ‘needs of capital’ or to the equally abstract ‘role of patriarchy’” (1996:641). For example, Walby engages Marxist ideology to reduce agency to mere freedom of choice “in consumption practices and lifestyles, [and therefore labels it] a false freedom” (Crusmac 2015:105). At minimum, it can be a point of agreement that Walby’s ideas, at the very least, account for the salience of patriarchy.

rather more fluid existence of ‘gender regimes’ notwithstanding the otherwise unassailable structure of capitalism (2008:46-48).

Pollert (1996) cautions that this sort of flexible agency is absent from any purely structuralist analysis of gender using patriarchy as the lens. It is because, wherever agency might be discerned, men tend to be the actors while women, for the most part, are invisible or subordinate and/or supportive at most. (Rowbotham 1979).<sup>37</sup> A feminist understanding of Bourdieu (1977) characterizes this cultural-materialist conception of social space (or “field”) as agentic sites of struggle and competition. Here, the complex colonization of white patriarchy functions to enable profoundly impactful doxic orchestrations that produce multiple intersectionalities. As Charlotte Higgins (2018:np) puts it: “Only “patriarchy” seems to capture the peculiar elusiveness of gendered power – the idea that it does not reside in any one site or institution but seems spread throughout the world. Only ‘patriarchy’ seems to express that it is felt in the way individual examples of gender inequality interact, reinforcing each other to create entire edifices of oppression”. Nowhere is this ‘patriarchal gaze’ stronger, more focussed and imperialist than in the private sector where neoliberal capitalism flourishes.

## **2.4 The Prevalence of Private Sector Patriarchy**

The Marxist / feminist view of private sector businesses is that they are inextricably linked to capitalist patriarchies which, both historically and dialectically, throughout the world, are associated with the oppression of women (Eisenstein 1979:13, Bannerji 1995, Coole 1993, Gunnarsson 2013, Samson 2010, Coburn 2016, Seneviratne 2018,).<sup>38</sup> Historically, cultural

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<sup>37</sup> Pollert argues in favour of a more “[m]aterialist analysis [that] opens up action in process, and makes visible both women and men: agency, whether compliance, consent or resistance, enters the picture. Consciousness, identity and subjectivity are very much part of historical materialism’s concerns, as are material forces (not just origins) of ideology: but their connections and mediations with wider political and economic process are kept in view” (1996:647).

<sup>38</sup> “Capitalism relegates women to unpaid reproductive labor, although today it would be more correct to say that for the vast majority of women, it overburdens them with it. Capitalism relies on these unpaid tasks for the reproduction of labor power, although no surplus value is extracted from this activity since it does not generate exchange value” (Murillo 2018:np). However, since the Marxist polemic is that the sole source of legitimate labour necessarily must be ‘productive’, female ‘reproductive’ labour is relegated to tertiary value in a capitalist economy. Therefore, women’s own bodies and their reproductive capacity become a source of gender inequality and capitalist bias (Gimenez: 2005).



stereotypes, shaping and legitimating mundane illusions of masculinity and femininity, have reflected pervasive, structural-functionalist homologues that have unambiguously delineated the division of labour between masculine men and feminine women (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:105, Swartz 1997). For example, looking backward at the period immediately after end of World War II, and at the population profile of Canada, “very few married women can be found in the census as [being] engaged in wage labour. As suggested above, according to middle class ideology of the time, the main role of the women in families was to be the makers of men” (Garrett 2009:152). These are the men who had either returned from the war or had grown up through it and needed jobs to support their wives and children. A job was essential to a man’s pride and self-assurance, both of which naturally led to leadership roles within the economy while the wives stayed home to support their husbands by housekeeping and by raising and nurturing their children.<sup>39</sup> The culture of the day was both contingently and objectively male-dominated and that tended to be the prevailing view held by many as the natural order of things.<sup>40</sup>

Private sector models of leadership proliferated in many capitalist economies are routinely occupied by ‘cognitively superior’ men “with the exception of the occasional biological female who acts as a social man” (Acker 1990:139, Denison 1984, Sorenson 1984, Bryk and Raudenbush 1992, Cabrera, et. al. 2009).<sup>41</sup> As Burgess and Tharenou (2002:39) and others (e.g., Bishop 2005) point out, women occupying executive roles in private sector business organizations arguably demonstrate nothing more than “token female appointments in a traditional male dominated

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<sup>39</sup> Dyer (1997:29) suggests that “(w)hite women’s role in reproduction makes them at once privileged and subordinated in relation to the operation of white power in the world”.

<sup>40</sup> For example, George Simmel (1911[1984:95] famously argued that “(o)ur culture is male not only with respect to its contingent contents but also with respect to its form as objective culture. Suppose that the active bearers of this culture experience influences, no matter how profound, from women. There is no sense in which this makes the culture as such “female” [...] it is a problem [...] the question of whether the objectivation of its contents does not contradict the innermost essence of the distinctively female existence [...]. The concept of objective culture seemed to be so abstract that, even if historically it had been realized only by male contents, the idea of a future female realization of its contents could still be possible. But perhaps objective culture [...] is so heterogeneous vis-à-vis the female nature that the idea of an objective female nature is a contradiction in terms [...]”.

<sup>41</sup> Worldwide, in every private sector patriarchy, the predominance of men in authoritative leadership positions wields both power and privilege over others. Despite his critique of Marx’s economic reductionism, Bourdieu’s ‘fields’ notably parallel principal Marxist ideological tenets inasmuch as capitalist patriarchal fields “have the same character, each having their own distinctive “capital” that agents seek to accumulate, bound by rules of competition that give the field a certain functional integrity and relative autonomous dynamics” (Desan 2013:319). This traditionally androcentric hierarchy of power resists disruption and favours stability and the ensconced status quo (Magee and Dalinsky 2009, Wisse, et. al. 2019, Hughes, et. al. 2019, Koski, et. al. 2015). Power is never easily relinquished especially in private sector business structures (Bahlieda 2015, Jurgensen 2019). In her book *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, Maria Mies puts it this way: “peace in patriarchy is war against women.” (1986:26).

culture...”, and that culture is patriarchal. In America, the cultural legacy of abrasive, masculine narcissism, characteristic of the Trump era (Cruz and Buser 2020), connotes a raw populist appeal with a ripple effect worldwide doing little to encourage gender equality in the awarding of executive positions (Chamorro-Premuzic 2019:np).<sup>42</sup> Although the theme is broadly introduced above, Moss Kanter expressly reminds us that this distinctive style has historical salience. Even decades ago, “[w]hile organizations were being defined as sex-neutral machines, masculine principles were dominating their authority structures” (1977:46).<sup>43</sup>

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:829) might argue that the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity sketched by the foregoing does not necessarily engender social reproduction. Men “do have a ‘choice’ about whether or not actively to occupy oppressive positions *vis-à-vis* women and other men or to resist these” (Jewkes, et. al. 2015:96). In Bourdieusian terms, these same semiotic antecedents illustrate the flexibility of agency but also the unbounded capacity of the habitus (Bourdieu 1977) to modify and, over time, shape social structures (Lizardo 2004). The habitus is capable of reproducing conformity, yet it can also be a propellant for divergence (Sela-Sheffy 2005). Nevertheless, the consequence of these historical antecedents is that even today women do not enjoy equal stature and representation at the highest levels of organizational leadership (Holton and Dent 2011:78) and those in the relatively small minority who do manage to make it to the top tend to be victimized by what Billing (2011) calls the *phantom* of the male norm. Her qualitative study involved a series of in-depth interviews of Nordic females in senior managerial positions within a number of private sector administrations. Billing concluded that an androcentric management norm victimizes women in management. The victimization is not only their underrepresentation in the top tier but, once there, systemic discrimination on the basis of gender

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<sup>42</sup> The overwhelming influence of patriarchy extends to the market-focused, neo-managerialist ideologies characteristic of the international private business sector but which, propelled significantly by economic pressures, has gradually reshaped the leadership styles of many public institutions (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Hughes 1998, Lan, and Rosenbloom 1992).

<sup>43</sup> This is not a new idea. The post-World War II evolution of male dominated hierarchical business structures necessarily implied the corollary: women who, for various reasons left their aprons folded and hung properly in their impeccably clean kitchens to venture into the workplace could expect to occupy occasionally integral but almost always subordinate positions in the cold bureaucratic world (Schwanke 2013, Wochenbericht 2012, Algahtani 2020). Ultimately, hyper-masculine males, the suburban family breadwinners, were in charge of the overall business structure (Witz and Savage 1992). Idealistic media depictions focussing on the nuclear family of the 1950’s not only reinforced but served to almost indelibly etch into the habitus of the polity this devaluing social construct (Pleck 1981, Coontz 1992, Gilbert 2005, Amato 2013, Axinto, et. al. 2014).

(2011:32). The *International Labour Organization Bureau for Employers' Activities*<sup>44</sup> recently engaged in quantitative research demonstrating that “(g)lobally, women are underrepresented in corporations, and the share of women decreases with each step up the corporate hierarchy” (2017:3).<sup>45</sup> This universalist perspective is best observed through the masculine-dominant lens of patriarchy where its exquisite palette of micro-aggressions and oppressions is as much the subject of empirical study in Europe and North America as it is anywhere else in the world.

## **2.5 Patriarchy in America, Europe, the U.K. & Canada**

Kmec and Skeggs (2014:530) found that in America, “establishments in states that require anti-discrimination workplace postings employ fewer women in upper-management than those in states without such a requirement”.<sup>46</sup> Wilson argues that since the publication of the *United States Department of Labor's 'Glass Ceiling' Commission Report* (U.S. Department of Labor 1995), which, to this date, remains the most comprehensive American empirical study of the ‘glass ceiling’ in North America (Draulans 2003, Frazier 2005, LaBeach-Pollard 2005), very little has been achieved in the United States toward breaking through this “invisible, covert, and unspoken phenomenon that exist[s] to keep executive level leadership positions in the hands of Caucasian males” (2014:84).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> According to its website, “(t)he Bureau for Employers' Activities (ACT/EMP) is a specialized unit within the ILO Secretariat. Its task is to maintain close and direct relations with Employer and Business Membership Organizations (EBMOs) in member States, to make the ILO's resources available to them and to keep the ILO constantly aware of their views, concerns, and priorities. ACT/EMP seeks to foster well-functioning EBMOs, which are important actors in shaping an environment conducive to competitive and sustainable enterprises, good governance, political and social stability, democracy, and socio-economic development. ACT/EMP assists EBMOs in building strong, independent, and representative organizations that respond to their members' needs and challenges through its technical cooperation programme, which aids EBMOs in developing and transition countries” (see: <https://www.ilo.org/actemp/about-us/lang-en/index.htm>).

<sup>45</sup> Historically, women wishing to transition upward to organizational leadership positions were negatively impacted by their underrepresentation (Mattis 2000). This broad-based, conclusion is not over-reaching even on an international scale (Burke and Vinnicombe 2005, Ryan and Haslam 2007). Researchers from several countries offer empirical data showing that the under-representation of women is endemic to the private sector social space (Adler 1997, Beckman and Phillips 2005, European Commission 2006, Fryxell and Lerner 1989, Corporate Women Directors International 2004, Williams 2003, Izraeli 2000).

<sup>46</sup> A more comprehensive discussion of this topic with statistical data as it applies in America, the United Kingdom and Canada can be found in Schedule 'J'.

<sup>47</sup> The situation is somewhat better in Europe whose Institute for Gender Equality [“EIGE”] has recently published findings from empirical measurements of gender equality in the European Union for the period 2005 - 2015. The findings include

The 2019 Rozenzweig Report shows that Canadian women make up approximately one - third (35.1%) of all workplace managers in the Country, and, in 2018, approximately 32.6% of the female managers were at the senior level (Rozenzweig and Company 2019:8). In that same year, women occupied just 10% of the 532 senior level executive positions within Canada's 100 largest TSX corporations where only 2.4% were CFOs (2019:10). Recently in Canada the labour force gender gap has remained relatively stable between 2000 and 2018. However, despite an expanding concentration on gender diversity in Canada's private sector, executive boardrooms (MacDougall and Valley 2019), there persists an historical androcentric bias resembling what has been demonstrated above in other countries (Mitchell 1984, Gilles 1992).

Patricia Bradshaw of York University in Toronto and David Wicks of Saint Mary's University in Halifax (2000:197) conducted qualitative research using a data collection method similar to Billing's phenomenological study in Norway which shows that "[i]ncreasingly, the extent and perpetuation of, what Connell (1987) originally called hegemonic masculinity is being exposed in the context of the board room of Canadian corporations". The researchers conclude that "[u]ntil we begin to deconstruct this form of hegemonic masculinity and understand how it traps women and men and restricts resistance, real change in the boardroom is likely to take longer" (2000:209 and see Shepherd 2017:82).<sup>48</sup> Hegemonic masculinity finds its strongest reinforcement in the dual bulwarks of patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism where the naturalization of individual and systemic race and gender inequality completes the portrait - especially in the competitive economies of the private sector. However, for reasons discussed below, the lithesome manipulations of hetero-patriarchy are increasingly felt in the public sector as its survivalist business models are more routinely found to emulate the profit-driven motivations of its private counterpart. The private sector and the public

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measurements of several intersecting domains and sub-domains embracing a variety of theoretical and conceptual issues faced by all genders when confronting social inequalities in life's major spheres including the workplace. In the E.U., including former member, the United Kingdom, people must contend with a wide variety of issues relating to gender and its intersectionalities such as race, ethnic origin, age, and sexual orientation. Indeed, the United Kingdom "joins Slovakia and the Czech Republic among the EU's 28 member states in having made no significant advances in reducing levels of inequality when taking into account a range of fields including the workplace ..." (Boffey 2017:np).

<sup>48</sup> The available international data about the representation (or under-representation) of women in college executive roles is incomplete "itself arguably an indicator of the relative lack of importance attached to the issue [whilst] the general picture that emerges is one of a dearth of women at the top (Shepherd 2017:82, Morely 2013, Doherty and Manfredi, 2006)". Despite slow gains, the picture is substantially the same in Canada where ongoing plenary efforts are being made to "advance women's leadership in postsecondary institutions. According to numbers from advocacy group Catalyst Canada, the sector trails the rest of the economy where women hold more than 30 per cent of senior management roles" (Chiose 2016 / 2018:np). Wiart (2016:np) points out that, in Canadian colleges (in contrast to Canadian universities), "[t]hirty-eight of the 127 member colleges of CIGan [Colleges and Institutes Canada] have a female in charge, compared to just 19 of Universities Canada's 97 member institutes (30 per cent vs. 20, respectively)".

sector are becoming conflated as they relate to the masculinist authoritarianism of white patriarchy.

## **2.6 Racialized Patriarchy in the Private & Public Sectors**

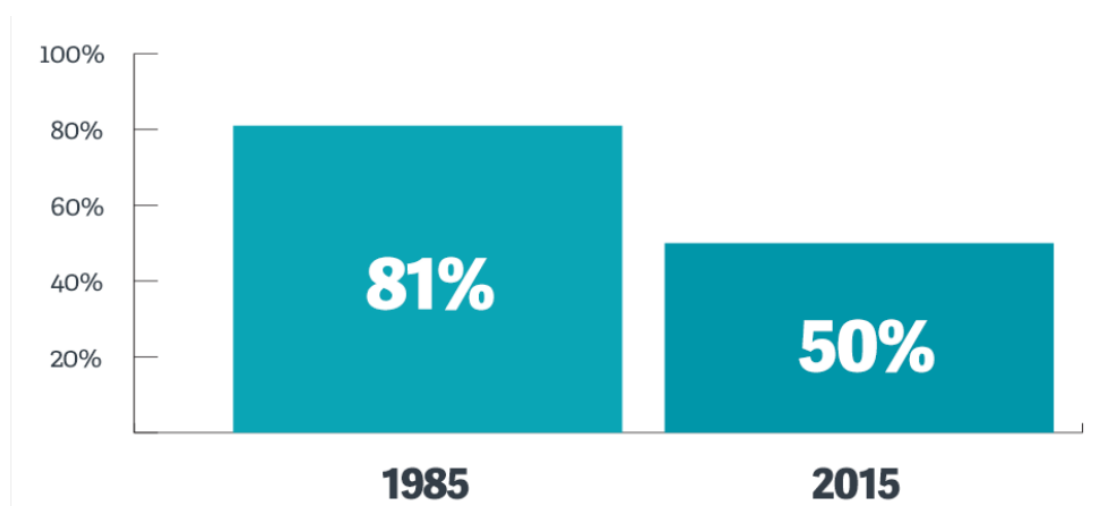
The private sector consists of privately-owned organizations which may be regulated by the government but otherwise have nothing to do with it. For example, the private sector might include retail business and private career colleges. On the other hand, the public sector tends to be comprised of various entities that are owned and operated by the government or in which the government at the federal, provincial, or local level is a majority stakeholder. Public community colleges fall into this category although their revenue sources in Canada include all levels of government, private tuition, and private and public donations. The private business sector which, in most countries, comprises the greatest segment of a free-market capitalist economy is controlled by private individuals, corporations or joint ventures with a view to profit. While private sector organizations may collaborate with the government or even enter into working partnerships with it, their operational paradigms are financed independently. Employees are paid from the profits earned by these competitive business structures which typically implies working environments that can be more challenging than government and less secure than in the public sector. Employment in the private sector includes occupations in industry, the professions, financial and related services and, as mentioned, includes privately funded colleges, especially in North America where hundreds can be found in the United States and Canada.<sup>49</sup>

The conservative influence of private sector patriarchies is being felt in public sector college bureaucracies. The “long-standing erosion of public funding” and “government cuts” (CAUT 2021:7) have seriously affected college programs and operations across the Province.

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<sup>49</sup> The public (‘not-for-profit’) sector is also called the ‘civil service industry’. Employees in the civil service are paid their wages through tax dollars collected from the public at all government levels: in Canada, federal, provincial, regional, and municipal governments each apportion a certain amount of levied tax dollars with which to pay the salaries of the civil service. Work tends to be stable and not usually affected by market vicissitudes, but promotion is more difficult and a well-defined bureaucracy with its typical hierarchal chain of command is a common feature of the civil service. Typical civil service jobs might include roles in administrative agencies, the military, research and, as mentioned, education including mid-level managerial positions in the Ontario college system.

**Figure 1: Average combined federal / provincial government funding as a percentage of operating revenues in Canadian post-secondary institutions: comparison between 1985 and 2015**



Source: Canadian Union of Public Employees

The fiscal result is the pressing need to remediate budget deficits through administrative restructuring and staff cuts as well as corporatized marketing strategies designed to attract high-paying international student populations.<sup>50</sup> The impressive novelty is the impetus toward privatization models based upon neoliberal veridiction, felt with increasing urgency across higher education in Canada<sup>51</sup> including the Ontario college system (Cannella and Koro-Ljungberg 2017).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Some would suggest that this fiscal result is not an epiphany by any means. “A market focus that creates students as consumers and faculty as service providers has dominated global practices in colleges and universities for some time” (Cannella and Koro-Ljungberg 2017:11). What is new is the increasing tendency for public community colleges to adopt the private sector business model. The economic theory of optimal capitalist corporatization is that the capitalist, shareholder-driven underpinnings of the private sector corporate structure “is much better suited to conduct the operation and administration of public services because a specialized, private corporation will be better than the government at providing any economic service due to the government’s limited knowledge of society and the incentives driving private for-profit corporations” (Deardorff 2018:np). The push toward the private sector model for public institutions of all kinds is driven by the twin forces of data-driven capitalism and neoliberalism (Goodman and Loveman 1991, Ciepley 2013). Cohen (2005:41-90) suggests that the move in the direction of neoliberal practices for public institutions has been gradually evolving since at least the beginning of the 19th century.

<sup>51</sup> Brenda Austin-Smith, film studies professor at the University of Manitoba is passionate in her “critique of and resistance to the corporatization of post-secondary education ...” in Canada. She argues that “many of the difficulties we face [...] are from forces attempting to re-cast and restructure our institutions as beholden to commercial interests rather than to public ones ...” (2019:16).

<sup>52</sup> In a scathing report to the Provincial Government in 2014, Kevin MacKay refers to the causes of the ‘neoliberal turn’ in the Ontario college system: “With the election of Brian Mulroney’s Progressive Conservative government in 1984, federal funding to the provinces for health, education and social services began to decline. This increased budget pressure on the provinces to maintain levels of public service delivery. Tensions caused by under-funding were exacerbated with the

The discourse fueled by capitalist profit motives focusses on globalization (Jones 2011:116). The current public college concentration on attracting international students as a non-governmental revenue source is an example. Mudge (2008:707) defines neoliberalism as “an ideological system that holds the ‘market’ sacred, born within the ‘human’ or social sciences and refined in a network of Anglo-American-centric knowledge producers, expressed in different ways within the institutions of the postwar nation-state and their political fields”.

Traditional capitalist ideology, has its origins in the writings of Adam Smith (1776), contends that, to stimulate free markets and economic development worldwide, institutions of all kinds and the individuals working within them must competitively adopt aggressive entrepreneurial practices. Bourdieu (2001:2) was fiercely critical of this “celebratory reassertion of ‘responsibility’ inherent in the neoliberal project”. He understood the mechanisms of symbolic power and dominance that reward the rich and powerful whilst relegating almost everyone else to what Baudrillard (1981) uniquely identifies as the ‘simulacra’ of a bleak and endlessly recycled and amoral consumerist existence replete with necessity but absent need. Bourdieu felt the need to call out the implicit social inequities of globalization and its prescriptive, neoliberal discourse that fuels entrepreneurship (Swartz 2003). Yet, colleges in North America and Europe are today being encouraged to become ever more entrepreneurial (Kutler Jr. 2005:39).<sup>53</sup>

Feminist scholars will often suggest that entrepreneurship itself has a long history of being exclusive and gendered (Jones 2011, Palmer 1997, Burnett 2000). The masculinist image of a successful entrepreneur is one of a strong, forceful (Schumpeter 1934 [1982], Sawyer 1952) and

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election in Ontario of a Conservative government under Mike Harris in 1995.<sup>37</sup> This change of government led to a radical reorganization of public services, post-secondary education, and the college system in particular” (MacKay 2014:13). It was called the ‘Common Sense Revolution’ and it was based upon “... a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (2014:13).

<sup>53</sup> There is an interesting argument made by some feminist scholars to the effect that women are the direct beneficiaries of profit-driven neoliberal practices (Gill and Scharff 2011). McRobbie (2009) contends that women in some social fields have maximized femininity from within the hierarchies of power to effectively negotiate their positioning in the labour market. In doing so, women seize upon the “paradigm of entrepreneurial selfhood” (Ross 2008:32) in a manner that self-transforms their identities into becoming the “privileged subjects of social change” (McRobbie 2009:15). However, there is an intersectional downside to this otherwise spirited impulse of entrepreneurialism. For example, Scharff (2014:np), cautions that “women’s positioning as neoliberal subjects [...] rests on processes of abjection of those who are regarded as insufficiently ambitious and autonomous [so that] these processes tend to privilege particularly classed and racialized subjects, thereby reproducing existing power hierarchies”.

natural leader (Marshall 1890) who is a winner with the right connections and ready access to capital (Jones 2011:28). According to Jones, it “suggests the discourses of the ‘heroic male’ – fighting against the odds; ‘the maverick’ – who does things differently and breaks the rules; and the ‘self-made man’, pulling himself up the social ladder against the odds and his poor educational and/or fiscal background” (Jones 2011:30). In reality, however, it can be understood as the legitimization of hegemonic masculinity.<sup>54</sup>

Patriarchal bureaucracies are, by definition, gendered whether in the private or public sectors / private or public colleges. Turner and Hulme (1997:98) write about their research showing impediments to the advancement of women in most bureaucracies; women’s institutional roles “are frequently concentrated in the lower bureaucratic ranks”. The thrust of this dissertation queries whether ostensibly meritocratic career paths within public college bureaucracies affected by workplace intersectionalities in reality conceal socially privileged sources of power. Patriarchy is a powerful, symbolic manifestation of intersectionality. “Patriarchal discourses have a tendency to socially construct masculinity and manhood through a historical process that is likely to sustain gender practices through a hegemonic symbolic order that becomes sanctioned by male ideologies and a patriarchal social structure dominated by masculinity ...” (Semali and Shakespeare 2014:41).<sup>55</sup>

The hetero-patriarchal architecture of bureaucracy in Western and European higher education reflects an ideological hegemony that vests power largely in the control of white, heterosexual,<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> This mediatized “legitimization of neoliberal hegemony” (Phelan 2011:32 and see: Bourdieu 1998d, Jessop 2004, Wacquant 2004) necessarily excludes “many people from the competition” (Palmer 1997:71) including many women and minorities, outside the heroic profile. They are unsuitable “given socially constructed concepts of gender roles and the historically male-normative approach [in which, for example] ‘women are characterized in the devalued sphere of the feminine” (Jones 2011:30 and Marlow and Patton 2005:721). Nowhere does discourse of neoliberalism resonate with greater force than from within the structure of patriarchy.

<sup>55</sup> According to Miller (2013:211): “Western culture depends heavily on the patriarchal structure that allowed for white male dominance of women and people of colour [...] Patriarchy is a theory that attempts to explain this widespread gender stratification as an effect of social organization rather than the result of some natural or biological fact and to unpack why there remains a near total domination of women by men at both the micro level of intimate relationships and the macro level of government, law, and religion [...] Patriarchy is not limited to the system that controls women but [...] is always linked into other systems of inequality and privilege, including but certainly not limited to age, ability, education, race, sexual orientation, and class”.

<sup>56</sup> Dyer (1997:27) points out that “(g)ender difference underpins male : female power difference and is realized in and through heterosexuality”.



middle-class males who, with minor variation, generally fit historically essentialist rubrication of masculinity (Pyke 1996, Connell 1995, Bourdieu 1977).<sup>57</sup> Symbolic power is linked to bureaucratic patriarchy in college administrations. The phenomenon can be traced to transnationalism and the increasing influence of global, private sector, 'for-profit' business structures. Many are well entrenched, capitalist patriarchies with characteristically male-dominated gender orders (Waters 1989, Stacey 1986). The current, available internationalization data (see Schedule 'J') suggests the applicability of this phenomenon to a broad-based labour market in the province and generally in Canada. Clearly, consistencies exist between the androcentric core of private sector enterprise and the masculinist hierarchies of post-secondary educational systems that operate to gender career paths (Amey, et. Al. 2002, Vaughan, et. Al. 1994, Tedrow 1999, Townsend, 1995).

Ontario's publicly funded colleges do reveal a high percentage of white women in mid-level administrative roles. However Leatherwood and Williams (2008:261) point to the history of these institutions which have been traditionally characterized by male-dominated structures: the idea that "the continuous use of the male as the norm in management [is] an appropriate indicator for explaining women's difficulties in management" (Billing 2011:298). It is "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1995:77). Bourdieu concluded that "[m]ale domination is so rooted in our collective unconscious that we no longer even see it" (1998a:np). This begins to explain the underrepresentation of women advancing to the highest leadership roles. Prevailing intersectionalities earlier mentioned are significant variables. The data in this Chapter highlights the persistence of social behaviours based upon "a set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways" (Jewkes and Morrell 2012:1730). Patriarchy is at its core and the structural concomitants are part of its culture.

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<sup>57</sup> Yang (2020:321) suggests that "it is defeatist to assume dominant masculinity always legitimates men's power. Instead, Beasley (2008:94, 95) redefines hegemonic masculinity as 'the legitimation of men's authority over women,' and notes that this legitimizing function 'may or may not refer to men with actual power.'"

In contrast with 'private' college structures<sup>58</sup>, 'public', community colleges (or 'community colleges') receive their operational funds through a combination of tuition fees, federal and provincial tax dollars and public grants or donations. Approximately 75% of the annual operating budget of a public college in Ontario is subsidized outside of tuition fees with the balance reliant on student enrollment, particularly international inductions for which the tuition and other fees set are as much as three times higher than for comparable domestic students.<sup>59</sup>

The organizational culture of either private career or public community colleges tends to follow the post-secondary education governance model proposed by Victor Baldrige (1971) who conceptualized a 'pyramidal social structure' that takes its shape from three intersecting characteristics: bureaucracy, collegiality, and its internal politics (see Weber 1947). This can be said of every college studied for this dissertation. In all cases "[d]ecision-making becomes incrementally unilateral, policy-oriented, and political at higher levels of functionality" (Gasparini 2017:18, see: Magee 1998). Invariably one discovers a race and "gender-influenced undercurrent flowing just below the surface [amid] a complex labyrinth of stresses, conflicts and counter-play among individuals and groups competing for dominance and access to the political elite atop the pyramid" (Rabo 2005). Everett (2002:57) describes "a struggle to accumulate capital, that fleeting form of power whose value is always and only ever field specific". These social constructs are ultimately responsible for their role in shaping and often influencing the college's organizational culture (Gasparini 2017:18, see: Schein 2007).

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<sup>58</sup> Private colleges (also called 'career colleges') rely entirely on tuition fees to fund their operations. Originally denominational and funded by religious institutions, they have become overwhelmingly secularized in Canada. Nothing (other than, in certain cases, financial incentives) is taken from tax dollars at any government level. The range of courses offered by private colleges tends to be more focused and smaller, but class sizes are also not as large as those typically found in public colleges. Learning schedules and admission standards tend to be flexible with inductions at several interstices in the year. Within certain provincial regulatory guidelines, (e.g., the Private Career Colleges Act 2005 in Ontario) a private college is free to set its own policies and governance framework, largely without interference or oversight by the government.

<sup>59</sup> The range of courses available is broader than in private colleges but class sizes tend to be larger - depending upon the type of course - and domestic tuition fees tends to be less costly than for private college students. But with ever-declining Provincial government funding contributions to the community college system, together with the spectre of budget deficits from rising labour and operational costs, the pressing need for the importation of the trendy marketing and profit-driven corporatized business strategies fiscally sustaining private sector education seems self-evident.

## 2.7 Gendered Bureaucracies in Middle Management

In an earlier study, Gasparini (2018:53) queried whether “women [are] compelled to take on certain masculine characteristics [...] in order to ‘succeed’ as leaders”. Support for the premise can be found, particularly among [...] *écriture féminine* oppression theorists (Dallery 1989:53, Cixous, et. al. 1976). For example, in her famous essay *The Laugh of the Medusa* ([1975] 1976) Hélène Cixous introduces a concept she identified as the “*Logic of Antilove*”. The idea refers to the systematic oppression of women resulting from the prevalence of a culturally dominant hetero-patriarchy. ‘Antilove’ translates into a profoundly personal and persecutorial sense of self-hatred which, by definition, elevates the primacy of the misogynistic tradition while simultaneously denigrating the female sex. At the turn of the twentieth century, feminist author Ethel Snowden assailed the predominant patriarchy of her time for “pressing down ... woman’s personality into one channel” (1913:18). The feminist view is that modern leadership in either of the private or public sectors - including college administrations - is a gendered reflection of androcentric social constructs (Meyer and Ellis 2009, Briton 2000, Eddy and Cox 2008, Katsinas and Kempner 2005, McKenney 2000, Sagaria 1988, Oakley 2000).<sup>60</sup>

According to Anna Wahl (2010:5) the reality of patriarchy, perfectly exemplified in the ‘old boys’ network’ amounts to “the performance of bonding [...] linked to the actions of discrimination [and the] power processes [are] in the actual doings”. Susan O’Shea (2012:plate 3) equates these homophilic networks to “(b)irds of a feather flock(ing) together [or] (t)he extent to which actors form ties with similar versus dissimilar others”. This conceptualization of ‘network’ affiliation and its relationship to intersectionality is explored more fully in Chapter 6. According to O’Shea, networked “(s)imilarity can be defined by gender, race, age, occupation, educational achievement, status, values, or any other salient characteristic”. Various theories of homosociality provide explanations for the reproduction of men’s dominance in management and the exclusion of women”. For example, from an intersectional perspective, the ‘old boys’ network is not simply

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<sup>60</sup> For example, Garza-Mitchell and Eddy (2008:795) conducted a feminist phenomenological study involving a series of semi-structured interviews of mid-level leaders at a medium-sized community college in which the key question was: “what are the career trajectories of midlevel administrators, and what is the influence of gender/gendered leadership on careers?” Their investigation concludes that “the gendered nature of the community college may be a limiting factor for advancement (2008:810).

about the patrilocality of gender discrimination with which aspirants must contend along the path to leadership. It is much more because the network itself, whose vested interest is in its own homologous reproduction, often is populated and propagated through homophilic membership that also frequently happens to be white, middle-class, and heterosexual<sup>61</sup> (Lovett and Lowry 1994, Kanter 1977, Sagaria 2002:697, Smith, et. al. 2004, Stangl and Kane 1991:49-50).

Long-standing and paternalistic 'old boys' networks "... are the primary media for valuable information that is clearly and proximally linked to finite ends ..." (Greenberg 2019:301, Emirbayer, M. and Goodwin, J. 1994, Granovetter 1974). These homophilic networks tend not to restrict acts of gender discrimination to women alone; other men fall victim as well. Hannah, et. al. (2002:39) conducted a phenomenological study of women in Canadian academia and observed "a fascinating dimension of dependence within ['old boys' networks] that often escapes women. The established men quickly work to make the new man dependent upon them." The researchers documented a particular instance of a university president who "became dependent on a select group of individuals who he had come to believe were keeping him aware, defended and protected". Closely aligned with theme of networks and intersectionality inhibiting access to leadership roles, McDonald (2011:317) offers a theoretical "corollary to the old boy networks perspective [...] which suggests that women and minorities are trapped in female and minority-dominated networks that provide access to relatively few labor market resources. Differences in access to these segregated networks could therefore explain a significant portion of the persistent gender and race inequality in labor market outcomes".<sup>62</sup>

Baumgartner and Schneider (2010:561) have noted that women often turn to "the successful women in management for support only to find that it does not exist. This phenomenon has been called the 'queen bee syndrome' [...] or more specifically, when a woman who has made it to the top

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<sup>61</sup> Richard Dyer (1997:25) suggests that "(i)f race is always about bodies, it is also always about the reproduction of those bodies through heterosexuality".

<sup>62</sup> In an earlier qualitative study similar to the one conducted by Garza-Mitchell and Eddy in 2008, Searby and Tripses (2006:45) documented similar struggles women encounter to gain access to and accomplish career progression from within educational administrations. They found that: "Using the 'old boys' network," aspiring male administrators may benefit from support mechanisms in the forms of mentoring and networking provided by experienced male administrators. Women may not be providing the same types of support for aspiring women school leaders".

finds a reason not to help other women ...”, and, in so doing, arguably mimics the masculinist perception of the ‘old boys’ network.<sup>63</sup>

The author’s prior research and lived experience in middle management suggests that the dualistic patriarchal and bureaucratic social structures of the typical Ontario community college administrative environment continues to thrive, albeit without meaningful oversight. Promoted diversity and inclusion policies at the institutional level have neither successfully eliminated nor even significantly diminished these hegemonic practices despite the promotion of neutral hiring practices and professed institutional adherence to a policy of gender and racial equality and inclusion. A common problematic is that, perhaps because of the institutional compunction to literally interpret the strictures of both federal and provincial anti-discrimination legislation and regulatory schemes, “[o]rganizations tend to implement similar practices such as [...] diversity training and networks without much situational specificity. This suggests that there is little variation in diversity management practices as if ‘one size fits all’” (Dennissen, et. al. 2018:2). Connell (2011:11) points out that creating gender parallel diversity policies “risks weakening the equality rationale of the original policy. It forgets the relational character of gender and therefore tends to redefine women and men [...] simply as different market segments for some service. Ironically, the result may be to promote more gender segregation, not less.”<sup>64</sup>

It is a challenging task: striking the balance between strength and caring, team-playing and authoritativeness, distant yet being available to everyone (Guendouzi 2006) - a struggle that tends not to be so consistently imposed upon men (Yonson 2004, Gardiner et. al. 2000, Gupton and Slick 1996, Shepard 2000, Lyman et. al. 2005, Heifetz 1994). Jaffe (2018:np) points out that “[a]s they seek to fit in, [women] feel the stress of having to continually be on guard for cues and pitfalls.

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<sup>63</sup> More of mimesis will be discussed in Chapter 5 but, here mention should be made of qualitative studies in Australia concluding that “because they saw nothing wrong with the current gender practices” (Rindfleish 2000:np) the female leaders who were interviewed had little disagreement with the dissimulative polemics of ardent feminists whilst engaging in the workplace domination of members of their own sex by exhibiting behaviours archetypally characterized by what might be expected from their male counterparts.

<sup>64</sup> It seems clear that gender segregation, where it exists in college administrations, is and remains a patriarchy in which women and men engage in their ordinary struggles and career aspirations along well-trodden and gender segregated paths (Garzia-Mitchell and Eddy 2008, Acker 1990, Eddy and Cox 2008). In this field, the prevailing masculinist point of view represents the low-resolution, ideological standard for work and, not coincidentally, it also happens to be the attitude of employees toward their own managerial roles in the workplace (Garzia-Mitchell and Eddy 2008:796). The identity-heightened nuances of gender and racial intersectionality, for the most part, may be vaguely acknowledged but are largely ignored, especially by career-bound aspirants.

Often this “guarding” can be unconscious and still take a huge toll on women”. When overlaid intersectionalities are considered, the leadership path is noticeably more troubled for women than for men. In 2019, one of North America’s most reputable management consulting firms, McKinsey, and Company, was retained to poll Americans about the current status of the workplace found that black women and women with disabilities fared much worse than men in terms of their perceptions of fairness and equity in their working environments especially in terms of promotions and career advancement opportunities.

## **2.8 Performativity in Gendered Workplaces**

Bureaucracy inevitably entails uniform and consolidative administration. Individual sovereignty is at a low premium in the workplace. Since administrative consolidation is framed by incremental overtones of patriarchy - more palpable as one climbs the hierarchal ladder, it understandably follows that, in terms of career trajectories, leadership assumes gendered convolutions. The compunction to appropriate dominant male identities results in certain masculinized personal narratives and performative traits. Oscar Wilde is reputed to have said that it is a shallow person who fails to judge by appearances. Unsurprisingly, female leadership aspirants often tend to be ‘power-suited’ thereby presenting themselves in a socially constructed bodily hexis that accommodates societal role expectations based in patriarchal essentialisms. “This conceptualization of gender as socially constructed does not, and cannot, deny the specific materiality of the body. This is no antirealist claim that the body only exists in that it is spoken, written, and thought (about)” (Brewis, et. al. 1997:1279). As Butler (1987:138) points out, "... the materiality of the body has come to signify culturally specific ideas". In other words, the body means more than itself. *Businesswoman Media*, (2017:np) is one of many commonplace examples touting the aesthetic importance of “appearance and clothing [which] can have a massive impact on the way people perceive [a female leader]”. According to the analysts, “[t]his is why it is important to dress appropriately with many female bosses opting for power dressing”. Inscription is the mnemonic imprint of what Bourdieu (1977) called the ‘bodily hexis’ or the transubstantiated embodiment of one’s habitus accorded physical expression and enactment in the form of permanent dispositions. In this sense, gender identity narratives and bodily corporealities in a

predominantly neoliberal organizational environment are social facts linked to career ascendancy.<sup>65</sup>

The practice of stereotypical gender nonconformity by women through the strategic importation of masculine aesthetic styles is founded upon binary conceptualizations of maleness and power. The practice brings to mind Halberstam's (1998) definition of 'female masculinity'.<sup>66</sup> It is a rational form of gender construction and self-identity that imbues the individual with a pervasive sense of relational security (Martucelli 2002:230, Roach-Higgins, et. al. 1995, Gonzalez and Bovone 2012). The idea brings to mind Bourdieu's foundational themes of cultural capital (1993:233, 270, fn.24), field (1993: 55-6, 101-2, 162-4) and their relation to the habitus all of which comprise a theoretical framework for the coopted feminist notion of gender capital. Feminists construe gender capital as a subset of social capital that becomes a transactional resource linked to discourses about securing individual welfare and well-being.

Cultural capital, like the accumulation of any other tradeable asset has social and economic value.<sup>67</sup> For example, race and gender are capitals that can be utilized by an individual to demonstrate social competence and status (Everett 2002). Any of these capitals are capable of conversion into power,

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<sup>65</sup> Therefore, the importance of dress in the workplace and the gendering of physical presentation, for example, is this: cultural artifacts reconcile individual agency with social structure. This reconciliation is a condition precedent of self-sustaining reproduction replete with its objective concomitants - not least, white patriarchy. Yet, such a reconciliation harbours an implicit problematic which must be kept in mind. While the essence of Bourdieu's bodily hexis is the individual biological body, that is, the quintessential subject of social action, he accords agents with subjective dispositional control (Bourdieu 2009:21). "Thus, Bourdieu switches from a conception of the subject as a socialized biological individual, to a conception of the subject as someone who can consciously control her/his dispositions" (Belvedere 2013:1098).

<sup>66</sup> Forchtner and Schneickert (2016:296) point out, however, that "[a]lthough strategic action might, if successful, help to improve the individual's position within the social space or a certain field, Bourdieu does indeed not have in mind an intentional and rational strategy of *homo oeconomicus*. As such, strategies are objectively organised without necessarily being subjectively intended (Bourdieu, 1990: 15, 62). Bourdieuan strategies are therefore produced by 'the dialectic between habitus and fields' (Bourdieu, 1988: 147f). The better a habitus fits the requirements of a specific field, for example French *bourgeois* children who, by their very upbringing, almost perfectly fit into the world of the *Grandes Écoles*, the more likely they are to show strategies which are presupposed and successful without being in any way intentional (Bourdieu, 1996b, 2000b). Strategies are thus field-specific and must be analysed accordingly".

<sup>67</sup> It should be mentioned that this premise lacks consensus. For example, Miller (1998:17) writes that "translating a relationship-based concept into the language of the economist has its dangers. One danger is the failure to recognise that social capital is not a commodity in the commonly held commercial sense. We should not treat it as such. It is a durable but fluid set of patterns of community interaction within a complex set of human relationships. Throwing the harsh light of public focus on a fragile but critical part of community building could be contrary to the nurturing process that is necessary for community change. Taking it away from its context divorces it from the very forces with which it needs to be in balance in order to be successfully developed."

position, respect, and financial security. The more capitals one is capable of accumulating, the greater is that individual's overall value in a variety of settings and relationships. It translates into more and larger moves of one's 'token' around the higher education Monopoly<sup>®</sup> board with greater ease and facility. Bourdieu was not preoccupied with the idea of women having the capacity to accumulate, negotiate and convert capital beyond its limited strategic value to them. He thought women could profit from their labour marketability in the event they chose to cultivate attractive physical presentations (Bourdieu 1984:152-153, 206). Feminists, however, see much more social utility in the concept. They argue that white males are the undeniable locus of human capital accumulation which facilitates their entry into and functionality within the bureaucracies characteristic of the management field (Corsun and Costen 2001). Understandably, men set unassailable boundaries around and cling to their symbolic advantage in this field by endlessly validating and reproducing its structural associations; the embodiment of 'old boys' network is a primary example. This advantage engenders male dominance in managerial bureaucracies to the disadvantage of women<sup>68</sup> and other minorities whose intersectionalities inhibit them from competing with men on a level playing field.<sup>69</sup>

The foregoing makes it self-evident that, from a theoretical perspective, career paths within college bureaucracies are gendered. But, in the Ontario college system, the pathway itself is through the structural framework of middle management. To arrive at the top-tier levels of power and authority, one must successfully navigate this strife-riddled interstice between vision and mission in post-secondary education. In this medial field, political intersectionality (among several others) becomes a factor. Sometimes, the path to leadership demands ascription to numerous coalitions among multiple diversity networks to gain the necessary support and advantage in one's leadership stake. Empowerment toward attaining one's career advancement goals may entail negotiation among networks comprised of an ethnic, racial or sexual minority and then adroitly navigating their

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<sup>68</sup> Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010:552) suggest that 'gender capital' which is a feminist extension of Bourdieusian field theory and practice by which "... women have taken on masculine values and utilised masculine tools of power (that is, masculine forms of capital) in 'playing the game' of management fields. Yet some researchers have also found that the value of femininity is increasing in the labour market (for example, Illouz, 1997; Lovell, 2000). It follows that this may also be the case in management fields. [Ross-Smith and Huppatz theorize that] women draw upon distinctive 'female' and 'feminine' resources to achieve and sustain successful management positions [as well as] the profitability of femaleness and femininity in the management field".

<sup>69</sup> A paradox has been found in some women leaders who strategically choose to clothe themselves in the masculinity of power suits, whilst on occasion, simultaneously espousing the polemic of queer feminist liberation or even legal codification arguments. In these instances, the tools of power they wear tend to be viewed by many as gynocidal and their actions ultimately career discomfiting (Modleski 1991).



sometime overlapping intersectional dynamics (Dennissen 2018). Obviously, heightened identity positioning (or what Alvesson and Willmott (2002) term '*identity work*') within the middle management field involves a considerable degree of individual agency most often through discursive narratives. These narratives are used to negotiate upward movement from mid to higher levels of institutional authority (Bamberg 2004, Davies and Harre 1990, Hollway 1984, Wortham 2001) in a manner that navigates individual gender and race identity-heightened constructions amid the invidious dimensions of intersectionality mentioned above (Svening and Alvesson 2003:1165).<sup>70</sup> Examples of systemic discrimination include entrenched managerial practices that disadvantage marginalized individuals and groups.<sup>71</sup>

Evangelina Holvino (2010:248-255) thoroughly documents the contention that the intersection of race and gender evoke long-standing and well-known discourses in feminist theory (Bannerji 1992, McCall 2005, Yuval-Davis 2006). The writings of black, female academics for several decades have been generally considered to be benchmarks providing greater insight for a variety of theoretical models (see: Collins 2000, Kalantzis 1990, Meisenhelder 2000). Even so, with few exceptions (e.g. Bell and Nkomo 1992), conceptualizations focussing on the intersection of race and gender in the context of organizational development are often deprioritized, unacknowledged or occasionally misunderstood (Alderfer 1990). Moreover, white liberal feminists are prone to focus their polemic on the oppressions of gender inequality in white, masculinized neoliberal organizational structures while the unique perspectives of people of colour - especially women in subordinate and often monotonous administrative roles are bereft of the same academic attention (Christian 1987, Crenshaw 1991, DuCille 1994). The resulting paradigm is that organizational racism remains a problematic intersectionality not only when coupled with gender discrimination in a white,

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<sup>70</sup> The middle management field, precisely because of its unique structural niche within an administrative bureaucracy, is the most likely setting for this performative phenomenon. However, the setting itself must be documented using the appropriate ontological 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu 1990, 1989:14) for the socio-analysis of dynamic situations. The approach to empirical investigation should be aligned with Bourdieu's methodology and theoretical premises which, according to Lau (2004:369) tend to be ambiguous but seem "directly opposed to phenomenological social constructivism, though he makes use of several key phenomenological concepts". I apply Bourdieu's theoretical epistemology to the observance of "objective positions of power" (McGuire 2016:325) and distinction in the physical yet inevitably relational social spaces that comprise the medial levels of college administration in Ontario.

<sup>71</sup> They are disadvantaged because some workplace practices continue to be reinforced by long-standing essentialist notions (Sayer 1997, Haslam, et. al. 2000, Oderberg 2008, Keller 2005, Levanon and Grusky 2016). These practices are insensitive to multi-dimensional, workplace intersectionalities (Crenshaw 1989, Zanoni 2010). Structural intersectionalities produce differences in access to influential social networks and they are directly linked to processes of privilege and disadvantage (Dennissen, et. al. 2018:17). Intersectionality refers to variations in identity categories overlooked in structural processes reproduced by androcentrically-based assumptions (Prasad & Mills, 1997) which are essentialist at the core (Sayer 1997, Oderberg 2008).

patriarchal environment but equally so whilst standing on its own as a tool of structural oppression and inequality.

## **2.9 Racial Inequity in the Ontario College System**

The spectre of racism exists as a continuing obstacle to career advancement in Ontario's college system. The findings in Chapter 9 explicate this contention. Racial minorities are found throughout the system's various medial institutional levels in positions supporting those above in the bureaucratic hierarchy. However, as of this writing, and as mentioned elsewhere, it is significant that there are no college Presidents of colour employed anywhere in the Province. Some suggest that structural racism is "regularized and embedded in the social process of the institution, and it is not random" (Li 2020:np). Racism, wherever found, is an intersectional reality. Crenshaw (1989) among several others employed the expression "intersectionality" to highlight society's pervasive discrimination against black women. She showed that the root of intersectional discrimination is not necessarily about being 'black' nor being a 'woman'; rather, it is about being a 'black woman'.

Dennissen, et. al. (2018:2) points out that critical diversity studies theorize intersectionality and inter-subjective identities as "complex and mutually reinforcing or contradicting processes". For example, "[t]he invisibility of gendered ethnic privilege is the normative position, yet to be problematised in many organisational studies [...]. When privileged whiteness is unnamed or ignored, the norms, values and assumptions accompanying whiteness go unquestioned and the ways of whiteness are empowered" (Dennissen 2018:4, Atewologun and Sealey 2014, Rossing 2012, Grimes 2002). Gottfried (1998:4) points out that "inequalities [therefore] persist as a result of an accumulation process in which dominant classes monopolise not only physical capital but also political, symbolic and social capital, loosely corresponding to and operationalised on different fields" including college administrations. Despite legislative and broad-based policy-level attempts at the enforcement of institutional diversity in the college system, intersectionality goes unnoticed

or is largely ignored in the bureaucracy where white patriarchy continues to exist and is reproduced with negative effects on the administrative constituency.<sup>72</sup>

## 2.10 Conclusion

The medial managerial level of the Ontario college system is the discriminatory milieu in which profound power and leadership struggles take place. Embedded legislation and anti-discrimination policies are routinely promoted and enforced provincially, including Ontario college administrations. Here, there is a broad-based, systemic awareness of gender and racial identities beyond one's immediate experience and there are rules against discriminatory or oppressive language and behaviour. However, because legislation, policies and rules are necessarily generic and, to that extent, categorically abstract, they tend to be somewhat distanced from the lived experiences of those individuals most directly impacted by discrimination on an inter-personal level. Dealing with discrimination on a generalized, societal level overlooks a more nuanced and contextualized approach that is required to acknowledge and remedy the oppressions faced singularly by particular individuals in their specific roles in the field rather than an approach that accommodates only their inherent categorizations. It follows that, gender and race intersectionality, for the most part, is not addressed.

Gender and race are intersectionalities that persist in the Ontario college system where Weberian bureaucratic principles of management flourish and where white patriarchy is nurtured, perpetuates, and reproduces itself. Intersectionality is anathema to this form of patriarchy. As Patil (2013:847) observes, "... patriarchy continue[s] to haunt contemporary intersectional

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<sup>72</sup> It is therefore of little surprise that political activist Angela Davis (2019a:np) has been unequivocal and excoriating about the direct linkage between racism and white patriarchy. At a speech given to academics in 2019, she said, "I am someone who tries never to forget about the centrality of capitalism in furthering racism and heteropatriarchy and obviously class exploitation ...". Her view is that higher education must be decolonized, and decolonization must carry a significance and permanence that goes beyond the mere policy level assertion of diversity and inclusion (as suggested through differing theoretical lenses in this dissertation). Moreover, according to Davis (2019b:np) "(b)lack intellectual traditions that stretch back more than a century link feminism, postcolonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism to the very ideas of economy, polity, society – or freedom, justice, abolition and solidarity". This study furthers the discussion by offering narratives and descriptive vignettes from the lived experiences of people of colour working in the Ontario college system. As well, the study includes focussed observations and opinions of their white colleagues, many of whom are fully aware of and, in some cases, uncomfortable with their largely unchallenged and privileged positions in the white hegemony of the institution's corridors and administrative offices.

applications”. Bourdieu’s conceptual tools provide the means to understand the influence of power and its functionality where various constitutive micro-social categories intersect in the bureaucratic field of struggle and how career advancement through middle management in the Ontario college system is impacted as a result. As will be shown in the following Chapters, Bourdieu’s relational paradigm demonstrates how one can be both the beneficiary and the victim of power – on occasion, simultaneously. Various gender and race identity strategies are used to navigate both axes of power with some degree of success amid the male hegemonic forces of patriarchy and neoliberalism at the administrative levels of Ontario college bureaucracies.

Following the next Chapter which concentrates exclusively on the project methodology, the discussion focuses on the layers of bureaucracy found within middle management in college administrations. That will be followed by a detailed description of the middle management ecosystem which characteristically involves general administrative oversight. In general, this internal oversight includes faculty governance and managerial responsibilities regarding support staff, operational facilities, security, student relations and the hundreds of other integral facets of the organization. A significant part of the Chapters following the methodology discussion entail a more detailed theoretical analysis of the typical college administrative hierarchy with specific attention given to middle management and intersectionality in the Ontario college system.

### 3.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents a detailed description of the dissertation methodology. Preference was given to a qualitatively dominant, sequential, mixed methods approach because it is suitably aligned with Bourdieu's philosophy of methodology. A further discussion of the reasons behind this specific methodological choice is discussed here. However, such a discussion would be incomplete without an interpolation of key Bourdieusian theoretical assumptions supporting the decision to employ a polysemic approach to this methodology. His thoughts on methodology are followed by an expanded discussion of the dissertation praxis which includes the concept of pragmatism. The basic idea, introduced in Chapter 1 and explained more fully here, is that knowledge of the phenomena being studied is obtained through practical experience in the field and the mediated relationship between agency and structure - the objective locus of power where the habitus of symbolic dominance is contextualized.

On the other hand Foucault "can be read easily as a postmodernist largely because of his strong ambivalence toward totalizing theories" (Morrow 1994:176) such as the implicit determinisms of Bourdieu's theory of practice. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the tension between the metatheoretical structuralism of Bourdieu and the poststructuralist methodology of Foucault invites a hybridic approach to the dissertation methodology which is discussed further in this Chapter and also in the analysis of the study findings in Chapter 7. Reflexivity is also discussed for two reasons: first, because it represents an occasioned component of interaction and it is a natural concomitant of pragmatism, a topic explored further in this Chapter. Second:

Bourdieu equates reflexive science with an epistemological ethics which is very close to the position Foucault articulates in his essay *'What is Enlightenment?'* For Foucault, the Enlightenment provided scholars with an 'attitude, an ethos ... in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits imposed on us and the experiment with the possibility of going beyond them' (Foucault 1997:319). For Bourdieu, scientific reflexivity performs a similar function because it provides the possibility of an awakening of consciousness (Webb, et. al. 2002:54).

As a theoretical corollary to Foucault's 'ambivalence', Bourdieu's approach to scientific inquiry tended to be somewhat ambiguous when it came to notions of pragmatism, but his theories nevertheless align themselves with notions of how the game is played in the field. The study methodology investigates the dialectical relationship between day-to-day structuration processes and the objective structure in which that complex intersubjective exchange evolves. Accordingly, both quantitative and qualitative data was gathered to inform the reader about the ordinary lived experiences of individuals occupying the workplace field who are compelled to play by and sometimes manipulate the dramaturgical rules of the game (or the 'doxa'). These key concepts are discussed throughout this Chapter and are, in fact, woven into the multi-textured fabric of the sequential, mixed methods research design.

### **3.2 Epistemological Reflection on Bourdieu's Theory of Methodology**

It is self-evident to suggest that theory must be meaningfully aligned with method and its philosophy, both of which must be allied toward producing reliable results and findings. This Chapter introduces and, in some detail, explains the qualitatively dominant, sequential mixed methods design that was developed to collect, analyze, and integrate both descriptive quantitative and qualitative data that were required to acquit the research inquiries. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) note that this type of mixed methods approach is used in numerous and diverse disciplines, including the social sciences, with over 40 variants applied (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009).<sup>73</sup>

The foregoing serves to introduce Bourdieu's reflections on his theory of social science methodology. His is the theoretical rationale for using mixed methods in this thesis, namely that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods is sufficiently effective to fully embrace the philosophical premises underpinning his praxeological theories (Bourdieu 1973, Chamboredon and Passeron 1991). Bourdieu's key theoretical concepts and preferred methodological approach were

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<sup>73</sup> While each one emphasizes different features of the overall typology, depending upon the unique requirements of the research undertaken, it is a fact that they all share a common advantage: expanded parameters by which to understand and corroborate the assemblage of the data obtained. The approach simultaneously mitigates the inherent weaknesses of each method in isolation. Indeed, when used appropriately, there is a synergy between quantitative and qualitative methods that will often result in a more comprehensive analysis (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

the inspiration for the research design of this study (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). However, a number of alternative methodological approaches were adopted for use in the qualitative component to gather and assemble a richly endowed data set. They are explained in this Chapter and in Chapter 7. Together they offer a more nuanced and elevated understanding of both the objective and subjective dimensions of the phenomena studied. From a theoretical perspective, Skeggs (2002:17) points out that:

Methodology is itself theory. It is a theory of methods which informs a range of issues from who to study, how to study, which institutional practices to adopt (such as interpretive practices), how to write and which knowledge to use. These decisions locate any knowledge product within disciplinary practices and enable and constrain engagement with other theoretical [...] debates.

By utilizing qualitatively dominant, sequential mixed methods, an overly dissonant theoretical focus, arguably generated by an excessively objective or subjective reading of the data, is reduced. As a result, complimentary scientific depth and rigour are enhanced.

Bourdieu challenges the researcher to rely upon a self-referential or reflexive approach that “aims at increasing the scope and solidity of social scientific knowledge, a goal which puts it in opposition to phenomenological, textual and other discursive ‘post-modern’ forms of reflexivity” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:37). His unique conception of reflexive sociology - what Lizardo (2004:376) describes as a “creative blend of concepts” - challenges the forced “episteme of representation” that traditionally provides stability to the dualistic separation of subject and object in a “relation of exteriority to each another” (see: Knights 1997, Game 1991).

Instead, Bourdieu (1990) argues that researchers clinging to such antinomies make easy prey for distortion of the sociological endeavour. He concentrates on how knowledge and power occur across space and time, insentient among competing agents and groups, yet operating subtly to enable and facilitate adroit reproduction of themselves and thereby maintaining domination over the dominated in the uniquely differentiated spatial metaphor he termed the ‘field of power’ (1990). Bourdieu was opposed to the dichotomy of subject and object, calling the disjunctiveness “artificial, fundamental and ruinous” (1980). Crotty captures the paradoxical issue when he writes that “[o]ur

research can be qualitative or quantitative, or both qualitative and quantitative, without this being in any way problematic” (Crotty 1998:15). Problems are attenuated by utilizing the Bourdieusian concepts of habitus and field whereby the subjective-objective dichotomy becomes virtually homologous by thinking of it, not in terms of static polarities, but instead an ever-changing and unfolding social process across an ever-shifting and dynamic landscape (Bourdieu 1977:3 and 124).<sup>74</sup>

These are among the most important threshold concepts driving this investigation of the Ontario college system. They comprise the complex, multi-layered interactional patterns of social action producing and reproducing privilege, patriarchy, gender / racial intersectionalities and symbolic domination. They commensurably lend themselves to Bourdieu’s philosophy of methodology which is to “analyze the position of the field within the field of power” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:80-81). This inner field or structured structure is the composite of relational and interest-oriented social action. It embodies the qualities of thinking and methods of communication framed by the habitus. It is reflected as a predisposition, in certain circumstances without conscious awareness, by agents having access to and acting autonomously according to the rules of the game (doxa).

The game is played within the infinity of agentive and habitualized interactions guided by a certain pre-reflexive awareness as each furthers an individual’s virtuosic goals and aspirations within the micro-political economy that comprises the field of power. The project goals, supported by a Bourdieusian methodological praxis are intended to draw attention to the competitive environments in which the various forms of capital - human, social, symbolic and gender capital as examples - are introduced into the play of the game. Field positionality requires the researcher to “map the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete

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<sup>74</sup> In keeping with his philosophical rejection of arbitrary theoretical categories, Bourdieu was always in favour of practicality and at the same time consistently averse to the intellectualist bias of grand theories. In the *Logic of Practice* (1990), for example, his conceptualization of social practices is replete with critiques of both theoretical reason and ivory-towered intellectualism. He has a natural penchant for reasonable, pluralistic visualizations of social practice and he employs everyday analogous comparisons. Indeed, for Bourdieu, “habitus is a kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation” (1998:25). In essence, pragmatic philosophy is understood as a synthesis of common-sense and profound commitment to real-world problem-solving (Creswell and Plano Clark 2003). It attempts to navigate and reconcile the afore-mentioned positivist and anti-positivist viewpoints by postulating that “(a)ny idea upon which we can ride, so to speak; any idea that will carry us prosperously from any one part of our experience to any other part, linking things satisfactorily, working securely, saving labour is true for just so much, true in so far forth, true instrumentally. This is the view that [...] truth in our ideas means their power to ‘work’” (James 1907) .



for legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is a site” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:80-81).<sup>75</sup>

Finally, a Bourdieusian researcher must “(a)nalyze the habitus of the agents and the system of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing (their) social and economic condition(s)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:80-81). Since an agent’s embodied habitus functions at a sub-conscious level, any empirical analysis of its ontology and the further hermeneutic analysis of human system of dispositions and associated “bodily hexis” emergent from the habitus becomes difficult in a research context. The risks most notably include the lack of generalizable data due to the existential possibility of intense subjectivity, which obviously brings into profile the need for the concept of reflexive rigour discussed earlier. An analysis of the habitus embodied in self-identity directs the researcher to examine outward “dispositions” and “bodily hexes” through a detailed semiological analysis of (a) an agent’s language, syntactic means or perhaps lexical units, (b) the expression of one’s thoughts and, (c) to the extent possible in this study, one’s “bodily hexis”. In other words, any unique behaviour rituals, gestures, signs or etiquette of the interviewee exhibited before, during and even after the formal interview (Bourdieu, 1977) represents a valuable physical artifact for analysis.

Habitus as agency is both a relational and contextual concept; it “focuses on how individuals negotiate their positions within society and extra-linguistic social structures, albeit within the frame of their dispositions” (Ngarachu 2014:60). Knowledge construction, meaning and cultural significance are understood through an analysis of how the game is played and the symbolic capital invested in the game by an agent given the game’s doxastic rules. Habitus evaluated in relation to the individual and that person’s habitus can be mediated through what Cillia, et. al. (1999:153) describes as “collective history”. This concept confers analytical significance to an individual’s unique sense of identity but also in relation to a larger context. It addresses the specific, dispositional aspects of one’s social identity which is revealed through “language and other

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<sup>75</sup> Bourdieu cautions the researcher to “remember that ultimately ... objective relations do not exist and do not realise themselves except in and through the systems of dispositions of agents, produced by the internalising of objective conditions” (1968:105). The task focusses upon the extent to which gender - and, more specifically, gender capital - functions within the field of power and the manner in which the phenomenon might be explained utilizing Bourdieu’s relational concepts.

semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed”.<sup>76</sup> The findings in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 offer a sociological portrait of this complex relational paradigm in considerable detail.

It is this ‘unique sense of identity’ through which Bourdieu is aligned with Giddens (1984:22), whose methodological philosophy relating to knowledge construction is that “any social agent has a high degree of knowledge which he invokes in the production and reproduction of daily social practices, but the greater part of this knowledge is practical rather than theoretic”. Bourdieu is concerned with the everyday banalities of this routine knowledge construction which forms the basis of social action. Practice in the field of struggle facilitates the construction of objective relationships, the social dimensions of which are constitutive of the principal focal points of this dissertation. In terms of qualitative methodology, the typical (modern) Bourdieusian approach entails the digital recording and transcribing of “testimonies”, each of which is accompanied by copious field notes that document context not otherwise captured by the interview transcription.

This is normally followed by sociological analysis and interpretation of what Bourdieu terms the “suffering” of his participants. In Bourdieu’s words, “the testimonies given us by men and women concerning their lives and their existential difficulties have been organized so as to obtain [...] as comprehensive a view as the requirements of the scientific method impose on us and permit us to accord them” (Bourdieu et al., 1993:7). It is effectively the “democratization of the hermeneutic posture” (Bourdieu et al., 1993: 923) but without necessarily focussing an explicit sociological lens on the precise methodological indications that would fully highlight the path to more comprehensively articulated sociological intervention and explanation. In this respect, Mayer (1995:369) drily observes that Bourdieu’s “sociology of suffering may well merely reflect the suffering of sociology”.

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<sup>76</sup> It should be pointed out that Bourdieu’s methodological approach represents a cornerstone of this dissertation. The next Chapter details how Bourdieu’s approach was utilized. From gathering the basic demographic data in the field for subsequent analysis of the prevailing power structures, to thematically structured qualitative field work enabling more intensive investigation and analysis of the social construction of relations among agents struggling for position and power in the Ontario college system and, finally, to the detailed analysis of the habitus reflected in each contested field position, Bourdieu’s techniques invariable have been respected. His seminal theoretical works, *Distinction* (1984), *Homo Academicus* (1988) and, to some extent, the *Logic of Practice* (1980) have been the inspiration that have profoundly influenced the choice of methodology; the findings in this study are the product of dedication to the pragmatics of the Bourdieusian episteme.

For reasons which ultimately can be reduced to research pragmatism and practicality underscored by theoretical commensurability, Bourdieu's approach to methodology influenced the grounded research praxis adopted for this dissertation. But what Canadian sociologist Jacques Hamel (1997:108) has identified as Bourdieu's "enterprise of participant objectivization" is certainly not the only approach to knowledge construction and methodological rigour. There are others that were successfully exploited for the qualitative data gathering process in this study. Accordingly, they deserve a brief introduction and discussion below. Perhaps the most significant is derived from the methodological tension that exists between Bourdieu and Foucault. This tension did not go unnoticed; rather, it served to enrich the data set thereby enabling multi-layered observations and insights leading to a greater depth of sociological analysis.

### **3.3 The Tension Between Bourdieu & Foucault**

The notion of "collective history" as a collateral element of knowledge construction, described earlier by Cilia, et. al. (1999), introduces certain methodological conceptualizations shared by Bourdieu and Foucault. Calhoun (2013:29) explains that:

[...] while he was an important master of structuralist analysis, [Bourdieu] rejected the structuralist refusal of history. Bourdieu was not a theorist of deep epistemic ruptures (like Foucault in 1966). Rather he wrestled with the complexities of partial transformation and partial reproduction; with the multiple, ubiquitous temporalities of social life; and with the embeddedness of knowledge itself in historical practice.

Nevertheless, we find theoretical compatibility evident in their ideas about the pervasive and intersectional influence of embedded historicity in everyday discourses.<sup>77</sup> This is especially so when historical influences are implicitly framed by neoliberal constructions propelled by modern, organizational micro-economies. Organizationally, their functionality is based upon the objective structural conditions invariably present in any neo-Marxian, capitalist agenda that undervalues

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<sup>77</sup> "French thinkers like Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu make strong cases [supporting] subjectivity as extensively constructed by social and historical factors that are below the level of consciousness and thus less transparent to phenomenological introspection. They show to an even greater extent than their phenomenological precursor, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, that much of our comportment is already built into our bodies in ways that we do not and perhaps cannot attend to explicitly" (See: Hoy, D. C. (2002:21). *Critical Resistance: Foucault and Bourdieu*. London: Routledge).

individual autonomy and agency. However, Gephart Jr. (1978:557) reminds us that the expression “organization” is itself infused with polysemic connotations and that “[w]e cannot [therefore] assume that conceptions and constructions of the organization are stable or that all participants share them”. Therefore, it is understandable that both Bourdieu and Foucault tend to focus on asymmetrical and shifting power-related structures at the root of all social interaction which, in turn, engages inevitable intersubjective constructions of race, class and gender (Foucault 1993, Bourdieu 2001, Moi 1999, West and Zimmerman 1987, Hammarström and Ripper 1999). Lars Bang (2014:18) reminds us of the observation made by Deleuze (2006:59): to the effect that “power is a relation between forces, or rather every relation between forces is a ‘power relation’” (see: Masquelier 2019, Akram, et. al. 2015, Cronin 1996, Calleweart 2006). But theoretical representations of power, void of empirical research, of the kind employed for this dissertation, are merely schematic designs in grand philosophical architectures left incomplete . Bourdieu was conscious of this problem, and he wrote:

[...] theory without empirical research is empty, empirical research without theory is blind. There would be no need reasserting such truisms if the division between theoreticist theory and empiricist methodology were not sustained by extraordinary social forces: it is in effect inscribed in the very structure of the academic system and, through it, in mental structures themselves. (Bourdieu, 1988:774-775)

Power relations impact qualitative research and this paradigm, in turn, affects subjective identities and knowledge construction within the context of an interview situation, particularly the discourse between participant and researcher. Axel and Hammarström (2008:170 and see Oliver, et. al. 2005) point out that “Foucault was interested in the extent to which discourses permeate society and stressed the importance of uncovering discourses in everyday practices”. The relationship between researcher and subject is not excluded from discursive analysis. For the researcher, this presents an opportunity to reflexively situate oneself in “relation to accessible discourses, [however] when the dominant discourse is seen as too powerful or is not seen at all, the possibilities for positioning oneself and influencing what happens are limited.” As shown below, the impact of this premise is felt in the approaches taken to qualitative data gathering in this study.

Bourdieu adopts a somewhat different approach by focusing on the deterministic inalienability of the habitus, the non-discursive albeit intersubjective intrusion of the bodily hexis (concurrently

driven in large part by the habitus) and relative access to predominantly objectified forms of social and cultural forms of capital.<sup>78</sup> “When habitus encounters the social world that produced it, it is like a ‘fish in water’, but when habitus encounter[s] an unfamiliar social world, it can change and transform” (Hammarström 2008:170-171 and see Reay 2004). For Foucault, the corpora of the underlying power differential (to the extent that it exists) is discursive and explicit. It is no less than “a dynamic of control and [or] lack of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents.” But, for Bourdieu (1997:107), “Foucault’s analysis of power, which, observing [these] microstructures of domination and the strategies of the struggle for power, leads to a rejection of universals and in particular of the search of any kind of universally acceptable morality.”

Foucault, on the other hand, sees “power as being exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects” (Weedon 1987:113 and see Diamond and Quinby 1990). Michael Olsson (2007:220-224) suggests that, in this context, knowledge construction *per se* is not necessarily based upon any particular positivist correspondence with what Bourdieu would likely characterize as objective structures in the field. Neither is it purely subjectivist and existential. Rather it is a potentially power-infused, intersubjective communality of meaning, i.e., the interpretive, sense-making processes in which engaged “members will have a set of conventions or *discursive rules* — either formal or implicit but widely recognized within the community — [that] not only shape the [...] discourse but also, more fundamentally, they dictate what can be said [and meaningfully understood] in the context of that discourse”. As Dewey ([1938]1991:68) pragmatically observed decades ago:

[E]very cultural group possesses a set of meanings which are so deeply embedded in its customs, occupations, traditions and ways of interpreting its physical environment and group-life, that they form the basic categories of the language-system by which details are interpreted.

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<sup>78</sup> Bourdieu writes: “In short, the strategies of agents and institutions engaged in literary and artistic struggles are not defined by a pure confrontation with pure possibles. Rather they depend on the position these agents occupy in the structure of the field [...] that is in the structure of distribution of specific capital) [...] But, conversely, the stakes of the struggle between dominants and pretenders [...] depend on the state of the legitimate problematic, that is the space of the possibilities bequeathed by previous struggles” (1992: 195–206).

Bourdieu, however, understands the same structural dynamic as the conveyance of a more deterministic, intersubjective fate: one that is context-driven, multi-dimensional, ever-implicit and always relational. Schmitz, et. al. (1996:49-50) goes further to suggest that “[t]he fundamental philosophy of ‘methodological relationism’ has not been systematically applied, of all things, to a core element of Bourdieu’s theory of society which basically is a theory of power relations [i.e.,] a relational approach to the field of power [that] is essential for theorizing the relation between (a) fields and (b) fields and the social space”. Bourdieu’s particular theorization of methodological relationism, put simply, is that “the stuff of social reality . . . lies in [objective] relations” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:15).

In practical terms, Bourdieu, in effect, rejects ontological notions of discursive representationalism and by implication, he also eschews Foucault’s somewhat more abstract theory of locating ‘truth’ claims as the effects of knowledge production or discourse, the more-or-less exclusive repository of meaning. Nevertheless, Kivinen and Piironen (2006:13), citing Jeffrey Alexander (1995) make the point that “metatheoretically Bourdieu is still a realist seeking the ‘real truth’”. In the final analysis, “[t]he two authors’ approaches are therefore heterogeneous and could be crudely described as methodologically ‘positive’ in Foucault’s case and methodologically ‘negative’ in Bourdieu’s case, with the former epistemologically based on a ‘political history of the truth’ and the latter concerning a struggle within the social sciences” (Laval 2017:70). As mentioned in the Introduction to this Chapter, an analysis of the study findings reflects this methodological tension between Bourdieu and Foucault. Accordingly, this specific topic is revisited with greater depth in Chapter 7, where it is contextualized by the study findings. Gender and racial based praxis models, inclusive of Bourdieu and Foucault, are examined in detail thereby offering an innovative articulation of both complimentary and contrasting approaches to the analysis of the study findings.

### **3.4 Pragmatism & the Choice of Sequential Mixed Methods**

The abductive and teleological characteristics of research-by-design - of which the methodology of the dissertation is an example - are suitably allied with the analytical logic of pragmatism, in other

words the practical social philosophy of panoptically resourced “knowledge-building’ (Servillo and Schreurs 2013:358). “Research by design is a type of academic investigation through which design is explored as a method of inquiry, by the development of a project and also exploring the different materials by which a design is carried out” (Roggema 2016:3). Accordingly, the decision to pursue research using a qualitatively dominant, sequential mixed methods platform was derived from the straight-forward pragmatic recognition of the advantages and disadvantages of both qualitative and quantitative praxes and the desire to integrate the data collected through the inter-related design of the surveys and interviews.

Acknowledgment is accorded to the inevitable design trade-offs of each approach. The goal was to render the results generalizable and useful beyond the parameters of the study itself. As suggested earlier, constructivist methodology (i.e., qualitative research) is inductive; it starts from an outward perspective and works its way inward. Drawbacks include the potential for methodological error and latent subjectivity that can create researcher bias affecting reliability and possibly the validity of the results. However, Hussein, et. al. (2014) points out that reflexivity in parallel with a mixed methods research design enhances corroboration of the resulting artifact. The diverse methodology designed for this project is well-integrated with the multi-layered social realities explored throughout this dissertation. This ‘pragmatic’ approach considers and analyzes habitus and agency in terms of both the conscious and the unconscious, namely the diachronic and synchronic dialectic “between localised sequential causality and the wider processes of structural causality” (Potter 2000:242). Post-structuralist and grounded theory precepts served to enrich and enhance the qualitative data gathering process with positive results. Foucault’s idea of resistance to the incursion of power assisted in shaping my understanding of how nurturing behaviours in the workplace can represent passive compliance but also the power that is attendant on positional and integral influence within an organizational hierarchy. I explore this topic further in Chapter 8 where I examine the malleability of nurturing and its role in chameleonic practice. Grounded theory opened explorative possibilities in both theory and methodology infused with a pragmatic sense of ‘whatever works’ as the investigative guide. The foundation and particular mechanisms of this approach are discussed further in this Chapter as well as Chapters 7.11 and 10.4.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:41) view pragmatism as primarily concerned with “the consequences of research, on the primary importance of the question asked rather than the

methods, and on the use of multiple methods of data collection to inform the problems under study”. Pragmatism is the philosophical foundation of both quantitative and the above-mentioned qualitative research methodologies used in this dissertation. A pragmatic researcher adopts whatever paradigm works best to achieve the exploratory goals of the project (Creswell and Poth 2018). It is an increasingly popular approach to field work that emphasizes mixed methods research and “sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality” (Feilzer 2010:8) by “focus[ing] instead on ‘what works’ as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation” (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003:713).<sup>79</sup> In fact, a commensurable alliance exists between pragmatism and mixed methods research (Bogusz 2009, Datta 1997, Maxcy 2003). The conceptual framework of the alliance is based upon (a) practicality, (b) contextual awareness, and (c) self-aware conclusions based upon (d) real-world consciousness. Each one of these heuristics is briefly explained below:

### **(a) Practicality**

A ‘practical’ approach neatly “sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality, [and] accepts, philosophically, that there are singular and multiple realities [...] open to empirical inquiry [which] orients itself toward solving practical problems in the ‘real world’” (Feilzer 2009:3). Being fully aware of the multidimensional social context of the research presumes that existential reality is a measurable, experiential world characterized by several different elements - some of which are objective, others subjective, and others amounting to an uncertain and ambiguous conflation of both (Feilzer 2009:4). This *a priori* assumption naturally calls for a multi-dimensional approach to methodology. Practicality involves an element of ratiocination and systematic consideration of the foregoing in the design of the project in addition to a balanced consideration of the outcomes that are likely achievable and determinable (Datta 1997:35).<sup>80</sup> Gender and racial intersectionality is a

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<sup>79</sup> In support of the foregoing, Adu points out that “(p)ragmatists focus on evaluating existing models, theories, paradigms and research methods and selecting appropriate ones for their inquiry” (2019:3). Almost always, the praxis incorporates “a continuous cycle of abductive reasoning guided primarily by a subjective and reflexive desire to produce a socially useful contribution to knowledge” (Hanson, et. al. 2005:18). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) summarize the pragmatic approach by urging the researcher to “consider the options for use of worldviews and choose which option makes the most sense given the researcher’s beliefs and the audience for their mixed methods study” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:279-280).

<sup>80</sup> Datta (1997:36) suggests that these issues necessarily involve a decision about the quality and nature of any “salient evaluation” which in turn involves a rational assessment of the investigatory approaches required to achieve the desired outcomes.



real-world phenomenon constructed by agents daily in the multidimensional social context of the Ontario college system. A practical, multi-dimensional methodology is useful to explore the ensuing dialectical entanglements by first engaging in field investigation and then iteratively developing the empirical themes that shape the formative concepts necessary to affirmatively integrate the theoretical architecture of Pierre Bourdieu.

### **(b) Contextual Awareness & Reflexivity**

Contextual awareness or “participant objectivation” (Bourdieu 1978) evokes Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). His work positions the researcher amid the specific determinisms of the self and one’s own origins and predilections. To that extent, Zienkowski (2017:2 and see: Foucault 1978, 1979, 1982, 1984, Pagis 2019, Tsekeris and Katrivesis 2008, Giddens 1993) cautions that:

[R]eflexivity is not ideology-free. It may operate as a highly ideological term that allows researchers to deal with questions of bias and subjectivity. Researchers who produce reflexive discourse about their research practices often engage in apologetic discursive strategies that allow them to articulate specific socio-ideological stances while simultaneously boosting the validity of their research. Reflexivity is not the same thing as transparency though. All reflexive articulations of sociopolitical stances are mediated through discursive patterns that give reflexivity a myriad of ideological flavours. This reason alone already warrants a more extensive discussion of the concept of reflexivity in the field of discourse studies.

Given the foregoing, one is reminded never to lose sight of how qualitative and quantitative methods should be properly integrated into an appropriately designed research methodology.<sup>81</sup> As

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<sup>81</sup> Throughout his career Bourdieu, drawing on both Marx and Althusser (Grenfell 2014:24), was resolute about eschewing scientific presuppositions in research. He insisted on the need for ‘reflexive scientificity’ (Robbins 2005), the notion that a researcher must be aware of his or her own ontological assumptions within the cultural context in which they are made in order to better understand the phenomena being investigated. One’s historicity influences even more scientifically rigorous perceptions of reality. As Maton (2003:57) describes it, the goal is to examine the relationship among the Known, the Knower and Knowledge. This more relational means of understanding the external world typically stands mediated between the oppositions of the subjectivist theoretical tenets of traditional European sociology and the apparent objectivity of the  $p < 0.05$  criterion in any statistical paradigm or methodological assumption in data analysis (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Shusterman 1999, Calhoun, et. al. 1993, Jain 2013). There are several approaches. Regardless of the approach chosen, epistemic reflexivity in practice is a dimension of personal introspection that propagates transformative change (Archer, 2012, Alexander 2017, Bendixen and Rule 2004).

implied by Zienkowski above, researcher agency in the field can be intrusive and narcissistic; both lose importance in Bourdieu's reflexivity paradigm. He contends that the researcher must concentrate on an external and often a culturally, socially, and intellectually detached perspective.<sup>82</sup> Self-critical awareness and a detached understanding of the social processes<sup>83</sup> that represent otherwise neatly concealed, relational "sources of power" can result in social change.<sup>84</sup>

Reflexivity compels a self-aware, contextual historicity (Lambert, et. al. 2010) and an "analytic attention to the researcher's role in qualitative research" (Gouldner 1971:16 citing Dowling 2006). It is both personal and processual, involving a prodigious measure of singular introspection about how subjectivity impacts the research process. "It is a continuous process of reflection by researchers on their values (Parahoo, 2006) and of recognizing, examining, and understanding how their social background, location and assumptions affect their research practice" (Hesse-Biber 2007:17). One is reminded of the observation made by Judith Butler (2005:20):

When the "I" seeks to give an account of itself, it can try to start with its own singular past and origins, but it will find that this self, both as a narrating vehicle and as a subject to be narrated, is already implicated in the social temporality that exceeds its own capacities for narration; indeed, when the "I" seeks to give an account of itself, an

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<sup>82</sup> Moreover, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:72), "[o]ne is better off knowing little things about many people, systematically bound together, than everything about an individual." Reflexivity transcends the self-indulgent imprecision of bourgeois self-awareness. It is inward-looking and contextually sensitive.

<sup>83</sup> A more 'literal' understanding of 'social processes' is held by Clifford Geertz (1973, 1983) who "viewed culture as an assemblage of texts, the stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures that enable a society to exist as more than just an aggregate of individuals. Geertz' semiotic approach foregrounded the social dimension of cultural knowledge and practice, viewing culture as grounded in social processes and relationships"(Inghilieri 2005:131). However, Bourdieu would likely argue that this metaphorical relationship between culture and texts (or public symbols) as a model for reality "is an all too generic representation of the 'native', whose point of view is so central to his interpretive enterprise. Ultimately this approach does not [as Bourdieu would have it] situate 'experience-near' categories in the lived experience of the individuals who draw from those selfsame categories, thereby serving to occlude the often-variegated organization of cultural resources in the life-worlds of particular culture bearers" (Throop and Murphy 2002:200). In this respect there may be a degree of theoretical overlap (which Bourdieu downplayed [2000:81-2]) with Husserl who suggested that 'lived experience' "and the objective moment constituted in it, may become 'forgotten'; but for all this, it in no way disappears without a trace; it has merely become latent. With regard to what has been constituted in it, it is a possession in the form of a habitus, ready at any time to be awakened anew by an active association . . . The object has [therefore] incorporated into itself the forms of sense originally constituted in the acts of explication by virtue of a knowledge in the form of a habitus" (Husserl, 1973 [1948]: 122, and see: 1965, 1993 [1929]).

<sup>84</sup> An exposition revealing, for everyone to see, "the reasons that explain social asymmetries and hierarchies can itself become 'a powerful tool to enhance social emancipation" (Navarro 2006:15-16). It is especially the case with regard to this study because of the obvious shared homologies between the researcher's own self-identity, yet theoretically unaware the discrepancy between one's own historicity inevitably entwined with an abstract, 'scholastic point of view' and the practical reality of the phenomena being researched.

account that must include the condition of its own emergence, it must, as a matter of necessity, I want to suggest, become a social theorist.

Further, Brummans (2015:70) suggests that “[b]y disregarding the constitutive relationship between what we do and the spaces we enact, we, in turn, create academic universes in which it is difficult to battle “the bewitchment of our intelligence”. In other words, researchers must reflect on relationships possessing “ontological complicity” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:20) with the academic fields of work. Durkheim said as much when, in Cartesian fashion, he assailed researchers to engage in the “systematic rejection of preconceptions” (Durkheim 1966:32). While reflection about academic practices cannot be under-estimated (Tatli 2015, Hardy and Clegg 1997, Hardy, Phillips, and Clegg 2001, Weick 1999, 2002) reflection by itself is quite distinct from reflexivity (Weick 2002); it is not a matter of simply reflecting upon and then categorizing and rejecting one’s own biases and ingrained points of view, or what Sharrock and Anderson have identified as the “egological perspective” (1986:35). Instead, it involves “the systematic exploration of the ‘unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought’ [...] as well as guide the practical carrying out of social inquiry (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:40).<sup>85</sup> The self in relation to the human phenomena - the essential cognitive map of reflexive deliberation - being studied must always be understood contextually, by considering both socio-cultural and individual psychological processes in relation to each other (Britzman 1998).<sup>86</sup>

In his book, *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), C. Wright Mills forcefully espoused the idea above as foundational - the *sine qua non* obligation of sociological research and methodology. Contextual awareness, in his view, is always an unassailable predicate, essential to “grasp what is going on in the world” (Selwyn 2017:234, Mills 1959:7). He insisted that “social science should be pursued with

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<sup>85</sup> Keeping in mind Bourdieu’s idea of relationality always framing the scope of inquiry, the researcher must acknowledge that one’s own subjectivity is comprised of a historical and situational context that exists in relation to the constantly evolving processes of the phenomena being studied (Blunt and Rose 1994, Keith, and Pile 1993, Pink 2001) so that any pragmatic notion of ‘real identity’ or ‘true self’ is illusory. Pink (2001:21) suggests that the “self is never fully defined in any absolute way, [...] it is only in specific social interactions that the [...] identity of any individual comes in to being in relation to the negotiations that it undertakes with other individuals”.

<sup>86</sup> The highly subjective nature of qualitative research tends to eschew standardized procedures. Context-based qualitative research involves a certain degree of “reciprocal influence among researcher, participants and the phenomenon of study” (Adu 2019:6). The impact of the researcher is present and the interactional and constructional nature of the epistemological process is both existential and evident. Both subjectivity and positional reflexivity tend to influence the epistemic activity. Nevertheless, qualitative research as a component of a larger design can and does produce viable results provided the researcher is aware of, identifies and reports the potential impact of these influences (Atkinson and Coffey 2002:812).

the aim of contextualising' insistent human troubles [...] within the historical development of social structures. Gaining a sense of this bigger picture will, therefore, lead to better understandings of how the predicament of specific individuals relates to the predicaments of others" (Selwyn 2017:234). From a doctrinal perspective, it follows that:

First and foremost, *The Sociological Imagination* stresses the need to make sense of the different social conditions and contexts that people find themselves located within. Mills wrote much about the social 'milieu'– i.e., the people and institutions with whom an individual interacts, and the wider cultures within which they are socialised. The social milieu can be understood through a number of different lenses (Selwyn 2017:234).

This pivotal concept, shared by Bourdieu and Mills, inspired the entire methodological praxis of this study. The obvious, pragmatic reasoning is that a "plurality of perspective" (Selwyn 2017:235) inevitably lends itself to a more an existential awareness of the wider social forces impacting on the research paradigm that results in a more credible presentation and more fully developed analysis of the data gathered. In qualitative research great importance is placed upon the credibility of the researcher's work. Credibility means that the researcher is able to produce reliable and defensible findings (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008). Nietzsche held the view that truth does not exist, only interpretations – if so, all the more reason to suggest that predictive reliability and validity are essential to any meaningful interpretation of the data collected. Although there are arguments about what these terms actually mean in an objective sense (Fetters and Molina-Azorin 2016, Hammersley 2008, Koopmans 2017), the traditional view is that, in the framework of qualitative methodology, 'validity' means credibility and authenticity of the researcher's work (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), plausibility (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and, in the end result, accuracy of the researcher's conclusions in terms of their predictive value (Hammersley 2000).

It should be pointed out that *contextual awareness*, in the sense understood by both Bourdieu and Mills, is not necessarily inconsistent with the methodological approaches implicit in grounded theory and symbolic interactionism discussed in the analysis of the study findings in Chapter 7. In fact, one might locate a certain integrative commensurability:

Our view is that through a process of symbolic interactionism, in which generations of researchers interact with their context, moments are formed, and philosophical perspectives are interpreted in a manner congruent with GT's essential methods. We call this methodological dynamism, a process characterized by contextual awareness and moment formation, contemporaneous translation, generational methodology, and methodological consumerism (Ralph, et. al. 2015b:1).

The last mentioned phrase 'methodological consumerism' refers to the dynamic process involved in adopting novel, pluralistic approaches to constructivist methodology in the social sciences. The process of inductive logic tends to give birth to especially non-singular and fertile results when the paradigmatic bedrock of the phenomenological investigations is grounded theory. As Strauss and Corbin (1994:283, see Ralph, et. al. 2015:1) suggest: No inventor has permanent possession of the invention [...] a child once launched is very much subject to the combination of its origins and the evolving contingencies of life. Can it be otherwise for a methodology?"

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, from a Canadian perspective, Mills' work has been generally regarded as nothing more than "optimally marginal" (McLaughlin 2004:94) with "many limitations" (Smith, et. al. 1978:i) and traditionally situated in a position of second place to more "innovative thinkers" (McLaughlin 2004:94) such as Canada's John Porter. The principal academic criticism of Mills is that: "He [had] honed his writing to appeal to a mass audience. And his message grew more and more radical" (Palmer 2015:np). That being said, Canada's Neil McLaughlin at McMaster University, has observed that there is "nothing wrong with a little of the C. Wright Mills populism and radical rejection of disciplinary orthodoxies that has always been so important in the history of the discipline, as well as serious attempts to follow various "cultural" and "historical" approaches so influential today" (2004:87). The unfortunate fact is that, historically, at least in Canada: "No one was happy with Mills' [writings] not liberals, not journalists, certainly not most sociologists, and not even most Marxists" (Dumhoff 2007:21) whose leftist political views Mills came to respect. More recently, Canadian sociologist, John Frauley (2017:316), reflecting on Mills' work, acknowledges that, in this Country:

There is no doubt that there are power struggles and a politics at work within and between the fields of social science scholarship. However, even if disciplinary boundaries did not exist and we were to have what Mills envisioned as "social studies", there is likely to still persist a struggle over capital (as described by Bourdieu 1981, 1986, 1991, 1994) and a politics of truth (as described by Foucault 1980) given the different motivations to

engage in social science and the different objectives and uses of social science scholarship.

While a more extensive exploration of Mills' *oeuvre* including his deserved place in the current architecture of Canadian sociology is beyond the purview of this dissertation, most readers will acknowledge that the debate makes for a stimulating discussion worth further investigation and scholarly comment.

### **(c) Epistemic Self Awareness & Decolonial Feminism**

The concept of reflexivity explains and lays open for closer examination pre-existing assumptions. In a relational sense this author's sustained engagement with social phenomena became shaped and shaped by his own habitus. As noted earlier, like the vast majority of the study participants, the author is white, of Anglo-European origin, well-educated, financially capable, and stereotypically Canadian<sup>87</sup>. For a white Canadian of ordinary socio-economic status, the purchase of a box of Band-Aids© that says 'skin colour' carries the hidden assumption that, without really thinking about it, the purchaser will find that the colour approximately matches stereotypically white skin melanin. This seemingly mundane assumption, for some, reinforces the postcolonial notion of hegemonic whiteness with which, by appearances, many are imbued. The author identifies as male - a

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<sup>87</sup> Of course, this raises the question of what it means to be 'stereotypically Canadian'. The answer engages an ontological examination of Canadian identity construction. Stark and Arcand (2019: np) point out that "the mechanisms of western hegemony serve to reinforce the superiority of the colonizer, maintaining a dichotomy between "us" and "them," and that these mechanisms exist not only within institutions and society but in thought and language [...] We suggest that such a dichotomy is at work in this resource in the way that [...] Canadians are physically positioned ...". In other words, the English linguistic and cultural hegemony that has traditionally defined Canada (notwithstanding the vigorous promotion of its own, vaunted multi-culturalism) has notable Eurocentric roots with particular emphasis on the British colonization of Canada in the 1800s. The people of Quebec and Canada's Aboriginal populations may very well hold differing perspectives. A more visceral conceptualization of Canadian identity is advanced by Kennedy, et. al. (2019:189-190) who theorize 'hockey' as a unifying, Durkheimian metaphor that connotes the mark of Canadian distinctiveness. It is a totem for Canadian culture. They theorize that hockey embodies the British colonial experience in the expression of which "Canadians must exhibit the masculine qualities of courage, strength, self-reliance, and perseverance to endure bitterly cold temperatures and snow (see Allain, 2011; Vincent & Crossman, 2015)". Hockey is a source of "nationalistic pride while simultaneously facilitating the construction of national identity (Allain, 2011, 2016; Barrer, 2007; Elcombe, 2010). In other words, hockey is more than a sport, it is an indicator of citizenship (see also Szto, 2016), something that identifies one as Canadian and not something or someone else".

constructivist characteristic shared with approximately 36% of the project participants - the existential product of a multi-layered fabric of social conditions almost identical to those observed in the project field. The assumptions buried in the habitus of whiteness were taken-for-granted to the point of not only being unconscious of them but also being comatose to that fact. Hence, the importance of epistemic self-awareness; it was not until the answers to the survey's open-ended questions revealed themselves and the candid, sometimes oppressively gendered voices of the people interviewed for the study were heard and recorded that a considerable degree of 'personal consciousness raising' became a self-evident ethical obligation (Henderson, et. al. 1996). Sterier (1991:245) suggests that the core of reflection (reflexivity) consists of an interest in the way we construct ourselves socially while also constructing objects in our research, for without construction, and without constructing and constructed self, there is no meaning".<sup>88</sup> A powerful awareness of deeply problematic gender and race relations together with their implicit inequalities became stark and real. These themes systemically impacted the managerial social networks in place across all the colleges investigated and which had hitherto gone unnoticed.

For example, Inken Carstensen-Egwuom (2013:267, quoting Haraway 1991:189) discusses epistemic self-awareness as both situational and positional, instantiated through a modernized, decolonialized and reflexive approach to modes of scientific investigation. The author writes that "reflexivity connects with the movement of Black Feminist Theory and hence with the development of the concept of intersectionality." This necessarily provokes researcher awareness of lived black experiences and the critical black voices (e.g., Hill Collins 2000 [1990] and Crenshaw 1989, 1991) who call out "the implicit generalization of white-masculinist, seemingly 'neutral' social sciences and the 'god-trick' of seeing everything from nowhere." This quasi-numinous and reflexive awareness of the largely Eurocentric narcissism implicit in the investigative "condition of detached alterity" (Kobayashi 2003:348) influenced this study's mode of sociological inquiry. Not less so was the need to recognize the negative social effects of a tradition of imperialism and the "work of epistemic decolonization necessary to undo the damage wrought by both modernity and by understanding modernity/coloniality only as modernity" (Bhambra 2014:118). Minoso (2020:np) argues that:

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<sup>88</sup> It follows that any reflective account necessarily "turns attention inwards towards the person of the researcher" (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2000:5). Accordingly, I began to realize that I had perennially taken for granted my own stratified white, male, upper middle-class privilege and, in a Foucauldian sense, the power vested simply in that taken-for-grantedness (Deetz 1992:77).

Decolonial feminism, while recovering previous critical currents, such as Black feminism, feminism of colour, postcolonial feminism and also French materialist feminism and post-structural feminism, advances by questioning the unity of 'women' in a way [...] so new and so radical that it is impossible to reconstitute it again [...] its complicity with the decolonial commitment undertakes the task of reinterpreting history with a critical look towards modernity, not only because of its androcentric and misogynist character, as classical feminist epistemology has showed, but due to its intrinsically racist and Eurocentric nature.

Through engagement with the interview participants, the silent voice of liberatory, subaltern resistance solidified into an attitudinal compass reset especially by readings of Catherine Hall's (1992) *'White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History'*, Richard Dyer's *"White"* (1997) and Otegha Uwagba's (2020) book, *"Whites on Race and Other Falsehoods"*. In particular, the last section of Hall's book was stark by the manner in which the intersectionalities of race and gender identities were examined from a feminist perspective. Her compelling exploration of the strategies by which 19th-century males exercised unchallenged dominance over structural subordinates, whether black or female triggered a new understanding of the larger significance of this doctoral study. Reading, coding and re-reading the transcripts from the interviews laid bare the reality that now, in the 21st century, despite laws, regulations, policies, programs and ostensibly meritocratic-based promotion protocols espousing principles of diversity and inclusion, little, really, has changed.<sup>89</sup>

The author's graduate studies in business influenced the notion that neoliberal conceptualizations of modern managerialism – even in public institutions – are influenced by capitalist patriarchy. The insights gained through concerted readings of Billings' work and other leading feminist scholars (including but not limited to McNay 1999, Huppertz 2012, Adkins 2004, Reay 1997 and Skeggs 1997) provided a feminist theoretical lens (Coleman 1990) with which to view the social fabric of a typical

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<sup>89</sup> Some argue that the vaunted equities of diversity, inclusion and social justice are polarized, institutionally aleatoric and, in reality, anti-meritocratic because, operationalized, they tend to relegate to relative unimportance any semblance of individualism (Marshall and Swift 1993, Mulligan 2019, Rawls [1999] 1971:86-92, McNamee and Miller 2004, Schweiger 2014). A typical college bureaucracy in Ontario is simply an updated sandbox in which Bourdieu's field games are played and the micropolitics of intersectionality are the take-aways for the marginalized minorities routinely unsuccessful at playing the game. Essentially, when juxtaposed, the words 'diversity' and 'inclusion' are oxymoronic; while one ostensibly extols difference, the other effectively eradicates it.



college bureaucracy. It was a unique perspective - discursively foreign in a masculinist simulacrum (Huey and Berndt 2008) - that had never before been truly noticed nor considered in any serious manner. Prior field work added greater precision and depth to the perspectives on gender inequality presented in this study.<sup>90</sup>

#### **(d) Real World Consciousness**

Real world consciousness is based upon the dynamic and relational processes involved in playing the existential game. The researcher must be able to explain, in concrete terms, the processual dialectic between objective structures and subjective phenomena and how internalized dispositions produced and evolving in the habitus ultimately affect objective structures. Bourdieu understood this process as constructivist or generative structuralism (Aldouri 2019, Harker, et. al. 1990), in other words, the “operational materialization of the relational mode of thinking which characterizes his generative structuralism” (Vandenberghe 2019:46). For Bourdieu, this bridge-building is essential because, in Ritzer’s words (2003:37), “the study of objective structures [...] cannot be separated from mental structures that, themselves, involve the internalization of objective structures (and) Bourdieu builds bridges between structuralism and constructivism”. Bourdieu puts it this way: “Theory, as a system of signs organized to represent, through their own relations, the relation among the objects is a translation or, better, a symbol linked to what it symbolizes by a law of analogy” (Bourdieu 1968:689).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> It was when I became aware of Bourdieu’s theoretical work that my attraction to European theoretical sociology occurred. Regrettably, Bourdieu’s attitude toward the role played by women in society was not altogether different from the tenets of traditional Parsonian structural functionalism. However, reading Bourdieu’s work more generously and adding feminist scholarship that has been solidly built upon Bourdieu’s key theoretical concepts, I came to what could be described as a secular epiphany (Kearney 2015) concerning the relational nature (Mohr, 2013) of bureaucratic managerialism and the often-intersectional paths one must forge to organizational leadership. This inspired my interest and passion in pursuing the predominant themes of this thesis and my journey of epistemic discovery and devotion to the completion of this dissertation.

<sup>91</sup> Kogler (1997) critiqued Bourdieu’s ability to translate his sociology into frames of reference that could be understood by ordinary people or how sociology might assist in their understanding of the real-world phenomena by which they are assailed everyday. Real world conclusions are a necessary function of critical sociology, in other words the utilization of a methodology to obtain appropriate data for analysis and with which to provide the public with meaningful, real-world solutions. Cooper (2012:82) sees “[t]he formulation of a critical and reflexive understanding of the conditions in which sociological work is produced [as] an increasingly difficult if still important task”. This approach is the idea behind the methods selected for this study. Bourdieu was among the most abstract of theorists but that does not detract from the grounding of his ideas in diverse areas of sociological enterprise in which he investigated a broad, interdisciplinary canvas of political and social issues.

In 2017, the author conducted a mixed methods investigation of similar gender topics. Following statistical and qualitative analysis, the conclusion was that that “while [Yvonne Due Billing’s] “phantom” may be present in the Canadian cultural fabric its presence and impact upon managerialism is not felt to any significant degree at [the college where the author is employed in a managerial position]” (Gasparini 2017: 73-74). This was, in fact, an (erroneous) expectation of the results thought to be found going into the preliminary research for this dissertation. The author’s earlier research concluded with recommendations for further exploration and suggested a similar but larger scale project across the Province of Ontario. With this dissertation, the challenge of the author’s own recommendation was taken-up. Armed with Bourdieu’s theory of practice and the aligned considerations discussed above forming the backbone of further engagement with the phenomena, the development of the methodological approach to data gathering and analysis on a large geographic scale began - namely, the middle management sector of the community college system across the entire Province of Ontario. A fully detailed mapping of the physical size and scope of the study is presented in Schedule ‘K’, Section V of this thesis.

### **3.5 Bourdieu’s ‘Social Praxeology’**

Clare Rigg (2014:6) offers a suitable working definition of the praxeological method: “Praxeology is grounded in lived experience just as action research is grounded in the lived experience of the researcher and the research participants. Action research shares the praxiological axiom that the point of understanding and interpreting the world is to change it”. Everett (2002:60) refers to “Bourdieu’s ‘post-positivist sociology’ (Wacquant, 1993, p. 125), or, as Bourdieu would prefer, his ‘constructivist structuralism’ (Bourdieu, 1990a) [as] ‘social praxeology’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 11). The product of much empirical research and reflection, these concepts, or temporary constructs (ibid., p. 161) include among others field, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence”. According to Everett (2002:70), the methodological polytheism involved is inevitably:

[b]ased on an ‘objectivity of the first order.’ This reading examines the distribution of material resources, determinant relations, and the species of capital in a field. It takes as its focus that which can be observed, measured, and mapped. In conducting such a

reading, it is usual to think in terms of two moments of analysis: power analysis and relationship mapping (Wacquant, 1989, p. 40; see Grenfell & James, 1998, for examples of field analysis).

To achieve this paradigmatic duality, a sequential mixed methods but qualitatively dominant approach was designed and constructed to compare and analyze (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002) specific intersectionalities in the middle managerial levels of the Province's college system. Also examined are the objective structures in the system that structure the play of the game within the administrative bureaucracies of every college achieved by using a mixed methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) research design. "Mixed methods research involves collecting, analyzing, and integrating (or mixing) quantitative and qualitative research (and data) in a single study or a longitudinal program of inquiry" (Creswell 2003:6). Ultimately, the rationale for using mixed methods in this thesis is the enhanced repertoire of investigative mechanisms to address the goals of the study (Polit and Beck 2008). Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods by themselves provide a sufficiently robust strategy to comprehensively explore the philosophical premises forming the bedrock of Bourdieu's praxeological theories (Bourdieu 1973, Bourdieu, et. al. 1991). Grenfell (2014:8) reminds us that "Bourdieu employed both approaches extensively throughout his empirical studies". Everett (2002:70) shares this view:

Bourdieu's methodology may be referred to as "social praxeology," a blend of the quantitative and qualitative approaches (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 7-11). An understanding of this methodology and a competence in conducting research based on it are thus in part premised on an understanding of and competence in these two broad approaches. Yet, they are also premised on the need to synthesize the two approaches, a synthesis that necessitates "reflexivity," relational thinking, and a consideration of both the role of the researcher and the "construction of the research object."

As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, "Bourdieu's type of praxeology has developed over the course of his work (and thanks to many scholars that follow in his footsteps) into a veritable grand theory that is capable of functioning as a framework of reference for many different kinds of theoretical and methodological approaches" (Schäfer 2020:32). Arguably, "Bourdieu's 'praxeology' is in fact a widening of the conventional and narrow economic perspective

towards an understanding of all social practices. The *qui bonum* principle is, for Bourdieu, a primary question in all his studies of social fields” (Schinkel 2007:708 and see: Karup and Blok 2011, Turnbull and Antalffy 2009).

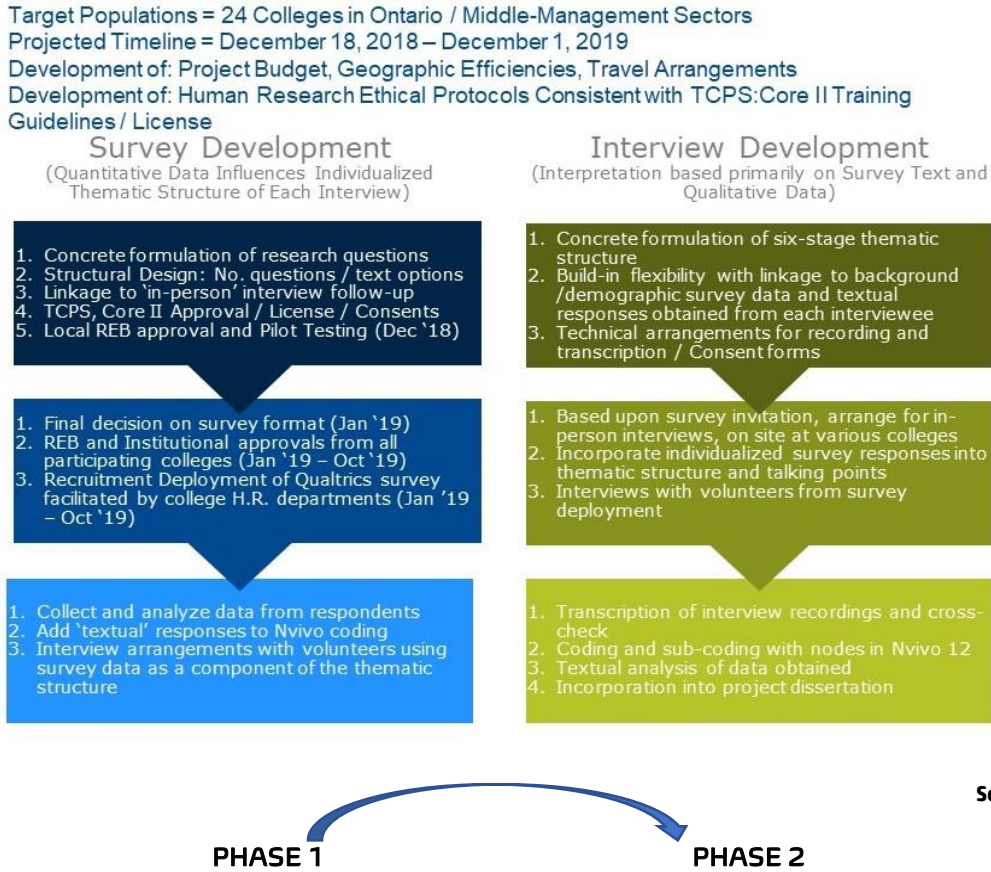
Bourdieu’s philosophical attraction to the metaphysical principle of the ‘greater good’ is reflected empirically in his approach toward mixed methods investigation. The approach is consistent with Bourdieu’s over-riding philosophy of pragmatism whose paradigm eschews any forced choice between qualitative and quantitative polarities and neatly “sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality” (Feilzer 2010, p. 8), “focus[ing] instead on ‘what works’ as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation” (Howe 1988, Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003:713, Creswell 2003, Maxcy 2003). Employed effectively, quantitative, and qualitative methods complement each other (Morse 2010) thereby permitting a more comprehensive and contextualized analysis of the data (Green, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

The preferred mixed methods design for research of the type in this study tends to be either concurrent or sequential (Creswell, et al. 2003). A concurrent design will generally incorporate the simultaneous collection of data (Wahuni 2012). On the other hand, a sequential mixed methods design contemplates two consecutive sequences commencing with the initial collection of either the qualitative or quantitative data after which there follows the collection of the other data (Cameron 2009). Creswell, et al. (2003) further refines the typology into more precise models depending upon individual research ambitions, but when the aim of the process is to analyze and integrate the data obtained from each collection method the sequential explanatory approach seems the most suitable paradigm to demonstrate how subsequently acquired qualitative data explains the survey results. (Ivankova, et al. 2006, Creswell 1999, 2005, Rossman and Wilson 1985) and Morgan (1998), suggest the sequential explanatory design is most appropriate where it is anticipated that information obtained from the follow-up interviews will highlight and expand upon noteworthy and occasionally even startling quantitative data. It seems particularly useful when the time is available, and the focus of the research includes inferences drawn and new questions arising from group segregated binary data such as gender, race, and position in the field of power.

Data collection describing the objective reality of the workplace and its plural relationality (Cocking 2008), seems best studied by using quantitative methods. For that purpose, the survey entails a comprehensive examination of the participant's virtuosic subjectivities explored further using a thematic qualitative design. Qualitative methods contemplate a more intensive, multi-dimensional engagement with participants in a manner that situates the researcher close enough to the phenomena being studied to distinguish objective structural realities, emergent themes and discursive regularities that would not necessarily be measurable using quantitative methods alone such as surveys (Gilgun 1996, 1999). The qualitative praxis often results in a complex and multi-layered portrait of the lived experiences and pathways followed by the interviewees (Gilgun 1999, Patton 2002). For example, the qualitative element of this dissertation is supported by the prior quantitative component revealing specific demographic information including economic and socio-cultural classifications.

This approach bears scientific rigour (Couper and Groves 2002) as a means to stimulate "doorstep interactions" (Bates, et. al. 2008, Morton-Williams and Young 1987, Sturgis and Campenelli 1998) between the researcher and the interviewee. The survey represents a pre-discursive signpost enabling the researcher to "tailor" the methodology and subsequent flow of interview to specific concerns of the participant with the added benefit of enabling the researcher to gauge the semantic efficacy of the scaled survey component (Belson 1981, Jenkins, et. al. 1997). Finally, the three, strategically placed, open-ended questions at the end of the survey tend to reduce response error (Dillman, et. al. 2002), and to allow for candid expression of participant attitudes, opinions and veridical feelings while providing an expanded opportunity for respondents to explain issues of concern raised by the scaled questions during the follow-up interviews (also see: Streiner and Norman 2008).

**Table 1: Sequential Mixed Methods Design**



Source: Author

### 3.6 Ethics

The ethical cornerstones of this and any independent research project involving human subjects must respect human decency and morality (Denscombe 2010). In research purporting to evidence quality and scientific rigour it is clear that “...the ends do not justify the means in the pursuit of knowledge” (Denscombe 2010:331). Research ethics is the worldwide standard for all qualified, scientific researchers. Inherent to an ethical perspective is the abiding responsibility to protect and preserve the dignity, rights, and welfare of research participants. It is for that reason that research involving human subjects is almost invariably reviewed by an ethics committee (see Schedule ‘I’). In many countries (including Canada) this is a legal requirement to ensure that the appropriate ethical standards are being upheld.

All the interviews were coded, triple encrypted on devices specifically designed for that purpose<sup>92</sup> and transcribed professionally. The standards applied were in strict accordance with the published, federal '*Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*' (TCPS or the Policy; see Schedules 'D' and 'E'). On September 28, 2018, unconditional ethics approval was received for the research involved in this dissertation from the Research Knowledge and Exchange Department of Manchester Metropolitan University (Schedule 'C'). A subsequent minor amendment was sought shortly afterward. The amendment related to a small revision in the survey.<sup>93</sup> As mentioned, a second layer of ethics approval was required for each college in Canada (Schedule 'D') after unconditional approval for the research was obtained in the U.K..<sup>94</sup> No ethical issues arose during nor have any arisen since the data collection period which began in mid-December 2018 and ended on November 15, 2019. A table showing the colleges in Ontario that were investigated, their geographic locations and other pertinent logistics can be found at Schedule 'H'.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Two Olympus DS-7000 voice recorders and separate, external Power De Wise, Grade Lavalier, Lapel twin microphone extensions were used (one set of each was used as backup) with voice recorder folder auto-lock and data loss prevention functionality. Both recording devices also utilized an additional PIN code lock known only to the author.

<sup>93</sup> No major change was made to the methodology; however, a decision was made to put stronger emphasis on the qualitative elements of the project as well as a further effort to create a more concise and focused approach by reducing and adjusting a number of questions in the e-survey. Alterations were guided by concerns with inclusivity and a refined and more comprehensive understanding of the concepts and categories to be explored. in the survey. The amendment also received unconditional approval on October 5, 2018 (Schedule 'C'). No portion of the research paradigm has been altered since those approvals were obtained.

<sup>94</sup> In Canada, federal law provides that participant contact for human research is only permitted after ethics approval is obtained from the Research Ethics Board of every college in the study. Specifically, access to information for this study was obtained through the Ontario College Multi-College Ethics Review Process ("MCERP"). In principal, but, as mentioned above, not in practice, most colleges in Ontario have agreed to participate in the MCERP which, after receipt of an initial submission of the project, involves an expert panel of scrutineers adhering to the requirements of the federal government TCPS2 (2014) protocol for governance over the ethical conduct of research under its jurisdiction. Access to data collection also involves individual college compliance and agreement to participate in the study in accordance with the published 'joint research ethics policy statement of the federal research agencies (CIHR, NSERC, and SSHRC) or 'the Agencies.' It was published in August 1998 to promote the ethical conduct of research involving humans'. It "mandates national standards and procedures for research involving humans and applies to those conducting, participating in, or reviewing human research in institutions funded by either CIHR, NSERC or SSHRC". (TCPS 2010:webpage). All participating colleges in Ontario have, in principal, adopted these policies and therefore require all institutional research involving humans to be preceded by TCPS certification which the researcher obtained in March 2017 (Schedule 'E'). However, the reality is that every college in the study required a separate and comprehensive REB application and approval (Schedule 'D').

<sup>95</sup> It should be mentioned that no survey asked for personally identifiable (or indirectly identifiable) information unless a respondent wished to volunteer for a follow-up interview and only then under the strictest guarantees of privacy, confidentiality and data preservation and protection. Schedule 'I' contains the federally mandated MCERP application shows the details of the protections assured to each of the participants. Schedules 'F' and 'G' include the two 'Informed Consent' (Survey and Interview) scripts that were made available to every survey and interview participant before either of the survey and/or the interview.

### 3.7 Organization & Data Gathering Protocols

The objective of this research was to examine the impact of gender in Ontario college bureaucracies. Bourdieusian concepts have shaped the study of the relationship between the objective structure of the field and the gendered practices within it (Taksa and Kalfa 2015). The approach has been to inquire how individuals, as capital-bearing agents appropriate gender identities and other multi-dimensional symbolic configurations to achieve desired career path goals. Mindful of Bourdieu's meta-theoretical ideas about the correct reflexive approach to the study of social phenomena, the core research objectives were framed as follows:

- (i) Using a questionnaire, to gain insight into the demographics of the sample population being studied and the attitudinal impact of 'gender capital' in Ontario college bureaucracies,
- (ii) Using interviews, to investigate the relationship more deeply between gender and other intersectionalities and the logic of their relationship to career progression and leadership; and
- (iii) Using both survey questionnaires and interviews, to develop an understanding about the impact of gender identities and virtuosic subjectivities on managerial practices in the occupational spaces found in college bureaucracies.

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, Bourdieu tended to prefer relational over substantialist methodological approaches. He used the word relational to mean that "it accords primacy to relations" (1998b: vii), referring to an "opposition suggested by Ernst Cassirer between 'substantial concepts' and 'functional or relational concepts'" (1998b:3). Mohr adopts a synecdochical by suggesting the researcher ensure that "objects under investigation are seen in context, as a part of a whole. Their meaningfulness is determined not by the characteristic properties, attributes, or essences of the thing itself, but rather with reference to the field of objects, practices, or activities within which they are embedded" (2013:102). To that end, it was decided that combining quantitative and qualitative data collection methods was the best approach to achieve the results obtained. In what follows, an overview of the data collection methods is offered together with the background rationale for the design choice and a justification for the methods selected.



### **3.8 Data Collection Procedures for this Study**

Data collection in this study addresses the multi-dimensional, objective and plural relationality (Depelteau 2018) of the workplace by first using a survey followed shortly thereafter by in-person interviews examining individual, discursive and virtuosic subjectivities to gain insight into the logic of behavioural choices. In the following, the various data collection phases of the entire project are briefly introduced. As discussed earlier, two methodological cornerstones always remain in the background: pragmatism and reflexivity. Those cornerstones are informed by specific assumptive reflections on the totality of the research process which are discussed near the end of this Chapter. Here, the recruitment and data collection process is explained, including an overview of the various design metrics, the distribution and sampling techniques employed, and the field logistics involved.

#### **(a) Recruitment Process for Data Collection**

Following individually secured REB approvals (See Schedule 'D'), the initial phase of data collection began with deployment of a recruitment script provided to the Human Resource ("HR") department of each college. The "script" was then enveloped in an email which HR dispatched to members of the target population which included all college managerial administrative employees below the office of the President. The "script" contained an anonymous link to the survey. Identifying information was not recorded except when a survey respondent expressed interest in participating in a follow-up interview. The process was repeated approximately 7 – 10 days later. Two recruitment scripts were used: an initial script deployed to the target population by the college HR department on Day 1 followed by a follow-up script deployed on Day 8. Van Dessel (2015: np) has statistical data to show that 'Mondays' are best for the deployment of short surveys. Therefore, with the exceptions of holidays, recruitments and follow-ups were always deployed on Mondays.

## **(b) Processual Design Metrics**

This component involved recruiting the target populations of all English-speaking colleges in Ontario from which the goal was to receive representative samples from at least two colleges in each of four geographic quadrants of the Province. The recruitment procedure involved a once repeated deployment of a participation invitation - this time by the Human Resources Departments of each college in the study. The invitation contained a link to the online survey. The target populations were the mid-level managers in each of the colleges studied. Middle management is an intermediate level of authority in a bureaucratic structure that is organized hierarchically. The concept is extensively explored later in this study. Briefly, a middle manager reports upward to the executive branch of the organization, but a middle manager is also responsible for supervising, coordinating and leading lower staff in the implementation and operation of organizational goals. The three criteria for participation in the study were that participants must:

- i. be at least 20 years of age,
- ii. possess at least a high-school certificate or diploma (from any Country), and
- iii. hold a managerial position in the college administration where employed.

The survey itself can be found at Schedule 'A'. Schedule 'K' shows the Ontario colleges that participated in the study, the city and quadrant where they are located, the size of the target population and the number of responses making up the survey sample and the response rate.

## **(c) Survey Design & Structure**

The survey design concentrated on gathering socio-demographic information about the target population to inform the interview phase of the data collection. To accomplish this task, it was necessary to create and distribute a fixed-response, descriptive survey instrument containing factual questions that would allow for a full range of responses within the parameters assigned to

the target population under investigation.<sup>96</sup> The survey also served a dual purpose. It also served to set the thematic motif for the planned, semi-structured interviews of those survey respondents who elected to participate in subsequent in-person dialogue. Lodico, et. al. (2010) suggests that Likert-scale survey instruments can facilitate insight into the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions that participants hold across a spectrum of social issues. This includes the themes (Brace 2004) introduced in the survey instrument designed for this dissertation. Weighted Likert scales are used to calculate individual and cumulative scores that establish a response rate to each question. The survey instrument designed for this dissertation was comprised of both socio-demographic questions such as “gender identification”, “race” and “sexuality” and also collaborative Likert-type questions designed to elicit attitudinal, and opinion-based responses to thematic statements reflecting the project objectives. The surveys also consisted of three (“T-1 / T-3”) contextually relevant, open-ended questions dealing with the experience of gendered situations at home and at work (see Schedule ‘A’).

Great emphasis was placed on the clarity and simplicity of every question.<sup>97</sup> The results of the administration of the Likert-scale pilot survey in 2018 suggested that the educational profile of the target population consists of a disproportionately high level of white, socio-economically homogeneous, middle-aged individuals with advanced post-secondary and post-graduate education. Appreciating these variables reinforced the necessity of clarity and simplicity. Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) stress the importance of a survey architecture that assumes (and effectively constrains) what could be a wide range of interpretations respondents might attribute to the instrument’s questions. Individuals possessing higher education are more likely to question the semantics of what they perceive to be ambiguously worded questions. That possibility, left

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<sup>96</sup> Most of the questions in the survey utilized a Likert five-point scale, as discussed below. “The survey is the most widely used social science data-gathering technique” (ibid:316) and the Likert scale is commonly accepted as the most appropriate technique to employ when the objective is to rate or gauge responses in survey research (Carifio and Rocco 2007).

<sup>97</sup> The data obtained from the survey was used to identify and isolate specific areas requiring additional explanation. In keeping with Bourdieu’s ideas about the construction of social space (or the ‘research object’) as the priority regarding data collection (Bourdieu, et. al. 1968), purely nominal information was extensively supplemented by several Likert-scaled attitudinal statements related to dominance, symbolic capital and gender practices in the workplace thereby enabling “measurement of the differences in the intensity and exactly the frequency of these practices “(Grenfell 2014:130). In turn, this information provides a rich source of detail for more relational analysis of the participant characteristics played out in the field of power.

unaddressed, increases the risk of misinterpretation and data corruption (Saunders, et. al. 2007, Veal 2006).

The survey instrument was designed following a comprehensive review of the relevant literature (e.g. Biemer 2003, Blasius and Thiessen 2012, Smith 2011, Groves, et. al. 2009, Valliant, et. al. 2013 Babbie 1995, Allan, et. al. (eds.) 1991, Rossi, et. al. (eds.) 1983, Bradburn and Sudman 1988) including several readings of Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* (1977). The architecture was intended to integrate with the interview thematic structure so that, in addition to the raw demographic data obtained from the survey, the attitudes and opinions which the survey explored could be more fully developed in the subsequent interview settings.<sup>98</sup> The pilot study confirmed that, on average, it took approximately 10 minutes for participants to complete the survey plus an additional 7 minutes (or less) to complete the three, open-ended questions following the survey, bringing the total participation time to approximately 17 minutes. It should be mentioned that participants wishing to accept the invitation to a follow-up interview would have taken an average of 2.5 extra minutes, but the extra time is offset by the obvious interest each interview volunteer held for further dialogue about the topics covered in the survey.

### **3.9 Quantitative Data Gathering: Qualtrics**

Qualtrics© was chosen because of its reputation, safety, seemingly endless customizability, user-friendly graphical user interface and its broad functionality in terms of access by almost all browsers and cellphones with smart technology (Couper, et. al. 2001, 2004a, 2004b). An especially important characteristic of this software program is its negative option which does not collect participant identifying data unless the participant, with knowledge and consent beforehand, explicitly volunteers otherwise (Rogelberg and Stanton 2007, Dillman 2000, Cook, et. al. 2000, Luong and Rogelberg 1998). While the primary research support software in this dissertation is NVivo12©, the recruitment capability and the wealth of descriptive data Qualtrics is able to provide

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<sup>98</sup> No attempt was made to establish content validity for construct explored in survey instrument, primarily because of the novelty of the study and the absence of credible validation tools found in the advance preparations. Inasmuch as the focus of the survey (and the follow-up interviews) was exclusively the perceptions of the participants no further efforts in this regard seemed necessary (Bolarinwa 2015).

– given an appropriately drafted survey instrument – imbued the project with a massive amount of very helpful demographic and opinion data discussed in subsequent Chapters.<sup>99</sup>

### **(a) Qualtrics Likert Scale Statements**

As mentioned above the intent behind the survey was to gather nominal and non-ranked socio-demographic characteristics of the target population. However, it was also designed to measure ranked attitudes toward statements reflecting the gender themes introduced at the outset of this Chapter. Using generic, variable, 5 - 7 – point, Likert interval scales (de Vaus 1996), respondents were asked to rate their responses to survey statements from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. Frary (2001) points out that that a five-point scale measurement, in general, will reliably indicate response direction (see: Schutt 1999, Kumar 1999). However, in some cases, a decision was made to increase the range of responses to 7 points so as to imbue the question with enhanced opportunities for responsive nuance. Gray and Kinnear (2011) suggest that this approach is appropriate for the measurement of attitude toward statements of the type found in the project survey. Several questions involving especially sensitive topics such as “gender identification” and “sexuality” provided a face-saving, non-compellable option by allowing respondents to choose “other” or “prefer not to say”. The ability to avoid directly answering questions that might cause discomfort encourages candidness toward other questions participants feel comfortable about answering as well as a greater sense of anonymity (Tull and Hawkins 1993, Ryan, and Garland 1999). The overall objective behind this form of questioning is to measure participants’ agreement (or otherwise) with each statement calling for an attitudinal or opinion-based response (Bryman 2001, Goode and Hatt 1952, Hoinville, et. al. 1982, Moser 1958). The results can be translated into

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<sup>99</sup> A “pilot study” was introduced at the outset of the data collection phase of this project. Pilot studies are an important element of any good study design (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998, Baker 1994, DeVous 1993, Holloway 1997). A successful pilot test, involving both survey and interviews at one college in Southeastern Ontario was conducted in December 2018 in order to determine face validity. In other words, I wanted to know whether, on a relatively superficial basis, the survey and the follow-up interview appeared to produce viable results. After completion of the pilot, I examined whether there were any issues involving clarity of the questions, sequencing, thematic ambiguity, survey respondent or interviewee stress or declining interest and also timing. I did not want the survey or the interviews to over-extend because that could result in incomplete surveys and interview drift – both of which dilute the efficacy of the data collection instruments. I spoke ‘off-the-record’ with most of the pilot interviewees after their involvement and I received valuable feedback. No major issues were discovered, and, with participant foreknowledge, the pilot results were eventually incorporated into the main study.

high or low mean scores that reflect greater positive or negative attitudes or opinions toward multiple response items.

### **(b) Survey Distribution**

The distribution to the target population, i.e., middle managers, was defined by the categories indicated in Chapter 4. In other words, the Human Resources department of each college investigated was instructed to distribute the recruitment script to all (and only) those individuals falling into the job descriptions outlined earlier. For reasons unknown, two Vice-Presidents from two different colleges not only responded to the survey but also volunteered for subsequent interviews. Both were males between 51-60 years of age, both possessed doctorates, received the survey invitation, responded appropriately and readily agreed to an interview. Following a discussion with the project supervisors, it was decided to remove them from the survey data but to include them as interviewees, thereby offering a somewhat different and unique perspective to the qualitative component of the research. Both were interviewed at some length and excerpts from their interviews are included in this study.<sup>100</sup> The graph below shows the survey distribution profile, target population size and response rate as well as the actual survey period and the follow-up interview start and completion dates. A more comprehensive statistical presentation of the survey and interview metrics can be found in Schedule 'H' of this thesis.

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<sup>100</sup> Because the survey was completely anonymous (except for those who volunteered for an interview) it was impossible to assess which individuals in the target population responded to the original deployment and those who had not responded at all. Therefore, reminder notifications were sent to the original list of the complete target population of each college approximately one week after the initial distribution of the recruitment email. A total of 308 participants responded to the survey and, of those who participated in the survey 32 (10.38%) volunteered to be interviewed. Overall, 11 of the 308 survey participants terminated the survey by clicking the "submit" button below the following statement: "I do not meet one or more of the criteria above and must exit the survey". There were 19 incomplete or partially completed surveys is one where the respondent skipped some questions or unilaterally terminated the survey at some point before all the questions were answered.

**Table 2: Distribution, Target Population Size and Response Rate**

Project	Location	Target	Response	%	Survey Period (in days)	Interviews Start Date	Finish Date
Cambrian	Sudbury	70	32	46%	12	25/06/19	28/06/19
Centennial	Toronto	147	17	12%	12	21/10/19	22/10/19
Confederation	Thunder Bay	50	18	36%	11	11/06/19	12/06/19
Fleming	Peterborough	78	24	31%	15	22/07/19	01/08/19
George Brown	Toronto	249	37	15%	12	13/05/19	15/05/19
Georgian	Barrie	53	9	17%	6	N/A	N/A
Humber	Toronto	333	11	3%	12	07/11/19	06/12/19
Lambton	Sarnia	38	14	37%	11	21/11/19	21/11/19
Loyalist - Pilot	Belleville	29	17	59%	12	10/12/18	11/12/18
Mohawk	Hamilton	57	45	79%	13	27/02/19	04/04/19
Niagara	Niagara Falls	154	35	23%	19	10/04/19	11/04/19
Northern	Timmins	25	8	32%	11	24/04/19	27/04/19
Sheridan	Toronto	69	22	32%	10	21/02/19	21/02/19
St. Clair	Windsor	43	6	14%	11	27/03/19	28/03/19
St. Lawrence	Kingston	52	13	25%	10	16/10/19	17/10/19
TOTAL		1,447	308	31%	177		

**Source: Author**

### (c) Sampling Techniques

Participants for the survey were selected using purposive, homogeneous sampling as a tool for informant selection (Merriam, 1998). Sharma (2017:751) explains that “[w]hilst the various purposive sampling techniques each have different goal, they can provide researchers with the justification to make generalisations from the sample that is being studied, whether such generalisations are theoretical, analytic, and logical in nature. Homogeneous sampling concentrates on “one particular subgroup in which all the sample members are similar, such as a particular occupation or level in an organization’s hierarchy” (Saunders, et. al 2012:22). This is an often-used approach selected by researchers when the research question is focussed on the specific characteristics of a sub-group within a much larger population. In this study, the sub-group is middle managers in each college investigated within the larger population of the community college system throughout the Province of Ontario. The survey asked for basic demographic information, however, it also explored the specific lived practices and attitudes of agents in the field who, to a greater or lesser extent, mobilize human and social capital to achieve desired career outcomes. The benefits from structural methods of “perceiving and representing the social world”

(Brandao 2010:232, Martín-Barbero 1998) include the collection of valuable information such as economic, racial, and socio-cultural classifications as well as the role of gender as capital in the workplace. In the survey, participants were invited to volunteer for a live, person-to-person interview at an arranged time and date.

#### **(d) Interview Design**

This stage of the study involved in-person interviews through which the data gathered was derived from a hybridic open-ended and semi-structured 'Thematic Guide' / 'Interview Schedule'. The thematic structure can be found at Schedule 'B'. Semi-structured interviews tend to be less reliable than highly structured interviews however, there was a countervailing benefit because the interview environment permitted participants to be relaxed and to feel safe when talking about extremely sensitive issues in their work environments involving, for example, race and sexuality. A variety of methodological approaches were employed depending upon the situational exigencies but most often participants were relaxed and comfortable with semi-structured questions guided by an underlying thematic guideline that encouraged focused interviewee engagement and affective investment in the topics covered. The various interview protocols were designed to follow-up on and provide greater dimension to the survey attitudinal responses. The results produced significantly greater depth and insight than would have been obtainable from the survey alone.<sup>101</sup> In essence, the survey questions were used as a baseline from which to elicit expanded data collection on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and lived experiences as they relate to the research paradigm (Creswell 2008:4).

Qualitative methodology - including interviews and observations - facilitates a richly endowed study of human experience and complex phenomena in situ (Baxter and Jack 2008). Merriman (1988:21) notes that this approach is common in studies involving higher education. He points out

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<sup>101</sup> The second, qualitative (or interview) phase of the research, a demonstrative example of Bourdieusian constructivism, is an effective means of understanding and validating research questions. Combined with a pragmatist approach, the data gathered in this phase can be easily supplemented with the content analysis of external reports, studies, and documents in a larger context "as cultural object(s) that carr(y) social meaning in (their) own right" (Neuman 2014:372). Ultimately, the analytical matrix involves data reduction (Miles and Huberman 1994:11), coding (Tesch 1990:101) and display (Miles and Huberman 1994:11).



that a qualitative protocol engages “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit”. Each college administration investigated is a single social unit bounded by its own objective structure and governed by the rules of the game. A total of thirty-two semi-structured interviews took place in fifteen colleges across all four geographic quadrants in Ontario. Each interview was dyadic, took place in private and lasted for anywhere between 35 minutes and 100 minutes. All interviews were triple recorded for safety and subsequently transcribed promptly (Poland 1995) and professionally. Afterward, each transcript was checked against the actual recording on the interview to ensure accuracy.

Following Moustakas (1994) most often a thematic guide, preceded by a few, basic introductory questions set the tone for the interview. However, as noted earlier, in some cases, pre and post interview conversations between researcher and interviewee became part of the epistemological totality of the data gathering experience. Participants were always fully informed of the purpose of the research and research interviews twice: once in the survey instrument and a second time prior to the commencement of the interviews. No deception was ever employed. Follow up questions to gain insight were asked where appropriate without conveying the impression that the participant was being cross-examined or fact checked. Chase (1995) found that stories are preferable to responses to structured questions in an interview setting. The encouragement of story telling was an integral element of each interview. Open-ended questions were asked about the interviewee’s memories and lived experiences of childhood, family, education, work background and career aspirations. The significance of this approach is that it incites participants to own their responses through recourse to their individual biographical particularities (Warren 2002). With appropriate researcher guidance their responses can be subtly moved in the direction of the research paradigm. Chase discusses the importance of shifting ownership of the “import of the talk” (1995:234) to the interviewee. On the other hand, it is the responsibility of the researcher to “provide the interactional and discursive conditions that will arouse desire {in the interviewee} to embrace that responsibility. We are most likely to succeed when we orient our questions directly and simply to life experiences that the other seeks to make sense of and to communicate”.

### **3.10 Qualitative Data Gathering & Coding: NVivo 12 Pro**

Qualitative software called QSR NVivo®, and its intrinsic coding facility are often used to support inductive (Gibbs 2002:162-165) or ‘grounded theory’ (“GT”) approaches utilized by researchers at junctures in their projects where it becomes appropriate to engage in empirical analysis of collected data such as interview transcripts. Tie, et. al. (2019:2) suggests that coding “is an analytical process used to identify concepts, similarities and conceptual reoccurrences in data. Coding is the pivotal link between collecting or generating data and developing a theory that explains the data” (Charmaz 2012:5).

GT “represents both a method of inquiry and a resultant product of that inquiry” (Tie, et. al. 2019:2, citing Charmaz 2005). In other words, it is a “set of integrated conceptual hypotheses systematically generated to produce an inductive theory about a substantive area” (Glaser and Holton 2004:3; see Stern 2007, Lempert 2007, Moghaddam 2006, Birks, et. al. 2009). Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) are best known for their work in GT which they define as a “theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process [which] allows the theory to emerge from the data”. According to Charmaz (2006:187), GT is “a method of conducting qualitative research that focuses on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive analysis from the data”. Birks and Mills (2015) point out that GT is not something which is discovered; instead, GT is self-constructed by the researcher whose research and reflexive viewpoint have followed a reasoned path to reliable conclusions about the phenomena being studied (see Glaser 2005, Evans 2013, Ralph, et. al. 2015).

QSR NVivo 12 Pro® is not a stand-alone analytical tool, like SPSS or Minitab; its purpose is to assist in the coding process through it’s functionality in organizing and structuring the presentation of data that is consistent with the constructivist model developed by the researcher (Birks and Mills 2015). NVivo 12 Pro® is somewhat quixotic with the constant need for backup, but it is also infinitely malleable, and need not be destined to analytical stasis in the event that it becomes appropriate to vary the thematic lens or even switch altogether to a different analytical approach. An unfortunate drawback of the technology is that while great amounts of data can be sorted, conceptually categorized, and managed with considerable efficacy, in a dissertation of this size and regulation,

only a disproportionately small part of the data inputted is amenable to detailed analysis (Buston 1999:7). After all the interview transcripts were imported to the NVivo 12© database, the coding work began first by a thorough reading of every transcript to refresh memory and, reflexively, to reposition oneself into the interview setting after a considerable amount of time has passed.

## **Coding Techniques**

All the transcripts were reviewed four times for the purpose of appropriately assigning concepts, paragraphs, sentences and, finally words to create nodes relevant to the interview themes (Schedule B) and research objectives (above). Each time, the transcripts were carefully reviewed to detect emergent thematic concepts for addition to the project template. The first task was to develop open coding approach using NVivo 12© data reconstruction techniques. Open coding is a common procedure that follows once the data has been reviewed several times to obtain a sense of what might constitute appropriate labels to identify the data themes relevant to the project. Bhattacharya (2015:7) suggests that this extremely time-consuming task is “personal, non-linear, and inherently de-stabilizing, inviting the researcher to return repeatedly to the data to review the ways in which the researcher engages with the data”. However, meticulous coding, including demographic information collected from surveys for each participant through the use of the ‘Attributes’ feature in NVivo© allows for a variety of analytical treatments of the data in a number of different presentations.

While there were a total of three, the first round of open coding (without T1 - T3 open-ended text from the surveys) produced the outline of a comprehensive thematic structure (see Schedule ‘B’). In a number of instances data were allocated to tree and sub-nodes because of their semantic ambiguity and, ultimately, their relevance to more than one of the research objectives. Bansal (2013:127) allows for this approach to elicit “textured, nuanced and [...] three-dimensional images”. From this representation, extracted from the first round of thematic coding, it became readily apparent that, to most interviewees, ‘inauthentic compliance with institutional diversity policies’, ‘the intersection of gender and race’ were numerically significant themes. The narrative context driving the ‘file’ and ‘reference’ ordination was primarily background and a macroscopic

level of generality in the theme being explored (See: Schedule B, Interview Themes - “*Background*” and “*Into Adulthood*”).

Systematic open and selective coding, using NVivo® was an essential component of the project’s methodology. It involves painstaking scrutiny of the collected interview data with a view to detecting semantic themes, nuances, and trends as they emerge from the transcripts. The coding exercise is “personal, non-linear, and inherently de-stabilizing, inviting the researcher to return repeatedly to the data to review the ways in which the researcher engages with the data.” (Bhattacharya 2015:7). The process normally “begins with the first coding sessions and continues until the research is finished. It incorporates and elaborates on the coding sessions themselves, and the “code nodes” produced by these sessions” (Corbin and Strauss 1990:422). In practice, coding means that the data obtained from the interview transcripts, is then curated by the researcher into a number of conceptual categories corresponding to the thematic structure of the interview paradigm (Miles and Huberman 1994). Each data item is then coded using various signifiers that describe the data (Lofland and Lofland 1995). Open coding is often followed by cluster coding (grouping nodes into themes) and template analysis (exploring relationships among clusters). Out of the process of continuous sortation and categorization of the data the researcher begins to discern the emergence of a skeletal theory which is then developed and analyzed in some detail. This meticulous and time-consuming process almost always results in a “... search for new codes and concepts...in tandem with the use of extant theoretical assumptions and relevancies” (Layder 1998:55) followed by traditional open coding (Bryman 2008).<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> A related key activity associated with the basic NVivo technique is called ‘template analysis’, used in this dissertation. This involves six steps toward organizing the data “in a useful and meaningful manner” (King, 2007) so that it can be extrapolated to demonstrate relationships between the various themes explored in the project. Ultimately, this process can function to serve the interests of other qualitative researchers who might wish to analyze the data but from a different or even opposing theoretical perspective (King 2004). In both studies the same approach to data analysis was used. As previously mentioned, I transcribed some of the recorded interviews and a professional transcription service transcribed the others. Recordings were sent the transcription service with coded identifications (e.g., “SE1, NW2, SE3, NE5”) and no actual names, locations or other direct or indirect identifiers were ever used. All transcripts were re-read and carefully matched against the digital recordings and, wherever it was necessary the appropriate corrections were made to the transcripts. I then re-read each transcript once more, once again comparing what I read with the digital recordings so that comments could be noted about the way in which the questions were answered (e.g., physical evidence of emotions, significant pauses, eye movements etc.). Areas of interest began to surface, and I made follow-up field notes adjacent to each interview where it was deemed appropriate.

### **3.11 Physical Interview Logistics, Settings and Field Notes**

#### **(a) Interview Arrangements**

Interviews took place from December 2018 to November 2019 (see Schedule 'H'). Preparation and extensive planning for each interview were essential. This included careful examination of the participant's survey responses which served well as background information about the interviewee and as a guide to the themes and follow-up areas (Lingard and Kennedy 2010) to emphasize during the interview (Liljedahl et al. 2015). Brinkman and Kvale (2005) stress the importance of detailed advance planning for interviews including as much background reading as possible about the interviewee and the topics to be covered. Wherever possible, the history of each college where the interviewees were employed was studied in addition to the cultural dimensions (Nimmon and Stenfors-Hayes 2016, Rogoff 2003) of the school student population which tended to be quite different depending upon the geographic location of the college in Ontario.

Arrangements for the interview generally took place between the researcher and the interviewee over the telephone or in the exchange of business / private emails (as the interviewee wished) leading up to the scheduled date and time for the meeting. Seidman (2013:40) suggests that, in a qualitative project, this is the only circumstances in which a telephone should be used. Normally this tends to be merely a perfunctory task but wherever possible, the opportunity was seized from the outset to build rapport with the interviewee by showing appreciation, interest, curiosity (Krag Jacobsen 1993, Schoultz et al. 2001, Bell 2014) and enthusiasm for the planned in-person meeting (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, Bowden and Walsh 2000, Seidman 2013, Giger 2017).

#### **(b) Interview Settings**

While advances in digital communication are quickly changing attitudes (Holt 2010, Lechuga 2012, Miller 1995) the traditional view in social science appears to be that interviews should always take place 'face-to-face' unless there is no other option (Merriam 2009). For that reason and after careful consideration - including the financial costs involved with such large distances to be travelled - it was decided that the interviews always would be situated face-to-face within the physical setting of the college being investigated, keeping in mind Ryan's caution: "it is pertinent that the type of

interview is congruent with the research question and aims and objectives of the study" (2009:310). The internal environments were always of the interviewee's choosing (Doody and Noonan 2013) and always took place in either the interviewee's office or a boardroom that had been previously arranged for the occasion. Shuy (2002:541) points out that when the interviewee is in a comfortable and familiar setting, "face-to-face interaction compels more small talk, politeness routines, joking, nonverbal communication, and asides in which people can more fully express their humanity" and participants are more likely to 'open-up' with both candidness and notable visual cues from body language.

Interviews were preceded by a verbal reiteration and detailed explanation of the 'Informed Consent' (Illing 2004) protocol (Schedule 'F') to which participants had ample access through the prior survey portal which every interviewee signed prior to commencement of the interview. While interviewees were advised well in advance, written permission was obtained to digitally record the interviews after each participant was advised of the data protection protocols in place. Pursuant to federal TCPS: Core II regulations covering federal licensure for human research (Schedule 'E'), all participants were reassured of their rights to confidentiality and the highest possible security precautions to protect data and anonymity. Great pains were taken to establish a friendly rapport and a feeling of trust from the outset (Legard et. al. 2003). With a minimal amount of probing or guidance, wherever possible, efforts were made to allow the interviewee the time and space to talk uninterruptedly, without any sense of being rushed (Roulston, et. al. 2003, Kvale 1996). Silence (Kvale 1996) and focused eye contact proved to be useful devices to encourage the interviewee to be forthcoming in the conversation. A total of 32 interviews took place in 15 colleges (Schedule 'H' and Schedule K, Fig. 12). The average interview length was approximately 85 minutes, and the average transcription was about 10,590 words. The quality and quantity of information obtained was much better than expected. Interviewees generally were forthright in their observations and opinions. They were not hesitant to reveal deeply felt personal information which, at times, included rather severe critiques of the college in which they were employed. In a few situations, once the digital recording equipment had been turned off, interviewees wanted to stay behind to chat further and it was during this 'off-time', without any probing, that extremely candid, often bitter criticisms of their administrative environment were voiced. Afterward and in private, field notes of these revelations were documented.

### **(c) Field Notes**

In addition to the digitally recorded interviews, field notes were used to record observations of the various college settings visited as well as descriptions of individual interviewees (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The notes were later analyzed as to relevance (Robson, 1993). For insight about how to focus the observations and what to record in the notes, a considerable amount of time was spent reading the studies undertaken by DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, Emerson, et. al. 1995, 2001, Goodall 2000, Lofland, 2006 and Spradley 1980. An 'old school approach' was adopted as an approach to taking field notes and recording them, by hand, in a specialized notebook set aside specifically for that purpose. Notes were invariably recorded privately, often isolated in the school cafeteria after the interview but before leaving the physical premises. In so doing, it was possible to ensure, as much as possible, that recollections were fresh and accurate. It proved to be of inestimable value for providing context and memorializing the physical artifacts of each interview (Robson 1993). Observations of the larger institutional environment were documented as well as the micro-surroundings including the location of the furniture and lighting in the room where the interview took place, the paraphernalia (or lack of it) in the interviewee's office and, occasionally, the clothing worn by the interviewee.<sup>103</sup> Field notes became both essential and invaluable for memorializing the overall ambience surrounding and the spatial context of each interview. I argue in Chapter 7, that spatial relationality (Massey 1993, 1994, 2004) represents a vibrant, objective parallel to Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice.

### **3.12 Personal Reflections on the Methodology**

One of the main assumptions initially drawn from the quantitative results of this study was that because the vast majority of the survey respondents (and therefore likely the interviewees) is white and highly educated there are certain shared cultural contexts and background similarities which,

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<sup>103</sup> For example, a telephone or even Skype interview would not have revealed the stark racial contrast between the overwhelmingly white administrative staffs and the student populations mostly comprised of Indian, Asian, and African American, young people. Unquestionably, white students were in the minority in all the colleges investigated. Nor would have electronic communication facilitated observations about the clothing interviewees wore, their mannerisms, bodily gestures, spatial positioning, and the entire physical choreography of the interview. The field notes served the dual purpose of also being 'contact sheets' in accordance with the suggestion of researchers Miles and Huberman (1994). Biographical information taken from the interviewee's survey as well as the interview itself were recorded by hand but also impressions, observations of each interviewee and the physical context in which the interview was held.

to some extent, would impact upon their real-world views and values (Buahene and Kovary, 2007, Foot, 1998). This is not an insignificant assumption because, borne out by the facts, it does tend to establish a greater degree of generalizability. A second assumption was that by using both surveys and in-person interviews which were, in effect, extended, in-depth explorations of the themes introduced in the surveys, the combined data would reveal a reasonably candid portrait of the participants' attitudes and values. A third assumption involved a reflection on established socio-linguistic principles. The assumption was that because every interviewee was fluent in the English language, their physical gestures (Ricci, et. al. 1991), postures (Exline 1972, Exline, et. al.1985), facial expressions such as smiles or gaze direction (Fehr and Exline 1987), and even tone of voice, while not linguistic in themselves were nevertheless both responsive and relevant to the shared dialogics (See Goffman 1954, 1956, 1959, 1967, 1971, Freidson 2009, Smith 2006, Manning and Burns 1992). For example, American linguist Edward Sapir (1921:556), noted that addressees sharing the same language "... respond to gesture with extreme alertness [...] in accordance with an elaborate and secret code that is written nowhere, known to none, and understood by all". In fact, Birdwhistell (1970) theorizes that non-verbal communication is analogous to shared linguistic grammar.<sup>104</sup>

Creswell (2009:211) cautions that mixed methods research usually progresses in stages and, as a result, the study often takes longer to complete. The first stage of the study, through the use of Qualtrics surveys, gathered quantitative data from several colleges in Ontario. The plan divided Ontario into geographic quadrants and the assumption was that, within each quadrant at least two large colleges would be accessible for both quantitative and qualitative investigation. In this way, both direct and indirect associations between interviewee and the college were minimized to an undetectable level. The survey lends objectivity, external and content validity, reliability, and generalizability to the study using established protocols. The project began by recruiting participants from college administrations across the Province according to a pre-determined workplan that considered the mechanics of the survey deployment, subsequent interview timing and scheduling and, most importantly, the travel distances to Ontario colleges furthest away in the Province. The second stage – the qualitative component – involved in-person and in-depth

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<sup>104</sup> With the foregoing in mind, and in an attempt to avoid contamination of the methodology, I practiced neutral facial expressions and relatively motionless body language throughout each interview. I also spoke with approximately the same tonal cadence each time, and, with minor seasonal adjustments, I even wore the same clothing and wherever possible kept the same social distance between myself and the interviewee. Finally, I assumed that, because of the several assurances of and legal obligations involving confidentiality and anonymity the responses I received to both survey and interview themes would be genuine and objective.



interviews with participant volunteers from most of the colleges in which the first stage surveys were deployed. In this respect, the *a priori* methodological assumptions made before execution of the study proved to be correct thereby producing a project design fully implemented to plan.

### **3.13 Conclusion**

It is perhaps trite to say that the methodology of social research entails gathering and analyzing data directly and indirectly linked to a dissertation's main research questions (Blaikie 1993, Crotty 2005). The procedural approach adopted employed both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The quantitative data is primarily descriptive and the in-person, qualitative data was gathered by using a number of approaches primarily based upon a thematic structure that allowed room for narrative freedom so as to permit the discovery of otherwise poorly understood phenomena in the Province's college system. Extensive field notes (including contextualized observations) were also gathered before, during and after the in-person interviews. This Chapter outlined, in some detail, a comprehensive research philosophy and methodological praxis with a reasoned explication of the mixed methods approach. The specific mechanisms relating to the procedures by which both quantitative and qualitative data were collected were also delineated in this Chapter together with the precise research context so as to facilitate replication in subsequent studies.

Selection of a qualitatively dominant, sequential explanatory procedure was used to gather the data more fully discussed in the findings Chapters of this study. The goal was to extend and elaborate on the initial survey findings by incorporating many of its topical features and responses into the thematic structure that represented the framework for the follow-up interviews. The strategy gave primacy to the qualitative data, but the results would not have been nearly as focussed, fluid and complete without subject-matter linkage to the survey. The data from the two phases are ultimately integrated, analyzed, and interpreted in the findings Chapters.

Research is not algorithmic. Data gathering for a social science project such as this can never be formulaic. One learns that lesson 'on-the-job' when, for example, the issue of racial prejudice and discrimination in Ontario's colleges raised itself in both survey and interviews. In retrospect, the

choice of quantitative followed by qualitative procedures proved to be well-founded because, in the intimacy and confidentiality of the interview setting, it became possible to spontaneously unearth and explore the multi-dimensionality of gender and race intersectionality that had been neatly concealed in the white patriarchy of a homologous organizational population with only hints of the phenomenon in the stand-alone survey results.

### 4.1 Introduction

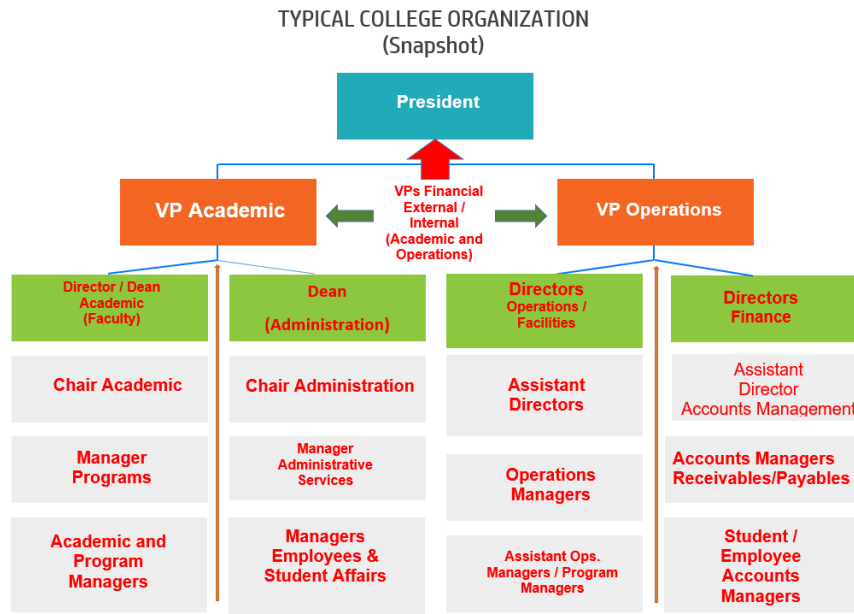
This Chapter focusses on the middle management sector of the Ontario college system with specific attention given to its hierarchal bureaucratic layers. Power and authority emanate from this traditional organizational configuration where ultimate decision-making and responsibility for macro-level decisions is located at the executive administrative levels. The Chapter begins with a general description of managerial structures throughout college systems in North America. An explanation is provided as to how the patriarchal nature of these multi-layered, neoliberal architectures legitimates and reproduces a disproportionate and intersectional power imbalance that propagates social marginalization and inequality.

The discussion in this Chapter elaborates on the idea that there are shortcomings and a general lack of receptive inculcation in the implementation and operation of race, ethnocultural and gender diversity policies in Ontario colleges. The rhetoric of systemic, multicultural and gender-neutral inclusion has defaulted to assimilative, 'one-size-fits-all' policies, fashioned according to a white, Eurocentric "coloniality of knowledge" (Kangas and Salmenniemi 2016:210) that is increasingly profit-driven and neoliberal. It is an agenda that fails to recognize or even acknowledge individual difference and socio-demographic variability implicit in visible minority workplace populations. Therefore, marginalized racial and gender-based subjective identities are compromised resulting in workplace intersectionality. As a consequence, coping strategies are invoked to achieve personal and systemic targets; the phenomenon is examined in this Chapter. Some feminists contend that diversity and gender-neutral policies in a bureaucracy (such as the Ontario college system) merely project the illusion of fairness – not the reality. This Chapter adds the argument that such policies actually conceal patrifocal structures, at the core of which exists the 'old boys' network, typically comprised of white males.

## 4.2 Middle Management Bureaucracy in the Ontario College System

It is common to find multiple bureaucratic layers within any centralized organizational structure. Multiple layers of management imply different tiers of communication networks among employees and upper management, College administrations are no exception. Hierarchical positions entail power and levels of authority cascading downward from the highest to lowest rungs. Depending upon organizational complexity and the number of responsibility stakeholders within the organization, the number of layers can vary widely, although, in Ontario college administrations the layers of middle management are similarly structured as shown below in Figure 2. Caiden (1994:236) points to the benefits of bureaucratic layering: the paradigm “concentrates authority, provides direction, and ensures coordination. It enforces accountability through direct and clear lines of responsibility from top to bottom [whereby] those in the upper reaches of the hierarchy set the tone, give orders and ensure that the lower reaches carry out the orders given them”.<sup>105</sup>

**Figure 2: Typical Ontario College Organizational Chart**



Source: Author

<sup>105</sup> Common layers of middle management in college administrations include any and likely all the following: College Registrar, Deans of Faculties, Chairs of Schools and Departments, Directors of College services, information solutions, security, labour relations, etc., Managers and Senior Managers of Operations, Athletics, Counselling, Facilities, etc., and Academic Program Managers, Academic Services, Health Science, Student Life, Sports and Recreation, etc. (see, e.g., Niagara College, Organizational Structure 2020).

The increasing importance of rational, economic efficiencies throughout the system means that occupants of these layers must continually justify themselves and their organizational integrality. They do so by ensuring that the people and processes in the functional areas they control are efficiently mediated between the more senior decision-making authorities and those on the hierarchal rungs directly below. Yet, those below are not completely powerless. Bensman and Lilienfeld (1991:327) suggest that “(t)he very powerlessness of [lower level] bureaucrats, a powerlessness caused by strict delimitation of jurisdiction and by standardized procedures, causes some bureaucrats to enhance what minor powers they have [through] intransigence or immobility more prevalent at lower levels”.

Livjin (2019:5) points out that “(m)iddle management comprises managers who both lead others and are led by others” (see: Floyd and Wooldridge 1997). Middle managers must continually navigate role and positional duality in the organizational field. To gain trust and respect from those in layers below, the middle manager must strategically project nurturing, caring and compassionate qualities among those supervised at the micro-level. However, to attract recognition from executives in the top layers as being leadership material, the same individual is compelled to adopt the hegemonic practices of those in higher authority whilst hoping gain admittance to networks controlling vaunted power positions. Despite the strategic agency of middle managers, they are caught up in the relational imperatives of the structure in which they will negotiate for position and power. But even more so “they are caught in the midst of a process of symbolic domination in which organizational power holders forever attempt to extend their hegemony at the workplace by doxic representations of employment relations ...” (Tatli, et. al. 2015:2).<sup>106</sup>

### **4.3 Middle Management in Private & Public Colleges**

Globally, private sector, for-profit, business structures tend to be well-entrenched, capitalist patriarchies whose historical operating paradigms have followed principles fundamentally different than those found in public institutions such as community colleges. Keczer (2014:1) points

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<sup>106</sup> Livjin (2019:4) has found that while top-down approaches such as that found in the Ontario college system “have been essential for building [...] organizational design, they are often criticized for overlooking micro-level dynamics, and are too static to meet the demands of modern organizations (Nissen2014; Greenwood and Miller2010; Puranam2012)”.

out that, in the past, the organizational structure of colleges, universities and places of higher-level professional training is distinct from the manufacturing sector along at least two parameters. First, public colleges provide professional services in a manner that tends to be less standardized and, at least historically, less focussed on internalized economies of scale than what might be expected from the production of undifferentiated goods in the marketplace. Second, the traditional aim of public colleges has been to foster intellectual stimulation and development through adult education; in other words, to deliver the heuristic tools required to achieve the personal change desired by students (Dearing 1997).

Historically, the forceful, success-oriented, masculinist ethic typical of large, competitive, private-sector organizations has not been replicated in public sector institutions including government-funded college administrations. Because of the communitarian political and legal philosophies upon which they are established, public sector organizations with policy-driven, ostensibly gender-neutral bureaucratic structures, are generally presumed to function in alignment with entirely different operating principles. Therefore, historically feminist discourse has been attuned to critiques inspired by the male dominant organizational logic of the private sector (Gavison 1992, Boyd 1997, Teghtsoonian 1997). A significant amount of radical feminist polemic initially tended to focus primarily on the idea that “if we just put a lot more women in positions of power, somehow that would defeat the patriarchy, not understanding that the patriarchy has nothing to do with men. If women in power behave like men do, that is not a defeat of the patriarchy” (Crispin quoting Illing 2018:np). Acker (1990:140) points out that while there are notable feminist theoretical and empirical studies concentrating on public organizational structure and process, the intellectual framework of the discourse has been largely traditional. More recent analytical insights are available (e.g. Bell, et. al. 2019 and in Ontario, Stamarski and Hing 2015), but they are disparate.<sup>107</sup> The result is that “most of this new knowledge has not been brought together in a systematic

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<sup>107</sup> However, arguably and given the current marketization of higher education (Cote and Allahar 2007, Lesnick-Oberstein 2015, Kandiko and Mawer 2013, Tomlinson 2014, 2016), there is increased pressure on college administrations to align their operations with private sector business models. Such a model places the student in a role similar to a ‘customer’ paying for a retail experience (Lechuga 2008). For example, Schrecker (2010) refers to the ‘students-as-customers’ paradigm as part of the “steady creep of academic corporatization” that reflects “the broader neoliberal shift [...] that promotes the free market by privatizing public institutions, promoting fiscal austerity for public spending and, restructuring public institutions to resemble free-market businesses” (Baird, et. al. 2019:344).

feminist theory of organizations” (1990:141) in the public sector primarily because “the available discourses conceptualize organizations as gender – neutral” (1990:142).<sup>108</sup>

The managerial structures throughout the college system in North America and elsewhere characteristically involve general administrative oversight and governance.<sup>109</sup> The structural typology also entails overall institutional administration inclusive of support staff, facilities management, security, student relations and the hundreds of other operational facets of the organization. Etzioni (1964) points to the natural tension that exists between those who lead in a bureaucracy and those who must necessarily follow. This ‘tension’ exists in the public college system (Mackay 2014:10). The relentless increase in operational costs and the precarious nature of determinate and part-time teaching positions together with austerities imposed by curtailed government funding (Redden 2019) have altered the interactional dynamic between faculty and administration with the latter being seen as holding the balance of power (Walmsley 2016:np and cf. Mindzak 2019, Smith, 1994, 1998, Steinberg 1990, Vallas 1990, Hudson 2007, Kallberg 2003). The decline in domestic student enrollment and Province-wide competition for international students to make up revenue deficits have forced colleges to adopt a quasi-marketized business model (Gerwitz, et. al. 1995) that endorses business-style policy solutions promising greater financial sustainability.

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<sup>108</sup> A ‘key performance indicator’ (KPI) for colleges today is the degree of client satisfaction with curricular learning outcomes and the extent to which they enable the accomplishment of long-term personal goals. Higher education in Canada, as elsewhere, has mutated to a post-modern, consumer centric (Delucchi and Smith 1997) shift in the institutional landscape. Superficially, its democratized efficiencies (DeWitte and Lopez-Torres 2017, Johnes 2004, Worthington 2001) no longer permit post-secondary institutions to be the “nursery and playground of the elite” (Lu 2013:np), particularly in the provincial college system. Here, evolving socio-political views about diversity in post-secondary education have led to a reconfiguration of education management attuned to community needs in local business and industry (Jones 2012). Community sentience is felt not only in terms of non-discriminatory gender policies regarding student induction but also legislated and policy-driven diversity in hiring protocols (Shaker and Shaban 2018). Both oppose historical gender asymmetries that were a trenchant element of the homosocial ‘old boys’ network’ in colleges.

<sup>109</sup> Clearly, ‘management in education’ is a concept distinct from ‘managerial leadership’. Stodgill (1974:259) suggests that “there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept”. But education management is about the ability to influence others at all levels within the bureaucracy. The common goal is to work toward achieving institutional performance standards which inevitably necessitates concerted actions that require the authority flowing from hierarchical relationships. (Connolly, et. al.:519). Bennis and Nanus (1985:21) neatly characterize the distinction by suggesting that managers are the employees who, properly instructed, take it upon themselves to do things right. On the other hand, the researchers suggest that leaders, if properly enabled, are the individuals who do the right thing. The basis of education management as a relatively impersonal and rational core structure can be traced to the study of modern bureaucracy by Max Weber (1946, 1947) the essence of whose thesis is defined by Greenwood and Lawrence (2005:497) as “a fixed division of labour (horizontal differentiation), a hierarchy of authority-based positions (vertical differentiation), written documents and general rules (standardization and formalization), and the use of expert personnel (specialization)”.

The neoliberal model, primarily focussed on fiscal sustainability, has fostered a disproportionate power imbalance. The profit-driven influence of the private sector is reflected in more assertive administrative practices (Jonathan 1997, Bottery 2000, Hood 1991, Butcher 1995, Clarke et. al. 2000). These practices reflect traditional patrifocalized connotations, particularly the emphasis on a matrix of power consisting of institutional “authority, hierarchy and balance” (Gamble1988-54-55). Managers of all genders including intersectional minorities must compete with one another in this neoliberal field of practice that is ostensibly ‘gender neutral’ (Connell 2011:19) but in fact it is a troubled reservoir of unease (Thrupp and Wilmott 2003:14). “Gender-neutral language has no relation to the different realities of men and women's lives” (Hooyman and Gonyea 1995:236) that often do not necessarily align with its implicit binaries. The majority of the senior administrative offices in the Ontario college system remain occupied by white, heteronormative males adhering to a patrifocal leadership style who drive the metaphorical bus; all others must reconcile themselves to being mere passengers.<sup>110</sup>

The basic structure of a typical college bureaucracy, from the presidency emanating outward through its various delegations, is like the hub on the wheel. The spokes are the various programmes, policies, operations and offices, benefits, and activities efficiently integrated and coordinated to attract students, faculty, and administrative staff - all in furtherance of the institution’s strategic vision and mission goals. Connolly, et. al. (2019:505) suggests that “(e)ducational management in practice entails delegation, which involves being assigned, accepting, and carrying the responsibility for the proper functioning of a system in which others participate in an educational institution, and implies an organisational hierarchy”. Individual

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<sup>110</sup> According to Ross-Smith and Huppertz (2010:554): “This means that men generally maintain power over the field and ‘women and minorities must play by the rules and within the boundaries established by white men’ (Corsun and Costen, 2001, p. 18). Similarly, Witz (1998, p.58) states that bureaucracies and organizations have not only privileged attributes linked to masculinity and male work-life arrangements but have also validated and permitted male forms of embodiment and invalidated or rendered impermissible, female forms of embodiment.” Weingarten, et. al. (2018:4 argues further that there is little relief from the tensions created by a bureaucracy increasingly shaped and driven by private sector business models that focus on profit and the economies of scale as the pragmatic and almost exclusive measure of financial sustainability (Weingarten, et. al. 2018:4). Connell (2011:21) offers the big picture: “On a world scale [...] very large numbers of men are nevertheless engaged in preserving gender inequality. Patriarchy is defended diffusely. There is support for change from equally large numbers of men, but it is an uphill battle to articulate that support. That is the political context with which new gender-equality initiatives have to deal”.



interests and self-identities are necessarily subsumed by the inner homogeneity and primacy of the organization's administrative protocols in furtherance of its goals.<sup>111</sup>

Some researchers studying college bureaucracies focus on Weberian axes of power relative to the organizational importance of the task and performance metrics. For example, Dimmock (1999:450, see: Cole 2000) distinguishes among "higher order tasks designed to improve staff, student, and school performance (leadership), routine maintenance of present operations (management) and lower order duties (administration)". Historically, empirical research in the area concerned itself with the 'higher order' or 'leadership' tasks to which Dimmock refers (cf. Acker 2012). These are the occupants of the 'top-tier' positions in middle management adjacent to but not quite through the doors of the Vice-Presidential and Presidential suites.<sup>112</sup> However, in contrast to Dimmock's narrow view of administrative roles within middle management (which he relegates to a 'lower order' of collective responsibility), contemporary theories and empirical research have introduced the concept of 'leading from the middle' which posits the idea that middle managers in the administration are an influential organizational component of the entire institution (Fitzgerald and Gunter 2006). They are the integral, value-added connecting point between the highest and lowest structural regions of the organization or what one author calls "the meat in the sandwich" (Dwyer 2017:np).

In North America and elsewhere, middle-level managerial environments are not often the subject of sociological investigation (David 2011:2), even though, they are pivotal connection points in developing, initiating, and maintaining key strategy processes, despite their organizational integrality.<sup>113</sup> Of the few grounded research studies that exist, they are found principally in the U.K.

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<sup>111</sup> Theodor Adorno (1991:110) puts it this way: "[T]he organization qua organization takes the place of [individual] interests. An organization is forced into independence by self-preservation; at the same time this establishment of independence leads to alienation from its purposes and from the people of whom it is composed. Finally - in order to pursue its goals appropriately - it enters into a contradiction with them: the primary focus becomes the organization's own survival in the name of its professed social responsibilities inclusive of diversity management".

<sup>112</sup> Today, mid-level college managers likely are drafted from a pool of recognized subject-matter experts in the academic faculty co-opted into quasi-managerial or managerial roles. Alternatively, they could be imported, non-faculty departmental heads such as deans, assistant deans, facilities managers, inclusive of information technology engineers, security personnel or food services managers, and departmental chairs who have gained experience and success in other higher education settings. (Harris et. al. 1995).

<sup>113</sup> While 'middle management' as a specific focus of sociological examination is not as frequently as other related areas such as 'managerial leadership' it is nevertheless fairly clear from, existing research investigations, that term 'middle

and Australia (Bargh, et. al. 2000). Following Dimmock, Huy relegates the typical normative model of middle management to “a supportive role at best” (2002:32). However, these views are the exception; most scholars contend that “middle managers are not simply implementers of organizational policies, but key role players in agenda setting, organizational strategy development and policy design” (David 2017:41, DeBoer, et. al. 2010).<sup>114</sup>

The accomplishment of these work-related endeavours may be motivated by the reciprocal benefits accruing to selfless and “visceral” (Bourdieu 2000:102) investment in the collaborative and transformational process of achieving an organization’s strategic plan as part of a goal-oriented collectivity. In so doing, an individual’s linkage to group-based bonding is strengthened within the social network or, as Ronald Burt (1995) suggests, the ‘structural hole’<sup>115</sup> underlying these overt manifestations of instrumentalism. Lin (2003:25) claims that, in fact, “(t)his representation only makes sense when it is assumed that all members [of the collectivity] maintain strong and reciprocal relations (a completely dense or institutionalized network), so that the strength of relations does not enter into the calculus”. However, Bourdieu (1998a) reminds us that even disinterested judgments, adopted, legitimated, and reproduced in pursuit of distinction within one’s social field (college administrations, for example) are not disinterested at all (Dicks 2010). In fact, it is almost axiomatic that “the weaker the tie, the more likely ego will have access to better social

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management’ conveys the idea of the classic hierarchical structure discussed earlier. One cannot conceive of middle management in an organization without also assuming the normal cascading of authority from executive levels to the middle level and from there, downward. Bennett (1995:28) describes this mid-position role as one that involves the “transmission of information and command ‘up’ and ‘down’ the line, leading to the concept of middle managers as key brokers within the organisation”. Briggs (2001:24) and Bennett (supra.228) point out that such a ‘broker’ is in a potentially powerful position to control and influence the ‘flow of information’, thereby possessing the potential to be a creative force for organisational change. Indeed, the ability to exert ‘influence’ over others however, deployed is an essential component of leadership (Gardner 1995:292, Northouse 2004).

<sup>114</sup> Briggs’ (2001.225) research at Leicester in the U.K. supports the majority view based upon her experience with a number of interviews of thirteen middle managers. Despite their interstitial position in the managerial hierarchy, they tend to see themselves in “the leadership role of creating vision and inspiration, valuing, and empowering staff ... and as such their approach conformed to the model of transformational leadership’. Leadership among managers (is) based on personal values such as equity and empowerment of others, (and is) ‘shifting its shape constantly’, adapting to circumstance, ‘reflecting the contingent nature of leadership’”. In that regard, Kowalski, (2003:2) makes the point that “an effective school administrator usually must be both a manager and a leader”.

<sup>115</sup> Ronald Burt (2000:345) defines a ‘structural hole’ as ultimately entailing a “connection between social networks and social capital.” In his view, “(t)here is an impressive diversity of empirical evidence showing that social capital is more a function of brokerage across structural holes than closure within a network [...] Structural holes are the source of value added, [whilst] network closure can be essential to realizing the value buried in the holes”.

capital for instrumental action” (Lin, 2003:67). Better social capital is linked to more authoritative and powerful ‘structural holes’.

An agent appropriates social energy to accrue symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1996: 73-127). This form of capital can be a by-product of the “selfless” promotion of the *illusio* – i.e., believing in, playing, and reproducing a field game where there is the chance of upward reward but also the risk of downward alienation.<sup>116</sup> Success is achieved through unreflexively committing oneself to the game, thereby assuring oneself of continued membership in the power group and contributing to its solidarity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:116). Bourdieu contends that “(t)he reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed” (Bourdieu 1986:22).

Jadesemi (2016:np) articulates the idea of gender intersecting with ambition to achieve success within the ranks of management. The greater commitment to the institution’s goals - even at the expense of family responsibilities which often default to women (Schneider 1991, Lam 1990, Ortiz and Marshall 1988, Konrad and Pfeffer 1991) - the more one demonstrates ambition. Ambition is the coin of the realm. Jadesemi (2016:np) adds that “(i)t’s also helpful if your ambition is masked by a seeming willingness to work as part of, and for the good of, the team until such a time as you become so indispensable that they have to put you in charge, or the team is in crisis”, which enhances one’s social capital. Goffman (1959) writes about concept of *impression management*, a routine, often salutary work strategy by which individuals act to enhance their self-image by downplaying their own deficiencies in order to bolster credibility. This generates trust from the team and enhances the chances of individual success (Duarte 2011).<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as “the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

<sup>117</sup> But not everyone is invited to participate in game. Significant intersectional dynamics belie the espoused mantra found in institutional diversity policies whose top-down ideology connotes an unearned and certainly misplaced sense of moral superiority. The reality is that equality and inclusion statements are often commercialized and marketed, relegating themselves to mere rhetorical ornamentation (Cherit 2008:55). In her book, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, (2012:1) Sara Ahmed cautions that a “genealogy of the term “diversity” allows us to think about the appeal of the term as an institutional appeal. We might want to be cautious about the appealing nature of diversity and ask whether the ease of its incorporation by institutions is a sign of the loss of its critical edge.”

#### 4.4 The Structural Inadequacy of Mandated Diversity

One of the key project goals is to inquire whether the rhetoric of diversity policies in Ontario college bureaucracies curtails gender-based ascription in work-place relations. Arguably, it functions as a commoditized and dedifferentiated parody of itself. The web-based politicization and manneristic language of plenary college diversity policies suggests an excessive narrative the meaning of which tends to implode upon itself resolving into a form postmodern logocentricity, devoid of contradictions and admitting no challenge. But implicit in the simulacrum of that rhetorical homology is an implicated, carceral rejection of the right to live by one's own truth. Its self-consciously pious and morally superior semanticisms obfuscate everyday struggles over virtuosic agency and stratification in the workplace and its symbolics achieve little to stem the reproduction of an androcentric career habitus (Becker 1999:36).<sup>118</sup> Studies focusing on the extent to which social diversity can be achieved in a bureaucracy have produced unsettling results (see: Kalev 2014). Theories conflict and empirical findings are inconsistent (Kalev 2014, Kmec 2005) however, the general view is that inroads toward diversity and inclusion are a systemic challenge. Feminists such as Becker (1999) argue that institutional gender-neutrality merely projects the illusion of organizational fairness but never the reality. Gender-neutral policies conceal patrifocality exemplified by the 'old boys' network'. It is a socially constructed constituency of typically white, heterosexual, middle-aged males possessing a significant amount of managerial discretion and influence. In the language of bureaucracy, such a network is nothing more than a "scientific organization of inequality" (Ferguson (1984:7). Acker (1990:154) contends that "(r)ational-technical, ostensibly gender-neutral, control systems are built upon and conceal a gendered substructure."<sup>119</sup> Despite laws, policies and hard-fought collective agreements explicitly mandating diversity in the Province's colleges, the result is desultory and a challenge to the recognition of gender self-identity.

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<sup>118</sup> Becker (1999:36) suggests that, in fact, seemingly egalitarian conceptualizations such as 'gender neutrality' are actually "androcentric - centered on male needs and male-defined standards because it only applies when women look like men (and are thus similarly situated) [...] Further, formal equality entitles only women who look like men to the rules and practices worked out by and for men."

<sup>119</sup> For example, Dobbin, et. al. (2015:1020) argues that: "Formal job ladders stipulate eligibility for jobs and pathways upward from entry-level jobs, thereby making clear which current employees are eligible for which openings (DiPrete 1989:197), although historically they have worked against women and minorities who are crowded into lower-level jobs with no rungs above them (DiPrete 1989:199)".

## (a) Laws

While it is unclear whether Canada's *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*<sup>120</sup> applies directly to provincial, publicly funded colleges (Littlewood 2020), section 92 of the nation's constitution (which includes the 'Charter') stipulates that both private and public educational institutions at all levels in Ontario from primary school through university fall under provincial legislation. Ontario has its own anti-discrimination legislation and the Courts have held that the provisions of the *Ontario Human Rights Code*<sup>121</sup> should be interpreted in a manner that is consistent with the anti-discrimination prohibitions found in the Charter.<sup>122</sup> Both the *Code* and the *Charter* are shaped by the notions of plurality and respect for human freedom and agency. They purport to protect individuals in the workplace against discrimination and harassment which might be based upon the intersectionalities discussed above. Section 9 of the Code further prohibits indirect discrimination or harassment which would include such behaviours as off-putting remarks, offensive jocularity or antics and insults or comments (in emails or otherwise) that might have the effect of degrading someone in the workplace.<sup>123</sup>

There is the difference between statute and reality, theory and practice. If the universalist principles behind the plenary imposition of legal rules is to bear fruit, it must provide a facilitative compass to re-orient the behaviours of those agents whose habitus might cause them to fall-back on pre-existing, less inclusive social constructs. Certainly, by the 1980's, that anti-discrimination regulatory compass pointed to a growing public sentience about the meaning of inequality and

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<sup>120</sup> The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is Part 1 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* that is itself incorporated into the *Consolidation of Constitution Acts, 1867-1982*.

<sup>121</sup> The *Ontario Human Rights Code* is fully explained here: <http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/ontario-human-rights-code>.

<sup>122</sup> "Human rights legislation, as law, must meet the standards imposed by section 15 of the *Charter*. Existing statutes contain exceptions which may well be rendered null and void by the *Charter*. One instance of this is subsection 19(2)116 of the *Human Rights Code*, 1981, which permits athletic activities segregated by sex. The Ontario Court of Appeal, *in Re Blainey and Ontario Hockey Ass'n*, ruled that subsection 19(2) of the *Code* was inconsistent with subsection 15(1) of the *Charter* and should be declared of no force and effect" (Juriansz 1987:481).

<sup>123</sup> These statutes are explicit and progressive political responses to pressing social issues - enforceable responses specifically intended to control certain aspects of human fallibility by outlawing the various historically entrenched social interactions by which inequalities - including those in organizations - are reproduced. This is the grandiose, redemptive cartography of the laws mentioned, i.e., the grand theory that, through its prescriptive coercions, ameliorative laws such as the Charter and the Code "serve the goal of correcting the comportment of delinquent legal subjects" (MacDonald and Kong, 2006:18).

diversity in Canada, particularly in Ontario whose population is the most demographically complex in the nation. The organizational responses across both public and private sectors were the development of various diversity policies especially in bureaucratic hiring and promotional practices. Both have been potential hotspots for discrimination on the basis of 'gender and race' (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002:11-36). Do these rational, ostensibly neutral, and inclusive organizational controls over managerial discretion ferret-out racist tendencies and gender-bias or do they, in fact, conceal the historical prejudices they were designed to eradicate or at least mitigate? Feminist scholars argue that diversity policies are not a facilitative regulatory compass pointing toward more inclusive bureaucratic practices (Ferguson 1984, Acker 1990). Instead, they are built upon a pre-existing, heavily ingrained cognitive biases buried in the organizational sub-structure that is fundamentally patriarchal. The very idea of gender neutrality is an impediment because unchecked "... men in organizations take their behavior and perspectives to represent the human, organizational structures and processes theorized as gender neutral" (Acker 1990:142, Smith 1988, MacKinnon, 1982, Moss Kanter 1977). Yet these policies which explicitly embrace the previously mentioned regulatory architectures purporting to legislate out of existence workplace discrimination can be found everywhere including college administrations. It is a challenge to understand the success of these policies and the extent to which they have routed the very social inequalities they were designed to neutralize.

## **(b) Governance**

The Ontario Ministry of Colleges oversees post-secondary education in the Province. Its responsibilities include development of policy impacting public colleges inclusive of policies directed toward student loan funding, international student induction and institutional diversity. Its policies influence the trajectory of post-secondary education. In combination with other provincial ministries involved in higher education policies for Ontario, the Ministry promotes increased diversity among students. This includes adult learners and students from multi-racial backgrounds, including ethnic minorities, that are otherwise underrepresented in the post-secondary education system. The Ministry is influenced by current, federal immigration policies and the nationally recognized need for job retraining as new technologies replace the manual labour-based skills that, decades ago, were more heavily required in industry. Unskilled, labour-intensive industries are either rapidly disappearing or re-tooling with disruptive, highly skilled technologies designed to

increase maximum operational efficiencies. The Ministry forecasts at least a decade of enrolment growth tied with more flexible and easily transitioned student mobility among colleges in the Province and across the Country with a concerted policy framework, the focus of which on increased internationalization of student populations (Ontario Ministry of Colleges 2020).<sup>124</sup>

The Ministry, through a combination of student loans (i.e., the *Ontario Student Loan Program*) and direct funding contributes to the operating budgets of every college in Ontario (Ministry of Colleges and Universities 2019). Any shortfall is made up from unborrowed student tuition. However, domestic enrollment is decreasing. The “demographics have changed in recent years, and the 18-to-24-year-old [domestic] population has been falling. This decline is more profound in rural and northern areas and is expected to continue in the medium term” (Ontario Government 2016:3). Increases have been documented in overall student participation rates because of internationalized student enrollment which has somewhat offset the drop in domestic tuition and therefore it has assisted somewhat the capacity of every college to be barely self-sustaining. But the consequence is that most of the institutions affected, including those in this study, must deal with significant declines in enrolment-related funding which has direct impact on their ability to continue to offer viable programs. To compensate for funding deficits, the Provincial government has instituted a “performance-based funding model” (Ontario Government 2016:11) which, in essence, instructs the colleges to market themselves to international students for whom tuition is approximately three times that assessed for domestic students, depending upon the program and the location of the college (Galeazzi 2014).

The colleges compensate by aggressively pursuing international students from all over the world. They attempt to achieve this goal with the assistance of a marketing strategy developed by the *Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development* working in concert with the *Ministry of Colleges*. The former’s stated aim is to “lay the foundation for continued success in international education by strengthening international student recruitment and retention, supporting public priorities of economic growth, and meeting the evolving needs of 21st-century postsecondary

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<sup>124</sup> See Schedule ‘K’, section IV. There is an indirect but significant route that connects the Ministry to a dissertation question: does gender capital as well as other forms of human and social capital assist in achieving career commitments within a college bureaucracy? The answer begins by more closely looking at the Ministry itself which, in accordance with the *Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002*, develops policy-level mandates that must be followed by colleges across the Province.

learners” (Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development 2018:1). This does increase student populations, but the increase is mostly attributable to students from other countries who are non-white. Students from abroad often require extra assistance with language, local customs, the monetary system, housing and much more: not least, there are the exquisitely unique demands of inter-personal relationships often impeded by a deficit discourse with their Canadian classmates. All of this necessarily involves more time and effort from college staffs. Unfortunately, this does not result in proportionate increase in hiring practices across the Province to handle the influx of international students and their very real personal needs; it is the opposite. Ontario ranks last in public, post-secondary funding in the Country. This unenviable statistic has labour consequences (Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations 2019).<sup>125</sup>

With the existing staff not being replaced even in the face of mandatory attrition, coupled with increased workloads arising from the influx of international students, a stasis has evolved, and employees simply hang on to their jobs as long they are able (Jaschik 2013). Ensuring longevity is the key; merit generally is not. Unions have something to do with it but mostly career success in environments such as this is linked to being able to simply remain under the radar whilst doing what one can to avoid displeasure from those higher in the field hierarchy (Jenkins 2018). As one employee interviewed by Jenkins points out, “at community colleges, some department chairs run their departments like little fiefdoms. You may get lucky and have a chair ... who is humble, collegial, and ... focused, but you’re just as likely to have one who is egotistical, irrationally demanding, and self-aggrandizing” (Jenkins 2018: n.p). This description resonates with masculine overtones or the cultural habitus of being male. It also implies that a masculine, gendered identity practiced in the field as social capital represents a durable and effective construct.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> The most immediate impact is on college staffing and hiring practices (Ontario Universities and College Coalition 2019). Staff cutbacks are felt in every college through increased attrition by lowered retirement thresholds, hiring freezes and the proliferation of ‘precarious labour’, i.e., part-time staff who are employed on a contract or sessional basis, not connected to the collective agreements in place and with no thought of career advancement (Shaker and Shaban 2018, Donnelly 2018, Grant 2014, Tiessen 2014, Barkawi 2013, Law Commission of Ontario 2009). Existing managerial employees complain of more work required for less wages. Labour disputes have ensued. In November 2017, the Province endured a five-week labour outage which was the longest in the history of the Ontario college system (Rushowy 2017). So trenchant were the employees that the still partially unresolved dispute resulted in the Ontario Liberal Government being compelled to enact back-to-work legislation (Industrial Relations and Human Resource Library 2019).

<sup>126</sup> It will be recalled that gender capital, is a micro-organizational concept “identified by feminist theorists as a form of limited “embodied” cultural capital” (Huppatz and Ross-Smith 2008:5, McCall, 1992). It is utilized by agents either to remain in control or strategized to seek favour and career stability from those in control or, as Huppatz and Smith (2008:5) suggest, “to navigate the boundaries of a field established by men”. Jenkins describes those in control at the very top (and whether male or female) in approximately the same terms: “The same thing, by the way, applies to deans,



Later, this thesis presents a detailed explanation of how social capital as well as other capitals can and do assist in achieving career goals within a college bureaucracy. An explanation for the potency of gender capital in this environment (though certainly not the only one) is the chain-reaction effect generated by recent government policies operationalized through various of its ministries and felt within the institutions studied. Cutbacks, increased workload, job security and a pre-existing androcentric environment offer little incentive to change. This is only one of several policy implications on college managerial staffs throughout the Province. The next section suggests that the diversity policies in place do very little to improve the situation.

### **(c) Ineffective Diversity Policies**

Virtually every public college in Ontario promotes non-harassment and anti-discrimination policies that essentially adopt the core tenets of the *Ontario Human Rights Code* and, behind the *Code*, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. It is unclear whether either the *Code*, the anti-discrimination policies in place or the punitive measures attached to them are observed in practice. In higher education, there is always a difference between espoused policy and the practiced one (Loi and DioGuardo 2015). Moreover, in studies of similar organizational environments around the world it has been found that punitive approaches rarely prevent unfair treatment and systemic discrimination (Valfort 2017). It remains a challenge to effectively outlaw the habitus (Albert 2019).

A typical college diversity policy incorporates the *Code's* core provisions (see, e.g., Seneca College 2007:np) and most colleges in Ontario heavily promote and make readily accessible their own compliance with the *Code* through college website perorations about highly developed administrative policies dealing with such issues (see, e.g., George Brown: np). Even so, “many employers [including those in college administrations] reluctantly admit that training has not been carried out for some time, if at all and have been dealing with discrimination and harassment

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vice presidents, and presidents at community colleges. In fact, if anything, it seems that the higher people rise on the organizational chart, the more likely they are to become petty tyrants” (2018: n.p).

complaints ad-hoc without any reference to the organisation's policy at all" (Bacall 2019).<sup>127</sup> Diversity policies are in place in the Ontario college system, and they are heavily promoted but their efficacy is questionable as has been emphasized throughout this dissertation. In fact, "[e]fforts to moderate managerial bias through diversity training and diversity evaluations are least effective at increasing the share of white women, black women, and black men in management" (Kalev, et. al. 2006:589).<sup>128</sup> As Dyer (1997:3) suggests, "... we have not yet reached a situation in which white people and white cultural agendas are no longer in the ascendant. The media, politics, education are still in the hands of white people, still speak for whites while claiming – and sometimes sincerely aiming – to speak for humanity". Dyer's view is generally shared by many current, feminist critics of post-colonial diversity policies in academia and elsewhere (see, e.g. Thompson and Zablotsky 2016, Pullen, et. al. 2019, Mikkelsen and Wåhlin 2020, Pryor and Hoffman 2021, Mianda 2020). Drawing on her own neoinstitutional workplace ethnographic work, Berrey (2014:347) found that "[...] diversity management programs attempt to minimize gender and racial boundaries by codifying egalitarian ideals in organizational structures, and those definitions can reify class-based hierarchies".

It should be pointed out that, "(d)espite the changes and challenges involved, few argue philosophically *against* an increased openness and diversity within higher education" (Michalski, et. al. 2021:66). Similarly, most have little difficulty with principles of distributive justice, workplace social mobility and access to equal opportunity (Black, et. al 2015). However, a closer interrogation of systemically publicized mission statements regarding diversity in the college workplace reveals that, especially when contrasted with individual reception and inculcation at the managerial level, discrepancies exist between the occasionally grandiloquent diversity mantra and its overall effectiveness. Fundamentally, it is challenging - and for some, likely impossible - to recognize and acknowledge the idea of 'difference' in a workplace environment where key, career-enhancing social networks are heavily populated by individuals who, for the most part, share almost identical

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<sup>127</sup> Dobbin and Kalev (2016:np) suggest that: "Executives favor a classic command-and-control approach to diversity because it boils expected behaviors down to dos and don'ts that are easy to understand and defend. Yet this approach also flies in the face of nearly everything we know about how to motivate people to make changes. Decades of social science research point to a simple truth: You won't get managers on board by blaming and shaming them with rules and re-education".

<sup>128</sup> The point is perhaps best demonstrated by referring to the difficulty in Ontario that "trans-legal advocates and employment policy advocates face [when they attempt to] account for the disparities between anti-discrimination and employment laws recognizing gender identity and gender expression as protected grounds and trans people's lived experiences of being marginalized within or barred from the workplace" (Irving and Hoo 2020:198). This particularly applies to trans women and racial minorities.

racial, cultural and socio-demographic characteristics (see Beer 2015, Brickman 1977, Fleming 1981, Partridge 2014, Taylor and Hoechsmann 2011).

#### **(d) Collective Agreements**

The process of collective bargaining in Ontario “as an additional tool to promote equality is indicated also by the potential advantages it offers over legal regulation. These advantages relate to flexibility, acceptability, legitimacy, enforcement and voice” (Dickens 2000:196). Fortunately, the industrial relations environment in the Province is heavily impacted by both the *Charter of Rights* and *Ontario Human Rights Code* such that it would be almost unthinkable to successfully negotiate a collective agreement that does not contain robust regulatory and diversity policy space for ensuring that these formal strictures become viable and substantive outcomes for the benefit of all provincial employees.

All mid-level managerial employees in the Ontario college system are unionized. Virtually all the collective agreements in place between unions, their members and college administrations contain provision incorporating the *Ontario Human Rights Code*. Provisions such as the foregoing suggest a decline in the historically masculinist overtones implicit in trade unionism (Taillon 2002, Williams 2003, Iacovetta 2008). The labour sector has taken a back seat to the increasing social importance of the service sector and, with that shift, the necessary recognition of the need to include provisions in collective agreements that effectively reflect workplace diversity and progressive forms of flexibility in working conditions designed to accommodate that diversity. This is particularly the case with so many women in the provincial labour force, especially in the education sector. A unions’ ability to mobilize its membership for the purpose of advancing disparate strategic goals such as wage parity and improved working conditions, depends largely on the support it receives from a plenary constituency (Colgan and Ledwith 1996, Leisink 1997).

Dickens (2000:196) points out “(a)ttempting to graft women’s concerns or equality issues onto existing bargaining agendas [...] lead to compartmentalisation of equality within bargaining. That is to say, negotiations addressing an identified equality issue may be part of, or run along-side,

negotiations which are gender blind”. Contending with gender issues as “add-ons” in an attempt to satisfy concerns women have about discrimination in the workplace in reality do very little to the loosen the grasp of those who would cling to “receding empires [with] encrusted rigidity” (Pocock 1997:24). This is obviously an oblique reference to the earlier mentioned ‘old boys’ network’ prevalent in Ontario’s higher education systems. Accordingly, the right to be free from discrimination on any one or more of the prohibited grounds listed in the *Code*, including race and gender identity and expression, are fought over ferociously and hard won by union members. Yet, just as demonstrated above with various Code violations brought before the *Ontario Human Rights Commission*, numerous grievances prevail alleging discrimination by Ontario colleges against their administrative employees.<sup>129</sup>

Finally, in a group grievance (comprising approximately 120 grievors) against George Brown College (Toronto), the Union filed a group grievance alleging that through the hours of work the College assigned to the various positions in the bargaining unit, it violated both the collective agreement as well as the provisions of the *Human Rights Code*. The allegation was that the College engaged in systemic discrimination on the basis of gender by virtue of the manner in which hours of work were distributed among various classifications at the College. The Union alleged that by assigning female employees work rated at 35 hours per week and male employees work rated at 40 hours per week, the latter received paid lunch hours while females were systemically denied the same privilege (*OPSEU v. George Brown College (2004)*).<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> For example, in a complaint brought before the Ontario Labour Relations Board, a Sheridan College (Toronto) employee alleged that in retaliation for her having filed a complaint, the College suspended her on two occasions and embroiled her in its human rights process without justifiable reason (*Butler v. Sheridan College 2016*). In an individual grievance filed against Centennial College (Toronto), the union representing its employee member argued that the college where the grievor was employed discriminated against her when it denied her a sought-after position in retaliation for her voicing of concerns about the noticeable dearth of female representation in the department contrary to the collective agreement and the *Ontario Human Rights Code*. The allegation went further to name a specific department head who apparently manipulated the hiring process in a manner that discriminated against the incumbent employee because of her gender and complaints about the lack of fair gender representation among the college staff (*OPSEU and Horodnyck v. Centennial College 2014*).

<sup>130</sup> Despite the foregoing, relative inroads have been made toward the enforcement of gender equality and diversity in college administrations which should not be disregarded. But it is a matter of the relative obfuscating the absolute. Powerful stereotypes are deeply embedded in traditional social and cultural biases that shape beliefs and workplace expectations. The habitus clinging from another era stubbornly resists change in the concealed value structures lurking beneath the surface. They serve to reinforce negative attitudes toward a true acceptance of gender equality and workplace diversity (Riska 2008, Coventry 1999).

Compelled learning about what the law and promulgated institutional diversity policies require in terms of hiring practices, staff integration and career promotion may produce a peculiar brand of ‘work-to-rule’ practices. In subsequent Chapters, the argument is made that these compliances often do not detect the influence of the unconscious habitus in the field nor real-life prejudiced attitudes and implicit assumptions about gender, and race; a discussion follows about how these intersectionalities are present and unspoken but nevertheless clearly heard (Dovido 2009). Unfortunately, mandatory diversity training programs designed to combat the foregoing may not even impact upon severely biased employees in the workplace (Pauluck and Green 2009) and may even generate backlash (Sanchez and Medkik 2004) as employees in a managerial position subversively resist Foucauldian ‘governmentality’ (Burchell, et. al. n.d.) or what they perceive is a threat to their own decision-making authority and independence (Dobbin and Kalev 2006).<sup>131</sup>

## 4.5 Conclusion

Kathleen Gerson (2011) provides a buoyant and hopeful account of the unfinished gender revolution. She opines about what she sees as transformational beginnings in society and a more mature coming of age with regard to gender and work (see: Lorber 2000). However, her view is regarded by some as perhaps too optimistic (Deutsch 2007, England 2010, Fraser 2009}. In her book *Framed by Gender*, Cecilia Ridgeway (2011:4) portrays the persistence of systemic gender inequalities. She points out that “when the system of resource control on which gender inequality is based [...] is upset by technological and socioeconomic transformations, the gender hierarchy itself should be at risk of collapse. Yet this collapse has not happened in [...] society”. Ridgeway speaks to the apparent ineffectiveness of the foregoing approaches taken to mandate diversity in modern bureaucratic administrations.

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<sup>131</sup> Mandated diversity may not be the answer in every institution and in every situation. It may be that mandated diversity in some circumstances has the opposite effect of compelling the strategic utilization of Bourdieu’s capitals to achieve career goals. An interesting example can be found in a study of America’s top corporations for women technologists where, among them, it was found that organizations with high promotion rates had less mandated diversity training (17.6%) than bottom companies that insisted upon similar training for their managerial employees (42.9%).

Diversity in Ontario colleges remains mythopoetic. Subjective identities are compromised, and coping strategies are invoked to achieve personal and systemic targets. There may be a form of diversity fatigue creeping into organizational sentience. People may be uncomfortably aware that in terms of social equality and efforts at curtailing masculine domination, broad based social inclusion initiatives have achieved very little. Patriarchy and the androcentric norm persists, lurking in the shadows much like the “phantom” of which Billing spoke in her 2011 study (Ruggles 2015, Ridgeway 2014). The fact is that “women continue to struggle within the masculine symbolic order” (Mavin 2014:455). This social artifact of ancient proportions (Cockburn 1991, Janssens 1997, Wajcman 2013), creates hapless victims of women in management. Throughout the following Chapters, Connell’s conceptualization of “hegemonic masculinity” (2005:829) is pervasive and arguably oppressive - somewhat resembling Billing’s (2011) ‘phantom’ of the male norm. Later, in the ‘findings’ Chapters, Connell’s original concept denotes a theme that consistently suffuses the narratives of several perfervid females interviewed for this study who eager to reveal the institutional legitimation of what they perceived to be unequal gender relations and the masculinist influence of patriarchy. However, very few were optimistic about a better state of affairs in the near future.

College administrations are not well assisted through the provision of laws, ministerial intervention, institutional policies nor collective agreements despite what any of them might suggest by their language and lofty aims. The implication is that these well-intended measures, ostensibly ensconcing and promoting systemic diversity policies in organizations like Ontario colleges may lack the ability to disrupt traditionally homosocial preserves beyond mere numerical accommodation. In her book, *Critical Resistance: From Post-Structuralism to Post-Critique*, Claire Hoy (2004) frames the dilemma in terms of Wacquant’s ‘unresolvable contradiction of resistance’. The idea is that those in the college administrative system who find themselves dominated by the social artifacts of patriarchy have few options: for example, they can try to resist domination by various means. That option will be discussed more fully later in the data analysis Chapters. They attempt to do so by engaging in whatever practice eliminates, or at least ameliorates, intersectional domination. Women might wear power garb and high-heels to give themselves authority and height; Sikh men might wear turbans but also double-breasted suits to secularize their head-coverings at least partially. However, as Hoy puts it, this strategy has the same effect as consolidation and assimilation. Therefore, it merely assumes the characteristics of submission. The second option has the dominated attempting to dominate their own domination by accepting and

even accentuating the characteristics that mark them as dominated. This phenomenon is further discussed later in this dissertation.

The next Chapter engages a theoretical analysis of the middle management sector in the Ontario college system. Principal interactionist theories are discussed that relate to the social structures investigated for this dissertation. Also considered are a number of cultural phenomena including bureaucracy, power relations and relational positioning within the typical college organizational structure. These phenomena are explored through both micro and macroscopic lenses that introduce explorations of the feminist viewpoint including those based upon Bourdieu's foundational principles in his theory of practice.

### 5.1 Introduction

The previous Chapter presented a detailed portrait of the middle management sector in college administration and the hierarchal layers of its bureaucracy. Power and authority devolve from the top-most layers of the administration into this organizational sector. The bureaucratic nature of middle management functions to legitimate and reproduce a disproportionate power imbalance based on intersectionality which, in turn, perpetuates social inequality. Earlier, it was argued that the politics of diversity are poorly implemented in Ontario colleges and as a result diversity remains undervalued and systemically challenging. Subjective identities are compromised, and coping strategies are invoked to navigate workplace struggles and discriminations.

This Chapter focuses on significant theories and processes underpinning the typical objective structure of middle management in most public colleges. Bourdieu's theoretical framework has found engagement with and increased attention in the study of managerialism and organizational bureaucracy (Sieweke 2014b, Chartrand and Bargh 1999, Lawrence and Suddaby 2006) including education management in Canada (Eastman 2007). His work is most often associated with the reflexive self, social roles, and the cultural artifacts of human association by which roles and identities are normally defined (Bourdieu 1992, Lacombe, Bourdieu et. al. 1993, Holmes, Bourdieu et. al. 1994, Kenway and McLeod 2004, Robbins 2007). The internal logic of this processual form also involves consideration of other important theoretical positions with regard to bureaucracy, power relations and relational positioning within a social structure. Each of these conceptualizations is examined with greater detail in this Chapter, but all lead to subsequent Chapters in which prevailing feminist viewpoints are introduced in a manner that builds upon a Bourdieusian theoretical foundation.

Following a brief explication of Bourdieu's notions of reflexivity and pre-reflexivity, his reconciliation of objectivism and subjectivism is explained to provide insight into the relationship between agency and structure in middle management. The key concepts involved: habitus, agency and field are explained in some detail as is Bourdieu's meaning of relationality and its contextual



application. In that regard, Taksa and Kalfa (2015:162) suggest that “Bourdieu’s notions of field, doxa, habitus, illusio and cultural capital are particularly useful for an analysis of how [agents respond to the] imperatives of managerialism”. These generative concepts and their associative capital conversions are strategically reproduced within a turbulent (Deem, et. al. 2000) “matrix of action” (Bourdieu 1998b) in which struggles for dominance are tied to an objective system of relational concepts discussed further in this Chapter.

Bourdieu’s is not the only lens through which to observe and analyze the middle management bureaucracy in the Ontario college system. Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman (1954, 1956, 1956b, 1961, 1967, 1971) delves down into a unique micro-analytical perspective on the same system in which he sees the actors engaged in a strategically calculated form of ‘impression management’ at both unconscious and conscious levels not unrelated to the Bourdieu’s conceptualizations of ‘institutional mimesis’ (Sieweke 2014b) and the social reality of agency in the management of identities (Alvesson 1994). Any theoretical portrait of middle management in the Ontario college system is necessarily infused with notions of power. Few discussions of power would be complete without acknowledging the contributions of Michel Foucault and his views of power and governmentality. These concepts are a heuristic means to explore the social construction of management and the implicit tensions existing between educational leadership and employee subjectivity in the college bureaucracy. Accordingly, in this Chapter, an argument is advanced in favour of a linkage among Bourdieu’s theory of practice, notions of Foucauldian neoliberal governance and traditional patriarchal ideology as well as Connell’s conceptualization of ‘hegemonic masculinities’. Taken together, these ideas form the basis for this dissertation’s feminist perspective on the institutional oppressions created by gender and race intersectionality and the further justification for what amounts to the strategic deployment of gender capital intersubjectively in order to achieve career success despite the debilitating corollaries of intersectional discrimination and bias.

## **5.2 Principal Organizational Theories**

Bourdieu conceptualizes deterministic notions of a pre-reflexive self formed by the habitus, that is “unaware of its own historicity” (1999,2000). His is not the only unique approach to the study of the

self as a social being. Goffman (1956) theorizes that social interaction alone – absent any consideration of a pre-reflexive state - is responsible for the psychic architecture of the social self. He offers a highly miniaturized, semaphoric, entirely subjective portrait of symbolic interactionism which examines the most intricate aspects of metasocial behaviour. His ultramicroscopic analysis of interaction order explores the emotional drives of isolated, self-contained agents negotiating the structural constraints of the bureaucratic environment. In Goffman's work, Denzin (2002:106) finds "a timeless naturalistic, taxonomic sociology; a sociology that seemed to turn human beings into Kafka-esque insects to be studied under a glass. He was the objective observer of human folly". Bourdieu was fond of Goffman and considered him to be "one of the fundamental references for sociologists" (Bourdieu 1983:112). But while Bourdieu and Goffman appeared to have parallel ideas about the adaptive social duality of agency in the field, the former was not fond and, in fact, was skeptical of the interactionist epistemology to which Goffman held an established theoretical connection. Significantly, among his other criticisms, Bourdieu believed that in the immediacy of the social interaction dramaturgies portrayed by Goffman, the more profound implications of 'symbolic violence' were not accorded sufficient attention (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Heath (1988:137) contends that Goffman's ultra micro-analytical focus makes a larger point that "(e)mbarrassment and its potential play an important part in sustaining the individual's commitment to social organization, values and convention". An individual may have a disinterested attachment to a team goal or a more transcendent ethical ideology. But, to avoid embarrassment or negative job implications, he/she might resort to a form of calculated 'impression management', concealing disinterest by feigning the opposite. For example, one can simply feign being a merchant of ethics if necessary, to solidify team cohesion (Chriss 2003:184). The concept is reversible. To conceal the desire for a sought-after senior position, a worker might exhibit accismus publicly. In other words: "(a)n individual may affect the embracing of a role in order to conceal a lack of attachment to it, just as he may affect a visible disdain for a role, thrice refusing the kingly crown, in order to defend himself against the psychological dangers of his actual attachment to it" (Goffman 1961:107). In Bourdieusian terms, Goffman's psychoanalytic insights evoke the ever-present transformational capabilities of the habitus that occur "when embodied structures of expectation encounter structures of objective chances in harmony with these expectations, or in a direction that transforms it and, for instance, raises or lowers the level of expectations and aspirations" (Bourdieu, 1990:116).

This view suggests a somewhat radicalized interpretation of ‘institutionalized anomie’ (Bourdieu 1993:52-53), however, in feminist terms, Goffman’s praxis of ‘impression management’ (Smith 2006, Soloman, et. al. 2013, Raffel 2013) enables women to “succeed in management fields [precisely] because they have assimilated masculine norms. Hence, women have taken on masculine values and utilized masculine tools of power (that is masculine forms of capital) in ‘playing the game’ of management fields” (Ross-Smith and Huppatz 2010:554). However, it is her perception of Goffman’s symbolic interactionism and his failure to account for the inner life of the reflexive self that concerns Margaret Archer (2000:317). She believes that Goffman’s presentation of self is confined exclusively to “public outworkings, [where] the shutters came down on the self whose inner deliberations generated these performances ... [Goffman’s] origins, properties and powers [remain] immured behind the brick wall”. In short, Goffman’s dramaturgical descriptions of interaction in public leave absent any theoretical consideration of role played by personal reflexivity.

### **5.3 Reflexivity & Relationality**

At some theoretical demarcation between Goffman’s dismissal to irrelevance any notion of reflexivity in his accounts of the presentation of self in public, to Archer’s (2003)<sup>132</sup> polarized insistence upon the innate power of reflexivity, McNay (1999, 2000) returns us to Bourdieu’s idea of the role that *pre-reflexivity* plays in the structuration process of self-identity (see: Gould 2015, Rose 1997, Salzman 2002, Holland 1999). Contrary to the views of Archer and others, McNay, with Bourdieu’s conceptualizations in mind, suggests that one’s gender identity, for example, may not be entirely self-transformative nor so freely agential. There are psycho-social dynamics of gender identification that are not easily amenable to reflexive self-transformation. McNay cautions that one should not “over emphasise the expressive possibilities” (1999:109) of one’s gender identity. Accordingly, Kenway and McLeod (2004:534) interpret the McNay hortatory to suggest that “in

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<sup>132</sup> I explore a different aspect of this topic in Chapter 3. Reflexivity, according to Archer, is an existential power possessed by everyone that matures through life’s processes. Intentional improvisations in furtherance of a collective strategic purpose - for example, the team mission described above - tend to converge into increasingly self-deterministic, rational, and solipsistic practices in public (Elder-Vass 2007). According to this view, agents are preoccupied with this sort of introspective dialogue on multiple cognitive levels that bring dimensionality to objective structures (Archer 2003). An example is the middle management cohort of a typical college administration in which agents engage in “a ceaseless discussion about the satisfaction of [their] ultimate concerns and a monitoring of the self and its commitments” (Archer 2003:195).

much contemporary social theory there is insufficient differentiation in accounts of gender norms [and that] Bourdieu's insistence on embodiment (through habitus) and structurally differentiated social fields [...] offers potentially better ways of conceptualizing gender, identity and change”.

It should be mentioned that Bourdieu does not dismiss reflexivity as a voluntaristic means to gain control over the objective structures one inhabits (Farrugia and Woodman 2015, Schubert 1995). Indeed, he observes that reflexivity “enables us to monitor, up to a certain point, some of the determinisms that operate through the relation of immediate complicity between position and dispositions” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:136). Bourdieu sees agency as detached from the subjectivism “epitomized by Jean-Paul Sartre’s existentialist phenomenology, [and] also variously [associated with] rational actor theory” (Topper 2001:33) or the atomistic privileging of the conscious. Instead, he links agency to habitual dispositions which are causally determinative of empathetic intentionality. Moreover, Bourdieu understands differences as well as the properties of those differences contextualized in relation to the multi-layered objective structures of culture (Webb, et. al. 2002).<sup>133</sup> Bourdieu describes the phenomenon as “the unwritten musical score according to which the actions of agents, each of whom believes she is improvising her own melody, are organized” (Bourdieu 1992:8). Hilgers summarizes the pre-reflexive habitus as “[...] a finality without consciousness, perceptible and comprehensible only by its manifestation as [a] phenomenon, that is, by action in the world [...]” (2009:729). Ultimately, it does seem likely that our “social selves are always situated at the intersection of multiple and competing social locations (or field positions) and that the habitus itself is always layered. [Therefore], reflexivity arises from horizontal disjunctures (between field positions) and vertical disjunctures (across temporal sedimentation)” (Decoteau 2016:303 and see Archer 2007, 2014, Caetano 2017).<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Bourdieu was not entirely enamoured with objectivist theories which he saw as the mere inversion of the subjectivist universalization of “the theorist’s relation to the object of science” by itself universalizing “the experience that the subject of theoretical discourse has of himself as a subject.” (1990:45-46). According to Bourdieu, objectivist theorization is fundamentally “(p)remised on the idea that scientific knowledge of social reality entails a ‘methodical break’ with the primary experience of the social world, [and therefore] objectivism strives to identify and systematize formal, decontextualized rules, laws, or deep structures governing practice and representations of practice. Although Bourdieu variously associates this impulse with Durkheimian sociology, Saussurian linguistics, Althusserian Marxism, and Foucauldian archaeology, objectivism finds perhaps its purest and most powerful expression in Lévi-Strauss’s monumental quest to identify formal codes and universal mental structures generative of all myth and kinship structures” (Topper 2001:34).

<sup>134</sup> Bourdieu critiqued “the scholastic enclosure which [...] takes one of its most exemplary forms in the closed, separate world, set apart from the vicissitudes of the real world” (Bourdieu 2004 [trans.] Nice 2008: 8-9). That environment, so he perceived, was filled with narcissism, solipsism, arrogance, and complacency. According to Bourdieu, existential reality could only be understood in its entirety by closely examining and, effectively, deconstructing the network of relationships

Bourdieu's theoretical reconciliation of objectivism and subjectivism is the epistemological door through which one gains an understanding of the multi-layered network of relationships. Precisely because "of all the antimonies that artificially divide social science [it is] the most fundamental" (Bourdieu 1980g trans. Nice 1990:25). The inflexibility of determinism - a typical characteristic of purely objectivist viewpoints - and the hyper-voluntarism of subjectivist theory obviously stand in stark opposition. As mentioned above, Bourdieu understands the subjectivist view of social reality as being an entirely interpretive<sup>135</sup> paradigm thereby requiring the social field to be discursively constructed to facilitate interaction and mutual engagement (Bourdieu 1980g trans. Nice 1990, Wacquant 2006:6). In this account of subjectivism, agency and structure are conflated in a way that context and social reality are reduced to language and symbolics alone. Significantly, the subjectivist approach "denies the pre-existence of causally efficacious socio-cultural forms" (Archer 2018:127), thereby effectively neutralizing any theoretical conceptualization of the habitus and /or its role in social reality. In this view, historically constituted predispositions, and their influence upon how an individual engages in field practices have no relational centrality and, in fact, play no role whatsoever. On the other hand, the purely objectivist view of social reality is that it is created and sustained through relations and measurably objective externalities one must navigate and consciously manipulate to achieve a particular, goal-oriented outcome (Cunliffe 2003, Shotter 1992, Jørgensen and Phillips 2012).<sup>136</sup>

Bourdieu understood that the constrictive navigations arising from the bodily hexis - the agent's place within the field - deemphasize "the enormous significance accorded to voluntarism and choice

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comprising the social field "within which and against which one has been formed" (Bourdieu 2004 trans. Nice 2008:4). For Bourdieu, the social world is about the relationship between the subjectivity of individual intention and action (agency) and the objective social structure (field) in which an agent, who has amassed valuable cultural and social capitals, is able to use those assets to 'play the game' within the social structure.

<sup>135</sup> In this regard, ethnographer Clifford Geertz "always maintained the impossibility of the use of 'uninterpreted data' – what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973:9). For Geertz, "ethnographic descriptions represented the imaginative reach of our subjective consciousness; the value of ethnography was to 'enable a working contact with a variant subjectivity' (Geertz 1986:119)" (Inghilieri 2005:132).

<sup>136</sup> For example, Goffman's interpretive micro-sociological analysis of symbolic interactionism (1959, 1961, 1981, see: Blumer 1969, Garfinkel 1967, Layder 2005, Mouzelis 2008) contextualizes the subjective, metalinguistic dimensions of one's psychic architecture in a purely objectivist structural setting. But, for Bourdieu, history, context, and agency are converged. As Webb, et. al. (2002:12-13) suggests, "[f]or [...] Bourdieu, there is no such thing as a disinterested act. All activities [...] are informed by the notion of self-interest to some extent and can be contextualized with regard to the various fields in which those activities take place, and the agent's place within that field".

in both the modernist and the postmodernist visions of contemporary life (Campbell 1996:165). There is a certain amount of historical determinism in Bourdieu's conception of the habitus which "suggests a layer of embodied experience that is not immediately amenable to self-fashioning" (McNay 1999:102). The habitus tends to discount notions of reflexive transformation<sup>137</sup> and, in effect, the concept dismisses "over-rationalised views of behaviour [and] symbolic interactionism and [rejects] more recent idealist views of dispositions as mere constructions of discourse ('subjectivism without a subject'), having only an arbitrary relation to the material world" (Sayer, 1999:406).<sup>138</sup>

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), therefore, theorize the tension between the binaries of agency and structure in relational terms. It calls to mind the "mutually constitutive" (Arun 2018:2) interplay of habitus and field differentially strategized in the portfolios of embodied capital (Bourdieu 1997). By extension, this includes various permutations of social capital accumulated by agents 'playing the game' with a view to gaining, maintaining, or reproducing incremental footholds in the organizational layers of symbolic power (Tatli, et. al. 2015:5). For example, a mid-positioned manager coveting higher layers of bureaucratic authority and power (*agency*) must keep a strategic eye on the windows of opportunity within the institution (*structure*).

Reflexive shrewdness or at least reliable intuition are required to learn optimal capitals or plays of game necessary to assail a power rung without appearing to encroach upon the sphere of authority held by those above (which could be self-defeating). Feminists would argue that the 'game' has negative aspects (Calach and Smirchich 1996, Clegg 1987). It tends to legitimate, perpetuate, and

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<sup>137</sup> In this sense, Bourdieu was as well opposed to rigidly subjectivist interpretations of reality (1977:4-5). Arguably, Bourdieu attempts the reconciliation of those binaries with his notion of field and habitus: the former being the objectivist structure and the latter, shaped by a voluntaristic expression of agency mediated by the subjectivities of cultural and social capital. Ultimately, the field is a place of intersubjective struggle that is always overshadowed by the domination of the habitus (McRobbie 2004:104).

<sup>138</sup> Bourdieu is unconcerned with dichotomous abstractions. In *Pascalian Meditations* (2000:42) he theorizes that the composition of cultural fields is neither exclusively subjective nor objective; instead, the social reality of cultural fields represents a semantic and phenomenological hybrid of both. Social reality, in fact, is "intrinsically double" (Wacquant 2006:6). Agency and structure must be understood relationally because, as ontological entities they are dialectically related to one another. They only take on meaning and significance when analyzed in relation to one another. The Bourdieusian coinage is that "the real is relational" (Bourdieu 1994a trans. Johnson et al. 1998: 97). Habitus, field, and agency within the field must be understood as relational concepts. Their phenomenological functionality bridges and bonds the objective and subjective dimensions of social reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 trans. Wacquant 1992: 126–127).

reproduce symbolic power through the vehicle of its cultural artifacts (Capetta and Giola 2006). In administrative bureaucracies, these artifacts – stylized apparel and accoutrements, for example (Bean-Mellinger 2018, Hall 1997) are the objective benchmarks of patriarchy. Butler (1996) might describe the utilization of these artifacts as ‘gendered performances’. However, power is far more relational. It is not vested in the person and performativity but in the relation between the person and the objective artifacts of power. The inductee may be cloaked in the cultural artifacts of power and authority, but their operability is contextual, located in the field practices that define and are defined by the institutional habitus - the real source of power which, in bureaucratic social structures, does little to support or propagate gender diversity and its imbricated intersectionalities.<sup>139</sup>

#### **5.4 Habitus, Agency & Structure**

Elam suggests that “Bourdieu’s perspective [...] offers an ideal framework for theorizing about the way in which social, cultural and material forces intersect to produce particular types of social action” (Elam 2008:18). Supporting the entire framework is the notion of the habitus. The term ‘habitus’ eludes precise semantic location despite its discussion in a large number of scientific writings (e.g., see Reay 2015, Fowler 1997, Webb, et. al. 2002, Morrison, 2005, Wilterdink 2017, DiGiorgio 2010, Reed-Danahay 2005). The habitus is ‘unobservable’ (Reay, et. al. 2005) however, broadly, habitus might be understood as a continuously vaulting yet exquisitely intricate and complex opera comprised of pre-dispositions and attitudes that individually and collectively shape and are shaped by life’s experiences.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> The foregoing points to the “inseparably psychological and social dispositions that actors incorporate by virtue of occupying a given position and then, largely unawares, patterning one’s behavioural responses according to an innate, predisposed trajectory within a given social space (Peters 2013:143, Bourdieu 1999b:613). In effect, “[t]he agent incorporates rules throughout his or her socialization and social trajectory. These rules are few in number but determine a representational matrix as well as a multi-layered template for action (Hilgers 2009:730).

<sup>140</sup> Deterministic in nature, habitus nevertheless informs agency because it is invariably “constituted in practice and always oriented towards practical function” (1974:436). It is habitus mobilized through which gender identity is constructed and then performed within a social structure. The performance of gender is not inextricably tethered to the biological determinants of sex but rather it is voluntaristic practice linked to and informed by external structures and expectations (Butler 1990) - the ontological concomitants of the habitus.

Indeed, returning to the musical metaphor, for Bourdieu, the habitus is the libretto, the doxic orchestrations of which are the grand, operatic dramaturgy of transposable dispositions (see: Roos and Rotkirch 2003, Daenekindt 2017, Algazi 2003). It is the bedrock of human subjectivity that is inexorably conflated with the relational hydraulics of social or cultural structures (Rutzou 2018). Critical realists, Margaret Archer (2000, 2003, 2007) among them, are not hesitant to debate the weaknesses of Bourdieu's reductionist conception of social determinism, especially for its seeming inability to adequately explain "how structures are mediated through agency" (Vogler 2016:2). Bohman (2008:172) is similarly concerned with "agents' capacity to become aware of various conditions and constraints on their activities and cognition. Such practical reflexivity involves making the implicit explicit, making the pre-reflexive epistemically available". Bourdieu tries to address this concern by introducing the notion of reflexivity. The concept involves sub-conscious, homologous systems of durable "regulated improvisations" (1977:72). These improvisations are historically conditioned and reproduced in generative patterns of behaviour. However, the patterns of behaviour must be understood contextually in relation to the structural constraints imposed by the field. The field is where agents are bound by the doxastic rules implicit in playing the game.<sup>141</sup>

In *Theory of Practice* (1977:15) Bourdieu reminds us of the indomitable force of the habitus that shapes and indelibly informs a suite of durable, transposable yet permanent dispositions. These dispositions are "embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions, schemes of perceptions and thought, extremely general in their application, such as those which divide up the world in accordance with the oppositions between the male and the female, east and west, future and past, top and bottom ... and ... at a deeper level, in the form of bodily postures and stances".<sup>142</sup> The meta-politics of any institutional structure produce the habitus and, as discussed earlier, the habitus generates systems of transposable dispositions which are themselves structuring structures and "which can be objectively regulated and regular without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a

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<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, Archer understands reflexive deliberation as the assertion of conscious human agency - an improvisational power in its own right (Vogler 2016) that is distinct from the structure in which it is expressed. In short, with Bourdieu's metaphor in mind, Archer might see organizational improvisation as more Miles than Mozart (Gasparini 2018).

<sup>142</sup> Mariano Croce (2019:np) critiques the carceral overtones of this theoretical premise when he points out that "Bourdieu's social theory turns agents into pawns on a chessboard that move in compliance with forces that they can neither grasp nor verbalize. As if this were not enough, the agents' discursive performances, when they revolve around their doings, are claimed to be theoretically defective, in that the (real) rules, reasons and motives lying behind actions are not transparent to them".



conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor” (1977:71). In other words, a college administration is a place in which “interactions mask the structures that are realized in them” (1977:81).

Agency and practice are terms that can be used to describe voluntaristic social actions motivated by a desired result. Both the desire and the action producing the result inevitably shape and are shaped by the habitus. This conceptualization is at the core of the research questions and this study accords considerable prominence to a discussion of the construction of gender identities practiced within a social structure by an agent. These Chapters explain how this Bourdieusian form of social constructivism is, in fact, the principal relational mechanism by which social and cultural capital are valued, legitimated, and accumulated similar to way that economic capital is gathered and agglomerated for its practical value. Social - and, in the broader context, cultural capital – represent the “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” (Bourdieu 1986:103). Social capital is given definition by and valued through the structural characteristics of the social network to which it relates. The accumulation of social capital is facilitated through an agent’s ‘bridging and bonding’ connectedness to the related network (Adler and Kwon 2002, Brunie 2009, Putnam 2000, Ikeda 2008). Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital refers to the value one’s social peers place on the possession and successful manipulation of certain symbolic artifacts. These artifacts are generally coveted and prized within the field of practice (Webb, et. al. 2002).<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> For example, Bourdieu held that cultural capital is situated in the acquisition of college or university tenure. The status and peer respect one gains from this achievement is valued social capital in higher education (Haugaard, 2002). The implicit male domination characteristic of patriarchies, which are often legitimated in the social hierarchy of a college bureaucracy reflect partialities and practices that are reproduced to the disadvantage the peripheral others outside the archetype (Jourdain and Naulin, 2011:5). Returning to tenure, Canadian sociologist, Carla DiGiorgio (2010:29) from the University of Prince Edward Island argues that sinecure perpetuates the ‘old boys’ club whose members are predominantly white, heterosexual, highly educated males. The symbolic status of tenure is won after a battle with oneself, yet the tenured also exert the same forces upon acolytes as they received themselves (Haugaard, 2002). This cyclic pattern reinforces the distinction between those who have valued social capital and those who do not. It seems fair to its participants because of doxa – the traditional nature of the rules of play (Bourdieu, 1995). Bourdieu used the terms “illuso” and “misrecognition” to describe the subconscious acceptance of these organizational rules of engagement by both perpetrators and victims (Lupu and Empson 2015, Colley and Guery 2015, Colley 2012, Rowlands and Rawolle 2013, Gouanic 2010). Some win: some lose; the winners almost always profess that the win is meritorious (Bourdieu, 1988).

## 5.5 Bourdieu in the College Bureaucracy

Institutions serve to define, regulate, and construct the norms in accordance with which agents negotiate their relations with others in a manner that is commonly understood and generally accepted as appropriate (Scott 2007, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Agency is constrained by traditional stereotypes (Abbott 1986, Danylewycz and Prentice 1986, Martino 2008). Depending upon the extent of their departure from compliance with established norms within the institution, deviations from highly structured, mimetic behaviours, or what Burger and Luckman (1966/1991:92) describe as gender embodied, “programmed actions” can be seen by some as innovative and career-enhancing (Arthur and Rousseau 2001); others, however, may feel threatened (Danylewycz and Prentice, *supra.*), and, in the event of the latter, sanctions to varying degrees may ensue for the sake of preserving the greater legitimacy of the institution and the organizational hierarchy it sustains (Geertz 1973, Goffman 1961, Scott 2014). In fact, Huppatz (2009) points out that a woman who, in the interests of positioning, chooses to adopt a masculine disposition in an action-situated social field dominated by males might have to contend with a credibility gap emanating from her co-workers. The same applies to men who embody feminine capital in the practice of a role typically associated with females: social exclusion and a discomfited career blemish of one sort or another may be the consequences (Huppatz and Goodwin 2012).

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that college bureaucracy in Ontario reflects individual contests over positioning (Samuels 1993:3, Hall 1996) or what Bourdieu would characterize as a relational ‘dialectic’ (Watkins 1985) involving people, their genders, their bodies, and the micro-objective fields within which they ‘play the game’. This contestation is part of the processual structuration of all organizational fields (Candido, et. al. 2016) and the fields are places where, according to Bourdieu (1977:123) “[t]he universes of meaning corresponding to different universes of practice are at once self-contained...”. The self-contained, common understandings and shared interpretations of the bureaucratic structure operate in a manner that perpetuates inequality within that structure (Shaker and Shaban 2018, Mierlo, et. al. 2006). Bureaucracy in college administration reproduces unobtrusive but strongly felt middle-class, predominantly white, homosocial, heterosexual, and neoliberal fields of symbolic dominance (Wacquant 2013) and gender subordination (Brannan 2015). It is constitutive of symbolic power that is shaped, legitimated, subtly wielded, and inexorably replicated (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Young 1990)

notwithstanding the existence of legislatively mandated diversity policies. As Bourdieu (1977:192) observed in his *Theory of Practice*, “gentle, hidden exploitation is the form taken by man’s exploitation of man whenever overt, brutal exploitation is impossible”.

In the institutional ecosystem of the college administration, Bourdieu’s ‘structurally invariant universes of practice’ imply that higher position-holders tend to hold onto and can mobilize greater social capital in the field. According to Lin (2003:65), “(t)he haves have more” and the ‘have nots’ are intersectionally disadvantaged. Social capital “is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Lebaron (2003) suggests that holders of social capital are incentivized to trade up and down the institutional hierarchy and to manipulate and exchange value within it very much in the capitalist creed of neoliberalism. Those accruing the greatest amount of social capital have greater license to organize and quash democratic mobilization. They do this by dictating ‘structurally invariant’ and systematized task roles and the flow of information in the workplace which those beneath unquestioningly accept as being legitimate and uncontested.

In a socio-philosophical sense, Bourdieu understood workplace fields as “networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which struggles, or maneuvers take place over resources, stakes, and access.” (Oakes, et. al. 1998:260). These orchestrations are conducted by those with the greatest social capital whose interests underlying espoused ideological commitment to organizational goals, are self-legitimacy and positional reproduction. Therefore, it is not unusual to find older, retirement-ready senior managers who resist organizational progress because of they fear that progress itself diminishes their social credentials in the workplace. Some comprise the ‘old boys’ network’ of gendered social relations who have lost the expertise required to lead effectively. Yet they maneuver embedded resources, stakes, and access in bids to preserve the salience of their positions, the net result of which is the perpetuation of symbolically legitimated power and control (Bourdieu 1989).<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> The degree of control capable of being exerted over agents in a social microcosm should not be underestimated (MacKay 2014, Baldrige 1971, Fletcher and Friedel 2017, Schwartz, et. al. 2009, Minor and Tierney 2005, Tierney 2008). This power is subtly articulated through semi-autonomous institutionalized behaviours, coalitions and unspoken understandings that are simply assumed to be ‘the way of doing things’ (Bruton & Ahlstrom, 2003). The ritualized and

## 5.6 Doxic Orchestrations

In Husserl's (1991) *Cartesian Meditations*, we learn that lived experience is intersubjective. It is not simply a matter of ego intention. An agent in the field relates to the world as experienced by others. Crossley (1996:15) suggests that it is this "empathic intentionality that constitutes otherness within consciousness". A Bourdieusian view would hold that, because of the underlying intersubjectivity of agency (Bessant 2018), it can never be truly emancipated from structure (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:1034); the structure ineffably contours one's sense of oneness. "Power is parasitic upon intersubjectivity, [in] that it needs intersubjectivity and draws upon intersubjectivity to create its effects. This is not to say that all intersubjective relations are relations of power. But it is to say that power relations are always intersubjective" (Crossley 1996:202). Foucault (1982:217) adds that "if we speak of the structures or the mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others. The term 'power' designates a relationship between partners". Toffler (1991:3) notes that "we are the products of power".

One finds this socially arbitrary nature of power relations in any public or private organization. Social arbitrariness refers to set of power relations, including their various proscriptions, that legitimate, stabilize and reinforce the grip of the habitus through the unconscious in asynchronous relation to the discordant orchestrations of the doxa. (Wacquant 1993, Thompson 1984, Eyal, et. al. 1998). The integral concept of 'doxa' is a critical structuring principle in Bourdieusian theory. In *The Republic* (375bc / trans. Jowett 1871) Socrates reminds us that, "[o]ne can never be the master of one's own doxa. As long as one lives in the domain of doxa, one is enslaved to the prevailing opinions of his social world". Martin and Ringham (2006:70), define doxa as "public opinion, majority prejudice, middle-class consensus. It is linked to the concept of doxology, to everything that is seemingly self-evident in terms of opinion, or conventional practice and habit. In England, for example, talk of the genius of Shakespeare is part of the doxa, as is a meal of fish and chips or a game of cricket."

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constraining dimensions of organized activity within an institution serve to impel an unseen, pre-reflexive, and unquestioned structuration process. The process inescapably embeds itself in what Jung (1977) referred to as the collective unconscious or the objective psyche of its constituents. With the effluxion of time, it becomes the doxic orchestrations of a constrictive structure (Bourdieu, et. al. 1994). Then the structure becomes a relatively permanent element of the habitus. There is no emancipation (DiMaggio and Powell 1982, 1983:148) from the pre-reflexive habitus.

The contemporary derivation is from the Husserlian (Myles 2004) notion of 'doxa', but the expression has been broadly adopted to Bourdieu's own, unique approach to the phenomenon. He tended apply the expression in reference to "the misrecognition of forms of social arbitrariness that engenders the unformulated, nondiscursive, but internalized and practical recognition of that same social arbitrariness. It contributes to its reproduction in social institutions, structures and relations as well as in minds and bodies, expectations and behaviour" (Deer 2008:119). According to Bourdieu, doxa is "a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma" (Bourdieu 2000: 16). Deer adds that "(i)t refers to the apparently natural beliefs or opinions that are intimately linked to field and habitus. It is the taken-for-granted assumptions (orthodoxies) [...] which lie beyond ideologies yet can generate conscious struggles" (2000:120), for example, in the pursuit of positionality within a college bureaucracy or contending with its implicit intersectionalities.

It was Weber's view that "every sphere of social action is profoundly influenced by structures of dominancy" (1968:941) and given the hierarchal nature of most organizations including virtually every college administration in the Province, the concept of dominant paradigms aligns itself with the inevitable 'problems of control and power' (Crozier, 1964: 148). The doxastic influence of power can be experienced in many ways (Greenberg and Landry 2011, Klann 2003, Tjosvold, et. al. 2009). For example, power is exerted when someone higher on the managerial rungs imposes organizational imperatives upon those underneath who must engage with the responsibility of implementation and must do so regardless of any personal lack of accord. More subtle is the ability of those in power to influence the manner of thought or belief systems of those controlled so that direct compulsion is not even necessary. Rules are routinely followed because it is consensually understood as being the correct way of doing things (Foucault 1979). As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu refers to this phenomenon as the institutional 'doxa'. Research in higher education has revealed this doxastic iteration of 'self-leadership'.<sup>145</sup> However, Bolden et. al. (2012:14) cautions that this personal reflexivity "is within a bureaucratic framework of rules and requirements that are

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<sup>145</sup> Bolden et al., (2012:14) investigated institutions of higher education across the United Kingdom and found that educators tend to engage in a form of 'self-leadership' the grounding of which is based upon personal reflexivity.

generally obeyed because of the perceived legitimacy of the rules themselves (see also: Lumby 2015)".<sup>146</sup>

Agents wishing to relocate position within a bureaucratic matrix of relations, such as a college bureaucracy, tend to encounter and must deal with doxa: long-standing beliefs, values, opinions, and characteristic patterns of systemic thinking that may not be immediately obvious. These are the doxic orchestrations to which Bourdieu refers. The subtleties are located beneath the discursive structure of workplace interpersonal relations – the hiding place of Billing's 'phantom' of the male norm. Billing theorized an androcentric pattern of ideologically ingrained values and habits of thinking that victimize women in management.<sup>147</sup> Some amount to self-constructed and rationalized traditionally masculinist practices as a method of contending with otherwise discriminatory homosocial doxa (Hammaren and Johansson 2014). Agents arrive at an empathetic intentionality that voluntarily appropriates the doxic suite of practices constituting the structure of the field. In so doing, individuals learn that behaviours must be correctly adjusted, appropriated, and aligned over time to the "rigorously demanded" (Bourdieu 1977:163) collective rhythms of the workplace if one is to enhance potentiality with a view to higher levels of authority and control (Bolman and Deal 2003).

The college bureaucracy is, therefore, a doxic field of domination. It exerts itself by and through the grip of arbitrarily ensconced, legitimated, and endlessly reproduced value and belief-laden social networks that perpetuate the doxic orchestrations. The conformal acceptance of the doxa effectively shapes and is shaped by the habitus. "Every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with very different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness" (Bourdieu 1977:164). Symbolically dominated workers seem to acknowledge and often will accept without question the resulting systemic inequalities (Bolton and Muzzo 2008). It must be

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<sup>146</sup> To some extent, what Bourdieu would describe as individual agency (Pomiankiewicz 2013, Gonzales 2014, Lakomski 1984) is not only tolerated but expected as a measure of commitment to the organization's doxastic prescriptions. Moreover, it appears to be a key performance criterion [KPI] in the evaluation of leadership potential emergent from an erstwhile middle management position or role.

<sup>147</sup> Fox-Kirk (2015:25) points out that "the concept of the 'ideal worker' is an attempt at presenting workers as androcentric and yet the 'ideal worker' is normatively male (Ollilainen and Solomon, 2014). One explanation is that by making 'gender' a subtext, unequal power relations remain hidden or at least obfuscated and when power is exerted covertly, resistance is extremely difficult (Smith, 1988, Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012). Bourdieu's (2001, 2005) social theory would suggest that the notion of the 'ideal worker' as a neutral concept is yet another attempt at 'dehistoricization' and would likely, in line with Acker (1992) call for the dismantling of this concept". This is a theme explored more fully in Chapter 8.

remembered that “in Bourdieu’s world, the invisibility of domination is founded on the concordance of a social structure with a habitus inculcated by the same social structure” (Burawoy 2008:48).

Inevitably there is an underlying tension (Bottery 2000:68) created between the arbitrary yet ‘natural’ doxastic rhythms of the workplace and the preferred way one might choose to synchronize with them. Festinger (1957, Festinger and Carlsmith 1959) refers to this tension as ‘cognitive dissonance’ or the homeostatic adjustment one must make to ingrained attitudes, beliefs, or behaviours so as to ameliorate tension and properly attune oneself to the rhythms of the workplace. The tension, of course, is the conflict between the semi-autonomy of individual human agency and the subordination implicated in the constraining forces of social reproduction - in other words, the doxa. Agents handle this tension in different ways. Some consciously adopt agent-centered, strategic, and tactical manoeuvres to contend with what they consciously perceive as arbitrary cultural dogma. Here, the objective structures comprising the field mediate agentic behaviour, but they are rarely capable of imposing absolute control over it (Hays 1994). Margaret Archer (2003:141) claims that “the process by which objective structural influences becomes mediated to agents always involves agential subjectivity” but not without a certain amount of resistance in one form or another. Affective empathy and the capacity to be caring and nurturing can never be fully eradicated.<sup>148</sup>

## **5.7 Mimesis & Following the Leader**

One of the research questions this project seeks to address is how agents ascend to managerial leadership in the college system. The answer is explored throughout this thesis but here it can be said that it has much to do with following the path of the power structure in the organization and

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<sup>148</sup> Arguably, a neoliberal and doxastic conceptualization of modern bureaucratic “(m)anagerialism erases such [gendered] values as caring since it is value-less; yet in the very process of attempting to be value-less it is inevitably value-laden” (Thrupp and Wilmott 2003:29) but through subversive forms of resistance. Therefore, advocates of neoliberal transmutation into higher education must contend with “such (‘practical’) values as caring” (Thrupp and Wilmott, 2003:29), a gendered practice that, through resistance, threatens the asynchronous existence of the management doxa favouring hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1990). This aligns with Archer’s observation that “(c)ourses of action are produced through the reflexive deliberations of agents who subjectively determine their practical projects in relation to their objective circumstances” (Archer 2010). The ‘practical rationality’ (Roversi 2005) of this adaptive approach to the ‘collective rhythms’ of the workplace nevertheless sustains and, in effect, replicates the structural elements of neoliberal managerialism (Fitz, et. al. 2006) albeit in a somewhat emergent and altered form (Clark and Carter 2012, see Sewell 1992:2).

then imitating those who have been successful in negotiating the signposts along the way (Hassard and Cox 2007). Institutional power did not escape examination by Bourdieu (1977, Nag, et. al. 2007:807) and other leading scholars. Bourdieu conceptualizes the field of power as an “overall social field” (1996:271), in which on a daily basis in organizations there exists a “struggle over the power to dictate the dominant principle of domination” (1996:265). Nag, et. al notes that “(t)he link between power and the legitimation of knowledge-use practices is supported by the work of [both] Goffman (1967) and Bourdieu (1977), who both observed that power inheres in the practices and interactions in which people collectively engage” (Nag, et. al., 2007:843) in the field. Bourdieu understands practices in the field to be both cultural in the sense of being a veritable ‘way of life’, but also “social, or constructed not in individual minds but rather in and between people and institutions, in other words, in fields of practice” (Webb, et. al. 2017:5). Adkins (2003:36) comments on this socially constructed space; she refers to Bourdieu’s observance of a mimetic relationship between practices and the habitus just as there is a link between object and subject. In Adkin’s view, it is “mimesis that produces congruence between habitus and field. Indeed, Bourdieu assumes that mimesis itself concerns a process of adaptation” (2003:36) which is ambivalent in the sense that those who are subject to the fixed identity categories of legitimate power and domination may never fully identify with the power structure (Fraser 1999, Haraway, 1991, Skeggs 1999) even though they may unconsciously imitate the symbolically dominant practices it preserves.<sup>149</sup>

However, that is not necessarily the case, according to Judith Butler (1999) for whom the very iterability of bodily actions in the field connotes political agency, “which is intrinsically and conditionally linked to the dynamics of power that sustain its own possibility” (Lavazzari 2020:84). In Butler’s words: “... the mimetic acquisition of the norm is at once the condition by which a certain resistance to the norm is also produced; identification will not ‘work’ to the extent that the norm is not fully . . . incorporable”. (1999: 118). The idea contrasts with Bourdieu’s theory that generally accepted workplace practices (for example, rigid homosocial norms) structure and converge with the habitus which then reproduces itself. Arguably, this leaves little room for social transformation,

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<sup>149</sup> Bourdieu (1990), in his *Logic of Practice*, contends that bureaucracies utilize mimesis as the conduit for power and the legitimation of knowledge about objective structures and the structuring of them. The habitus is inevitably constrained by the field and, in that field, mimesis, according to Bourdieu is the “imitation of other individuals’ practices. Individuals tend to imitate the practices of more experienced individuals within a field. By imitating the practices, they learn the new practices but also unconsciously understand the meanings associated with the practices.” (Sieweke 2014a:538) thereby incorporating into their own habitus ‘the way things are’ (Jenkins 1992:82).



innovation, or change<sup>150</sup>. However, despite their major differences, the works of both Butler and Bourdieu are compatible with at least one of the primary research conceptualizations in this dissertation. We can say that an actor's socio-temporal gender expression is adaptable enough to imitate expected norms of workplace behaviour, yet the actor may not be subjectively inclined to identify with the practice. It thus opens the door to the strategic use of gender capital.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, it is possible that gendered identity is not necessarily embodied in the actor through the practice of mimesis; after all, these iterative practices could be nothing more than the conscious parody of ritualized behaviours to gain positionality. Parody has its drawbacks. Elin Diamond cautions that, "as praxis, the sign-referent model of mimesis can become excessive to itself, spilling into a mimicry that undermines the referent's authority; it also suggests that the interposition of the performer's body signals an interruption of signification itself" (1989:62).

In his *Theory of Practice* (1977) Bourdieu argues that mimesis takes place existentially but at a level below consciousness where the actor, unawares, incorporates pre-reflexive semantics underlying the behaviours imitated.<sup>152</sup> Bourdieu comments that the "pressure of the socially qualified objective situation is such that, through the mediation of bodily mimesis, a whole way of speaking, a type of joke, a particular tone, sometimes even an accent seem to be objectively called for by certain situations ...". (1977:26). Without necessarily being aware of it, the actor imitates certain managerial behaviours which have produced personal rewards in the past. However, what imbues mimesis with particular efficacy is the resulting disruption of the habitus through the largely

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<sup>150</sup> Beverley Skeggs (2004a:23) offers a comparison between the theoretical viewpoints of Butler and Bourdieu regarding the potentialities of transformative agency. She points to the idea that virtuosic human agency identified with subjectively gendered dispositions can be "hidden behind the nominal construction of categories, enabling the misrecognition of gender. For Bourdieu, gender is hidden under the surface of categories (hence leading to his critique of Judith Butler for her emphasis on the surface level of the symbolic, what he calls 'naming', which he believes blocks any recognition of what lurks below). For Bourdieu, misrecognition occurs when symbolic capital has been acquired by a successful act of legitimation which itself veils the social processes and structures that are necessary to existence, so femininity is misrecognised as a natural, essentialized personality disposition".

<sup>151</sup> For example, an employee lower in the administrative hierarchy may glean a strategic advantage in imitating the masculinist behaviours of a superior without ever unconsciously committing to the role being played. The field is no less affected nor is the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1990:56). Inferentially, the habitus is characterized by its immutability and lack of mindful dimensionality. However, that is not exactly what Bourdieu claims. Instead, he sees "habitus, as the product of social conditionings, and thus of history [...] endlessly transformed ..." (1990:116).

<sup>152</sup> However, as to the behaviours themselves, Goffman (1969:12) directs our attention to the term 'control move' which he uses "to refer to the intentional effort of an informant to produce expressions that he thinks will improve his situation if they are gleaned by the observer [...] The process is self-conscious and calculated – although habit can bring spontaneity ...". But, as Goffman also points out, most likely, 'control moves' place oneself in what G.H. Mead (1922:161, 1925), ever the theorist of the symbolisms associated with the social act, often referred to as the 'attitude of the observer'.

unconscious adoption of more or less permanent dispositions that are grounded in cultural norms otherwise beyond the scope of the actor's pre-reflexive origins. Through this process, the 'frameworks of institutionalization' (Siewecke 2014:30) are formed through transmission of cognitive schemata "in practice [even] without attaining the level of discourse" (Bourdieu 1977:87). According to Bourdieu, "mimetic representation helps to produce in the agent's temporary reactions ... or even lasting dispositions attuned to the objective processes expected from the ritual action" (1977:167).<sup>153</sup>

In many analyses of organizational management, workplace practices generally imitate discursive and behavioural paths in the 'upward and downward flow of power' (Swartz 1997:162). Effective and socially mobile leaders must be willing to serve up to those to whom they answer, but in order to be an effective leader, one must coach down, integrating the college's executive vision with the team-building tenets of flattened organizational diversity and responsibility delegation – a sleight of hand not easily achieved (Craig 2018). Agents must mimic the practices of those above in pursuit of improving the organization's ability to efficiently serve its constituents. But they also direct down to those below, encouraging increasingly higher levels of performance, innovation, and achievement. Meanwhile, they must focus on their own career advancement, skills, and social capital necessary to achieve that goal. In so doing, they tend to mimic practices which they perceive to offer the greatest chance of career advancement, or, at the very least, the ongoing sustainability of their current roles.

For example, they may imitate habits of dress. However, Edgerton and Roberts (2014:200), from the University of Manitoba, quoting Bourdieu (1990:108) observe that "although in the pre-reflective, practical sense operation of habitus guides the majority of our behavior, it 'may be superseded under certain circumstances [...] by other principles, such as rational and conscious computation' (Bourdieu, 1990:108)". For example, the female college leaders observed by this researcher tended to deliberately dress more formally than staff lower in the administrative

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<sup>153</sup> Adkins argues against this overly deterministic social construct from which, it seems to her, there is little chance of emancipation. Rather, she favours a corrective that unleashes agency from structure whilst according greater emphasis to the ability of the actor to effect social change and mobility through individualistic responses to novel situations (2003:24). Archer suggests that "understanding mimesis in this way requires an emphasis on the temporality of action on, for example, iteration and citation, for instance, on how identifications as well as social positions are subject to a logic of iteration (and not simply a singular process of adaptation or accommodation), a logic which explains both how and why possibilities of instability, ambivalence and interruptability are at the core of mimesis or inclination" (2003:36).

hierarchy. But even there, individuals may employ gendered strategies to attract attention and approbation from those above in the hope of gaining access to higher managerial authority and control in the organizational hierarchy. The principle of mimesis suggests that, at an unconscious level, bodily presentations are shaped and reshaped in a way that reproduces the appearance of the existing managerial structure. And the managerial structure at virtually all of the colleges investigated in this study is imbued with racialized, patrifocal overtones troubling the socially imbricated path to career advancement. This study offers the narratives of those who must struggle against the coercive power of sovereignty that is implicit in gender or race intersectionalities (or both) compelling active engagement in a “fight from the bottom” (Deacon 1998:113) through the strivings and motivated transactions underpinning individual agency.

### **5.8 Alternate Views of Foucault, Bourdieu & Connell**

Foucault (1980)<sup>154</sup> views the social world from a distance and embraces anti-Machiavellian (Marascoa 2012) polemic to deal with the scourge of ‘governmentality’. His semantics transcend the mere ‘political’ to include “the close link between forms of power and processes of subjectification” (Lemke 2000:2). Both power and subjectification are replete in bureaucracies. Governmentality and the Weberian structure of bureaucracy (McKinlay, et. al. 2013:3, Jeacle and Parker 2013, Mackenzie, et. al. 2020) are closely intertwined with one’s semi-autonomous capacity for valorized self-control in the service of exploitation and simultaneously being the subject of domination. Bourdieu’s (2001) petrifying ‘doxa’, mentioned earlier - the socially constructed boundaries of one’s space are universally accepted as natural order of things in any constructivist notion of modern bureaucracy. Both reflect “the negotiated order of organizations” articulated by Watson (2002). In this regard, it is helpful to consider the parallels evident in the theories of Foucault and Bourdieu and, in turn, their conceptual linkages to Connell’s theory of ‘hegemonic masculinity’.

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<sup>154</sup> Foucault (1983, 2005, 2008) would likely respond to the phenomenon described above by suggesting that, from this profoundly subordinate position, the ‘fight’ is likely hopeless and may never be won. While he allows for the irrepressibility of human agency, his view of its ontology is far more nihilistic. As Josep Bech (2017:4) puts it, “(t)he self contrives to form itself, yet within forms and practices already established. This residual sort of agency amounts to the compulsion felt by the self to model itself amid forms which, while they concur to its self-fashioning, perform contingently and differentially. In other words: “our social existence entails incorporating into our sense of ourselves an array of norms that in fact coerce us [even though] this subordination shields us from social inexistence” (Bech 2017:4).

Despite Foucault's tendency toward continual conceptual transformations in opposition to Bourdieu's relatively controlled and stable theoretical architectures, there is a palpable intersectional equivalency (Rieger-Ladich 2010) between Foucault's notion of coercive power expressed as 'governmentality' and Bourdieu's earlier mentioned concept of 'symbolic violence'. Both conceptualizations engage rational and therefore axiologically neutral (*Wertfreiheit*) strategies of the self and power relations of selves intersubjectively. In that regard, both reflect "ideological stances adopted by the dominant (who construct) strategies of reproduction which tend to reinforce both within and outside their class a belief in the legitimacy of the dominant of that class" (Bourdieu 1994:167). This fundamental idea, which is the essence of racialized patriarchy, and a pivotal research interest of this study, takes us well beyond Goffman's microscopic interactionism. Instead, it is a form of social legitimacy that amounts to the cultural approbation of an entrenched social hierarchy that is typical of college managerial structures "largely secured by symbolic violence [...] exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity, a process of cultural reproduction" (Jenkins 1992:147). Yet even though both Foucault and Bourdieu see these micro-physics of power in relational terms (Geciene 2000/2002), there exists a residual incommensurability in their explications (Ciaran 1996). Unlike Foucault, Bourdieu conceptualizes symbolic power as an acquired bourgeoisie commodity, negotiated and diffused as if it were organizationally transacted economic capital (Bourdieu 1979). Therefore, "[i]nspired organizational interactionism" (Hallett and Gougherty 2018:3) within this a field is generative, producing novel cognitive structures that displace interiorized dispositions and propel the endless transformation of the habitus (McNay 2008).

Indeed, the habitus informs one's subjective identity albeit the dispositional outcome is inevitably uncertain because of homothetic and dynamically generated social capital (Chandler 2013, Berger and Luckmann 1966 / 1991). Foucault's understanding of relational power differs from Bourdieu who envisions power as a transformational yet "valuable but limited social commodity that can be given, bargained over, traded, or seized" (Schuld 2003:20) to gain a foothold in a top-down Weberian hierarchy (c.f.: Akram, et. al. 2015, Tiaga 2017, Hannus and Simola 2010, Constatas 1958). Rather, Foucault conceives it as being immanent, omnipresent, and multi-directional. It can be projected micro-tactically both upward and downward (Parchev 2014, Spierenburg 2004, Brickell 2012). Whilst Foucault visualizes a downward cascade of 'disciplinary' domination, he also insists that resistance pedicellates from below (Schlosser 2012:36, Pickett 1996). "And when that happens both social bodies end up influencing each other, notwithstanding the fact that power relations tend

to be asymmetrical, nonegalitarian and hierarchical” (Dore 2010:742).<sup>155</sup> Hoy (2004) suggests this gender-based strategy is actually assimilative, in other words, merely another form of submission. Bourdieu’s deterministic vision does not offer a great deal of insight into this insoluble contradiction as it relates specifically to gender despite his work in *Masculine Domination*. “Moreover, his insights into gender reproduce standard binaries of masculine domination and female subordination as if these structures are unitary, coherent and unchanged by and in contemporary social life” (McLeod 2005:23).

The intersection of power, dominance, symbolic violence, and gender finds expression in Connell’s macroeconomic indictment of “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell 2005), mentioned above, which is often concealed in management role expectations.<sup>156</sup> Connell’s evolving (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity suggests that male domination prevails organisationally and it conjures the notion of Billing’s “phantom’ discussed earlier but, howsoever described, the contention is that an androcentric gender *umwelt* reinforces the inheritance of a dominant patriarchy rewarding women (and, by inference, subjugating them) who deliberately reassign their gender identities in conformity to the masculine symbolic order (Jenkins 1992, Connolly and Healey 2004, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Connell defines the ‘hegemonic masculinity’ “as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominate position of men and the subordination of women.” (Connell 2005:77). Martin (2017:3) sees this as “a form of cultural domination, and it is often established through the correspondence between cultural ideals and institutional power [...]. However, it does not refer to total dominance, but instead exists as a strategy for organizing social relations. Hegemony also denotes a position

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<sup>155</sup> Depending upon the context, submission can produce as much emancipatory success as the dominating force imposing it (Wacquant 2005). In other words, “the dominated can resist by trying to efface the signs of difference that have led to their domination” (Hoy 2004:135) as we observe, for example, in the “Queen Bee syndrome” (Rindfleish 2000, Abramson 1975 and see Chapter 6). Elin Diamond (1997:126) offers a Foucauldian analytic: “Lacking the organ of privilege, unable to resent their desires in a male symbolic, women are positioned as the mirror to reflect back the masculine ‘self same’ [or] ‘mimesis imposed’, a term with provocative resonance for resistant practice”.

<sup>156</sup> Yang (2020:319) points out that, according to Connell, “masculinity is inherently relational, existing only in contrast to femininity. This relation is not “a confrontation between homogenous, undifferentiated blocs” of men and women, but between multiple masculinities and femininities (Carrigan et al. 1985:590). For Connell (2005:76), recognizing the plurality of masculinities is “only a first step.” In her view, it is far more important to “examine the relations between them.” With a theoretical basis in Gramsci’s (1971b) concept of hegemony, “Connell theorizes the dominant masculinity as ‘hegemonic masculinity’: the “culturally exalted form of masculinity” (Carrigan et al. 1985:592) and the “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy” (Connell 2005:77).

of cultural authority and leadership, and in a patriarchal society hegemonic masculinity is defined as “exclusively heterosexual” (citing Connell 2005:163).

Connell and Messerschmidt’s (2005:832) revised appreciation of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ linked its explicit, heteronormative role expectations to the bestowed benefits of a white, “patriarchal gender system”.<sup>157</sup> This idea certainly assumes the existence of refractory, homosocial, heterosexual-dominated organizations “and any understanding of its nature and meaning is predicated on the feminist insight that in general the relationship of men to women is oppressive” (Donaldson 1993:645). Bourdieu (1990) would interpret this model as exemplifying historically legitimized social reproduction. whereby “masculine domination assumes a natural, self-evident status through its inscription in the objective structures of the social world”, which is then stereotypically “embodied and reproduced in the habitus of individuals” (McNay, 2000:37). It evokes Bourdieu’s focus on “how the body is molded by society and read as a sign within symbolic systems [in which it] plays a significant role in signifying one’s status and belonging within fields ...” (Garratt 2016:74).

However, Foucault leads us to appreciate that subordinated masculinities (Mattsson 2014) may exert co-existent resistance (Groes-Green 2009) against dominant but opposite gender forms thereby (a) subverting hegemonic or dominant masculinist discourses and (b) leaving open the enlightened possibility of negotiated, epistemocentric gender democracy (Narayanaswamy 2015:2157). Both Connell and Bourdieu construct oppression models of power which inadequately explain women’s agency - the idea, according to Skeggs (1997:10), that femininity is a form of cultural capital or “the discursive position available through gender relations that women are encouraged to inhabit and use. Its use is informed by the network of social positions of class, gender, sexuality, region, age and race which ensure that it will be taken up (and resisted) in different ways”. Arguably, Bourdieu’s conception of ‘symbolic violence’ more pragmatically conceptualizes an integration with field, capital and habitus reality based as they are and explicitly focused on the “relational field of power” (Schmitz, et al. 2017:49). Even regarding men, “feminist extensions of Bourdieu’s original conceptual schema [...] may help reveal more nuanced conceptualizations of masculinities, and male gender reflexivity ...” (Thorpe 2010:176).

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<sup>157</sup> Demetriou (2000:337) disagrees with this conceptualization and, instead, argues that: “[...] hegemonic masculinity is not a purely white or heterosexual configuration of practice, but it is a hybrid bloc that unites practices from diverse masculinities in order to ensure the reproduction of patriarchy.”

Feminist theorists such as Adkins (e.g., 2000, 2002, 2004) and many others (e.g., Coleman 1988, Moi 1991, Fowler 2000, Lovell 2000, Barrett 2000, Calhoun 1993, Deer 2008, Hanks 2005, Bebbington 2007, Husso and Hirvonen 2012, Petrovic 2013, Arun 2018) generally allow that Bourdieu's (1977) ontological concepts (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, Iellatchitch, et. al 2003) are complicit and robust in "extending (his) social theory to illuminate contemporary socio-cultural issues" (Adkins, et. al. 2004:3). Bourdieu himself was arguably 'gender blind' (Burke, et al. 2016) and "oblivious to the diverse range of important feminist work that has historicized gender division" (McLeod 2005:53) and its intersectionalities (McCall 1992:845). Arun (2018:3) and others - McCall 1992, McNay 1999, Bennet and Silva 2006, for example - have observed that his "androcentric bias in his works has been well noted". Hadas (2016:213) points out the implicit condescension in Bourdieu's dynamic conceptualizations of male and female roles in social space including the workplace where "women are practically goods of exchange in the games of men based on honour and dignity, serving in this capacity the reproduction of men's symbolic capital".

Bourdieu preferred class as the primary structure of social space (Bourdieu 1979, 1985, 1986, Crossley 2008). But Huppertz (2012) and others have appropriated and expanded his ideas to the primacy of gender as a specific dimension of embodied cultural capital, the most complex of Bourdieu's three capitals: economic, social, and cultural (Arun 2018, Moi 1991, Walby 2005, Brown 1995, Jenkins 1982, Nash 1990, Reay, 1997, 1998a, 1998c, Skeggs, 1997). It can be understood through workplace practices in educational management permitting movement beyond the mere gendered presentation of identities as the product of or perhaps response to enduring, masculinist organizational dispositions that are institutionalized, legitimated through symbolic violence and, absent Foucault's asymmetrical resistance, inevitably reproduced.

Bourdieu envisages subjective identity as a multi-layered process of dynamically shaped and relational construction: paradoxical, transformative, fluid, and emergent (Pullen, 2006). Arun (2018:19) agrees with Skeggs (1996:166), who siphons this idea in relation to gender and concludes that it "is not a homogenous, singular identity but is instead lived and intimately experienced 'as a form of subjectivity inhabited through other categories'" strategically performative and fundamentally unquantifiable. For example, Skeggs (2010:213-232) studied the empirical relationship between physical space and sexuality among gay males and lesbians as well as straight women in two different cities resembling Manchester's 'gay village' in the U.K.. One group based its

identity “on dis-identification, dissimulation, misrecognition and a desire for invisibility” while, with another, the architecture of its identity framed itself in terms of “visibility, recognition and territorialisation”. For Skeggs and those who follow her reasoning, the study was insightful because it carefully articulated the bodily processes involved in relation to space from which emerges ‘the politics of recognition’.

The politics of recognition are inextricably embedded in the notion of gender capital. Huppatz and Goodwin (2013:295) tailor the expression gender capital to denote “the gender advantage that is driven from being perceived to have a female or male body...”. Narrowed further, “feminine capital and masculine capital relate to gender advantage that is driven from a disposition or skill set or from simply being hailed as feminine or masculine”. Broadly, gender capital comprises the “knowledge, resources and aspects of identity available—within a given context—that permit access to regime-specific gendered identities” (Bridges 2009:92). Bridges suggests that stereotypical masculinist organizations produce and successfully reproduce hegemonic symbolically legitimated gender capital that is unquestioningly “employed and evaluated within a patriarchal gendered order that values a hierarchical relationship between masculinities and femininities, regardless of contextual distinctions” (2009:92).

The foregoing brings us to a reconciliation that each of Foucault, Connell and Bourdieu bring forward theoretical insights that enable the sociological researcher to understand how agents advance their college administrative careers, and in some cases engage gender capital in a way that resembles an economic resource, effectively traded for workplace gain. Foucault sees the dramatic strategies in the field of play as a form of resistance against the discursive and implicit power of Connell’s hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, Bourdieu interprets the effective deployment of those strategies as value-laden social capital that can be exploited to achieve egocentric goals. This theoretically prismatic appreciation of gender practice reconciles as much as it integrates the multi-dimensionality of gender identity and difference (Calvert and Ramsey 1996, Puwar 2004) and it invites a more nuanced analysis that includes, but is not limited to, a broad and inclusive theoretical and methodological consideration of relational space in the social geography of the college administrative workplace. The inherently masculine and feminine embodiments of management structures (Wajcman 1998, Collinson 1992), including exogenously imposed role expectations (Cleveland et al. 2000) and even race (Crenshaw 1991, Gill 1994, Blackmore 2006,



Brown 2017) inform and reproduce individually gendered practices amid the organization's middle management employees. The concept of gender capital is a pivotal concept, central to the theses of this dissertation and, accordingly the topic will be examined in relation to this study's research questions more fully in the next Chapter.

While further theoretical and methodological explorations of the works of both Foucault and Connell are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, especially in Chapters 3, 7 and 10, here, I suggest the idea of role expectations in the managerial environments of Ontario's public colleges beckons us to a second look at Bourdieu's 'doxa' and 'misrecognition' (Beattie 2018). The bureaucratic characteristics of educational institutions (Adler and Borys 1996, Lawton et al. 1995, Olsen 2005), are replete doxic environments - shaped, held, wielded, and reproduced (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Young 1990). In administrative echelons, these fields "reflect struggles over agency" (Samuels 1993:3), and occasionally troubled agentic paths in managerial ascendancy (Hall 1996). Bourdieu saw agency as linked to intentionality and difference, albeit something which must be contextualized in relation to the primary governing dimension of social space and the objective structures within it (Webb, et. al. 2002). Visualize "the unwritten musical score according to which the actions of agents, each of whom believes she is improvising her own melody, are organized" (Bourdieu 1992:8). The visualization offers insight into the deeper problematics of gender theory, power struggles in the field and the gendering of management in college administrations - in other words, "how to engage with the cultural legacy of masculine influence" (Rainford 2005:2).

## **5.9 Conclusion**

The improvisational melody to which Bourdieu refers is realized in the manipulation of cultural and social capitals that influence and are influenced and, in fact structured by the habitus as individual agents play the game in the field. A main focus of this dissertation is 'gender capital' and how engagement with gender capital in the struggles of the field can have an impact upon career progression in higher education, particularly the college bureaucracy. Diane Reay (1998, 2000) informs us that Bourdieu's theories can be engaged to bridge the opposition of structure and agency thereby facilitating an exploration of various agentic practices in the field, in particular the strategic utilization of cultural and social capital which includes gender capital. For example, Skeggs points

out that positionality in the field is hierarchically situated through different manifestations of capital. As in an economy, capitals are negotiated within a network of power relations which can be mediated through gender performativity. This brings the discussion to an elaboration of gender capital as understood by Ross-Smith, Huppatz and other feminist scholars and also an appreciation of gender as management capital. These topics are developed more fully in Chapter 6.

### 6.1 Introduction

This Chapter focusses on a critical appreciation of Bourdieu's social and cultural capitals. They are an accumulative and convertible resource that have the capacity to assist as an exploitative strategy to achieving career goals in the Ontario college system. A significant portion of this Chapter is also devoted to a discussion of Ronald Burt's theory of 'structural holes' and how this relational architecture of social networks functions in college middle management in a manner that is generally aligned with gendered dispositions and strategic iterations of gender as social capital. Structural holes may be inclusive (potentializing career enhancement) or exclusive (and therefore career inhibiting) depending upon one's gender identity and the range of masculine or feminine agentive expressions of that identity. Gendered dispositions have social value as capital. Individuals more closely associated with career advantaged, patriarchal networks inherently possess greater gender capital precisely because they tend to demonstrate gender compliances commensurably aligned with the doxic prescriptions of a favoured power structure. As a function of that connectivity, members of these socially advantaged structural networks or 'holes' are able to fashion oligopolies or even monopolies from within the micro-political economy of workplace social practices. They achieve this socio-political dominance with a facility transcending those whose gendered dispositions gravitate to other less affiliated or even disconnected, (and possibly intersectionally disadvantaged) networks.

The concept of 'gendered capital' is discussed in this Chapter. The concept was introduced by American sociologist Leslie McCall (1992). She theorized that 'gender identity' is a reconversion process resulting in a gendered form of cultural capital. She interprets Bourdieu's canvas of subjective dispositions, unconsciously informed by the habitus, as suggestive of embodied cultural capital that manifests itself in pre-reflexive dispositions forming one's gender identity and shaping its ultimate value as cultural capital.

Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 2004) next introduces a discussion about the intersectional ideology surrounding her notion of gendered 'hegemonic femininity' by which women who model their

gender presentations according to an androcentric template become complicit in sustenance and reproduction of symbolic domination. It is possible that career advancement is the reward, but it comes at a social cost that not every female middle manager is willing to bear. Many discussions of hegemonic femininity lead to the broader idea of management capital and this Chapter closes with a discussion of gender performativity as potentially valued management capital. American researchers Kenneth Meier and Laurence O'Toole, Jr. explore differences in how men and women engage in the practice of management, and, in this Chapter, they ask whether, in different ways, individuals as managers both strategize and synchronize gender practice in the hierarchal structural fields of public organizations, in some instances constituting a distinct form of managerial capital.

## **6.2 Capitals & Ronald Burt's 'Structural Holes'**

Diane Reay (1998, 2000) suggests Bourdieu's theories bridge the opposition of structure and agency facilitating exploration of various agentic practices in the field, specifically the strategic utilization of cultural and social capital. Skeggs (2004a, 2004b, 2013) adds that holding a position in any one or more of multiple synchronic fields can be hierarchically situated owing to different manifestations of capital depending upon the field. As in any social economy, capitals are negotiated within multiple 'networks' of asymmetrical power relations which are mediated through gendered interactions.<sup>158</sup> In *the Field of Cultural Production* (1993:65), Bourdieu notes that "there is nothing mechanical about the relationship between the field and the habitus" nor even necessarily predictable. Rather, the relationship between the field and the habitus is inevitably mediated by various culturally and socially valued properties, or 'capitals', possessed by individual agents. Agents routinely engage in contests over positionality within the objective structure of numerous human, social and cultural fields. Agents who possess human and social capitals use them with strategic improvisation to gain advantage, power, and recognition in the field or across multiple fields, "thus integrating strategic management and corporate social capital theory"

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<sup>158</sup> A network that frames the competitive economy of capital is understood as a cultural field which can be defined as: "A series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorize certain discourses and activities ... Cultural fields [...] are made up not simply of institutions and rules but of the interactions between institutions, rules and practices" (Webb, et. al. 2002:22).

(Leenders, et. al. 2001:1, see: Granovetter 1985, Salancik 1995, Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, Pennings, et. al. 1998).

The categories of and the manner in which these capitals, integral elements of embourgeoisement informed by the habitus, are deployed through an agent's 'constructed biography' are perceived to possess hierarchized social value by others in one or more fields (Burt 1992, 1997, see: Tsai and Ghoshal 1998). For example, the career field in a college bureaucracy is the contextualized "playground or battlefield in which agents, endowed with a certain field relevant capital, try to advance their position[s]" (Iellatchitch, et.al. 2003:732). For Bourdieu, habitus shapes and over time it is contoured by the career field because, in a larger context, it is the "durable and generalized disposition that suffuses a person's action throughout an entire domain of life" (Camic 2000: 328). Applying Bourdieu's theory, it is possible to conceptualize career habitus "as a frame of thinking, perceiving and acting within career fields" (Duberley and Cohen 2010:189). This is achieved by the unique framework of an agent's self-constructed biography. The evolving, permuted biography, something akin to continuously updating a resume, is informed by the habitus, "at the moment, and at the various critical turning-points in each career, [within] the space of available possibilities" (Bourdieu 1993:65). This self-constructed biography deployed in the relevant field possesses "social value [...] and also the meaning and value [it will have] received for the different agents [...] in terms of the socially constituted categories of perception and appreciation they applied to them" (Bourdieu 1993:65).

Reay (2004:1) observes that "[c]ultural capital is Bourdieu's best-known concept". It refers to a social asset strategized by an agent to facilitate social mobility within the hierarchy of a bureaucratic organization such as a college administration (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Dumais 2002, Spain, et. al. 1998, Bair 2010, DiMaggio 1982). Social capital "is primarily a relational concept and exists in conjunction with other forms of capital. Therefore, it cannot be understood in isolation from the other forms of capital that together constitute advantage and disadvantage in society" (Reay 2004:1). For example, wealth translates into economic capital, (Bourdieu 1991) educational achievements are evidence of the symbolic (Bourdieu 1986, see: Becker 1964, Mclamed 1995, Terjeson 2005) and social capital refers to 'bridging and bonding' social practices and interactions that function to facilitate community interconnectedness and cohesiveness (Brunie 2009). Cohen and Prusak (2001:4) define social capital as the "norms and social relations embedded in social

structures that enable people to coordinate action and to achieve desired goals”. This form of capital is invariably linked to symbolic capital because it is “governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement” (Bourdieu 1986:257). Bourdieu means that symbolic capital involves not only the propositional calculus of being acquainted with an agent purporting to offer up social capital but also acknowledging and responding to the situational implications of its symbolics.<sup>159</sup>

Lin (2003) advocates an ‘innovative’ theoretical synthesis of Bourdieu and Coleman by “attempt[ing] to integrate a Marxist ontology of capital (following Pierre Bourdieu) -- one in which capital in any form is regarded as inherently social -- with a rationalist epistemology of choice (à la James Coleman), in which individuals seek to attain both instrumental goals and social status” (Woolcock 2004:1209). The idea is that life’s increments through voluntary selection of educational, experiential, job opportunity and other subjective acquisitions contribute to the value of social capital in the field. The outcome of agentic impression practices associated with social capital “have an impact on positions regarding the amount and distribution of capital, outcomes that ultimately reproduce the objective conditions of the field” (Hurtado 2009:207). Timberlake (2005:35) notes that “[t]he term social capital has been applied almost exclusively to individuals and social groups and has only recently found its way into organizational analysis although various elements of the concept have been present in organizational theory for a long time”.<sup>160</sup>

Regardless of one’s gender or sexuality, impression management offers options in context: a female manager may choose to adopt a nurturing or perhaps a more aggressive inter-personal and governance style in the workplace; a male may arbitrarily select from the same options. Both may decide upon a panoply of individualized gender permutations strategically dependent upon the

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<sup>159</sup> Therefore, among others, most notably, Coleman (1990, see also: Opp, K-D, 2018), Bourdieu (1986) contends that the episteme of social capital translates into and ultimately produces human capital which then becomes symbolic capital as it is “grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:119).

<sup>160</sup> Lin’s (2003) novel, Marxist interpretation of the work of Bourdieu and Coleman also serves to suggest a concise integration of the key themes of this Chapter. I begin with the premise that, in organizational theory, an agent makes ongoing rational, voluntaristic choices about life’s goal-oriented increments through the subjective acquisition and strategic deployment of social ‘capitals’. Gendered dimensions of social capital have been generally under-recognized in the past (Kilby 2002), generally in favour of more gender-blind conceptualizations (Fox and Gershman 2000). However, I suggest that the ideas presented in Chapter 5 and in this Chapter as well persuasively argue for the construction of gender as a specific iteration of social capital. Gendered identities and dispositions are mutually constitutive and, practiced in the social field on which this study is focussed, they are concomitants of strategic choices made about which of the gender capitals possesses the greatest individual career-enhancing value.

most optimal temporal and positional contexts. In all cases, the choices made point to greater or lesser acceptance from and connectivity to workplace social networks or 'holes' - some holding greater salience than others, some bridging other networks with greater or lesser facility. Beginning with a further examination of Burt's theory of structural 'holes', the balance of this dissertation explores, in much greater detail, the career consequences of those decisions made in the context of the Ontario college system.

However, such a discussion would be incomplete without the added integration of the diversity and inclusion themes introduced earlier in this study. Discriminatory social networks that exist in the Province's public colleges have not been neutralized nor have they been rendered colour-blind by the imposition of legislated and policy-mandated directives ostensibly aimed at eliminating or at least drastically mitigating inequitable workplace hiring protocols and behaviours. These practices persist, are misrecognized, and are reproduced because, as explained, they are inept at satisfactorily addressing workplace race and gender intersectionality.<sup>161</sup> Membership in the right structural 'hole' or, at the very least, possessing individual linkages to it from a 'hole' with less social capital salience is the key to the achievement of aspirational career goals in the Ontario college system. Accordingly, a more detailed explication of Ronald Burt's theory of structural 'holes' is warranted.

Ronald Burt (1992, 1997, 1998) begins unpacking the foregoing by first distinguishing between human and social capital, through which he ultimately arrives at his 'structural hole' theory – a unique articulation, or perhaps an extension, of Eigenvector centrality (Hansen, et. al. 2020, Golbeck 2013, Ruhnau 2000, Nooy, et. al. 2011, Bonacich 2007): in other words, Burt addresses the egocentric connectedness of an agent to other individual members in power-based social networks of variable values. According to Burt, capitals relate to the individual characteristics of agents whose practices in the field lead to greater or lesser success at achieving coveted positionalities (e.g., see: Adler and Seok-Woo 2002, Cross and Cummings 2004). An agent's education, for example (Lange and Topel 2006, Becker 1964, Mclamed 1995, Terjeson 2005, Duberley and Cohen 2010), or

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<sup>161</sup> For example, the race and gender exclusivity of the ever-present 'old boys' network', which I discuss at various junctures throughout this dissertation, is a self-evidently capital-laden, white, heteronormative structural 'hole' largely populated by those who have historically practiced or have strategically adopted the career enhancing practices of a neoliberal patriarchy. As will be shown in later Chapters 'nurturers' positioned in other disassociated networks are, for the most part unwelcome or, at best, they are invited guests into this powerful structural 'hole' for the explicit purpose of serving higher-ranking patrifocal objectives.

entrepreneurial expertise (Iyigun and Owen 1998) or being white (Smith 1984) and heterosexual (Katz 2015) are indicia of human capital which, in an optimal social context, have the capacity to bestow privileged rewards (symbolic capital) upon the agent. Duberley and Cohen (2010:189) cite a number of studies, including their own, which demonstrate that women are able to generate much less return on investment (“ROI”) in social capital than their male counterparts achieve in the same organizational context with much less effort. A progressive career trajectory for women “relies more upon them having the requisite human capital and there being meritocratic career structures in place. But even then, women rarely gain the same return from their investment in human capital” (Melamed 1995:38).

Social capital is both opportunistic (Ramseyer 2021) and relational (Bourdieu 1977) and, as with human capital, men tend to be more direct beneficiaries of its commoditized value (Duberley and Cohen 2010). Social capital refers to “a quality created between people” and the “brokerage opportunities in a network” (1998:7) of social relations<sup>162</sup> in which other forms of capital are marketed, negotiated, and distributed with a view to strategic and competitive advantage.<sup>163</sup> In a relational sense, Burt sees social capital as a “structural hole” (1998:8) in which those bonded to the network are able to fashion oligopolies or even monopolies from within the economy of social practices relative to those in other non-affiliated and disconnected networks. The exclusivity of these practices can lead to differential power, control, and social inequality between and among fields.

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<sup>162</sup> Here, Chua (2010:2) points out that “the focus moves beyond economic actors’ accumulation of skills and qualifications and evokes the interpersonal environments within which economic actors engage one another (Granovetter, 1985; Burt, 1992). Social networks are often a ‘final arbiter’ of competitive success, after human capital elements have all been considered (Burt, 1992:67). Vouching or putting in a good word for someone is an important way of matching seekers to jobs, because it provides more nuanced information than credentials (Granovetter, 1974; Burt, 1992; Bian, 1997)”.

<sup>163</sup> Nathan Martin (2010:156) argues that Bourdieu shares Burt’s view of the capital-bearing power of social networks: “To Bourdieu (2001 [1983]), social capital is the sum of resources accessible through social connections and institutional ties. Bourdieu points to social networks as sources of social capital and locates the family as key in providing students with resources that facilitate success in the educational system and future occupations (Devine 2004; Lareau 2003).” Nathan (2010:176) further suggests that “(s)tudies of occupational attainment have explored the benefits of social capital and the use of personal contacts during formal (Granovetter 1973) and informal (McDonald and Elder 2006) job searches. Research in this tradition draws attention to the instrumental use of resources and information that exist in social networks (Lin 1999). Not only does social capital facilitate occupational attainment when mobilized during the job search process (Bian 1997; De Graaf and Flap 1988; Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981; Marsden and Hulbert 1988; Wegener 1991), but [as postulated in this Chapter] also when accessed within an individual’s general social networks (Burt 1992; Campbell, Marsden, and Hulbert 1986; Erickson 1996; Lin and Dumin 1986)”.



Patricia Thompson suggests “Bourdieu is unequivocal that some fields are dominant and others subordinate, but it is not necessarily clear how this domination is materially enacted” (Thomson 2010:80). However, Burt’s study of the ‘structural hole’ offers a working theory. The dominant influences of both patriarchy and the ‘old boys’ network exemplify how ‘structural holes’ take shape generating power imbalances between and among fields that result in the dominance of one field over another. It is the ontology of oppression and intersectionality (Peterson 2011, 2011b, Ahmed 1998, 2009, Siim and Hegge 2008). The greater the density and synchrony of mimetic behaviours practiced by the network’s constituency the greater the potency of the symbolic capital in the field (Gebauer and Wulf 1995:319, Cantwell 1999). From the exclusivity of the network there emerges inequality and discrimination, in other words symbolic power, immanent and exclusive (Heckenberger 2005). Bourdieu cautions that symbolic power is not recognized for what it is. “Rather, it seems to be similar to physical laws like gravity: we do not treat gravity as oppressive, but as inevitable; and we obey it without thinking about it because it seems the only thing to do” (Webb, et. al. 2008:96). Earlier an illustration was offered to explain how symbolic power is orchestrated through doxa – the unwritten rules governing “the way things are” (Jenkins 1992:82), particularly how the game is played in the field. “Symbolic power is embedded in recognized institutions as well as in institutionalized social relations (education, religion, art) which have the power to establish categories and allocate differential values in the market of symbolic goods, legitimizing themselves further in the process” (Deer 2010:121).

The cognitive schematics of structural cohesiveness resemble instinctual, theoretically allelomimetic but at the very least synchronous group behaviour. Within a bureaucratic structure, what Freud might have called preconscious imitation is the traditional mechanism of doxastic compliance (Skoll 2010). The “synchrony is due to the tendency of members of a social species to follow one another, and to the phenomenon of allelomimicry which is a type of behavioural contagion resembling imitation, but not involving the element of conscious copying found in imitation” (Wood-Gush 1983:15). This evokes Bourdieu’s idea that “individuals tend to imitate the practices of more experienced individuals within a field. By imitating the practices, they learn the new practices but also unconsciously understand the meanings associated with the practices”

(Sieweke 2014a:538). Arguably, mimesis, by virtue of its functional assimilation of the *'Other'*, gives primacy to the object over the subject (Spariosu 1984: xvi).<sup>164</sup>

An integral mimetic variable is the degree of structural intersubjectivity. The influence of symbolic power as social capital in a bureaucracy depends upon its potency. As shown earlier, patriarchy is a potent social phenomenon. The potency of symbolic power as social capital is directly related to intersubjectivity. The term necessarily implies “meaningful engagement between subjects” (DeJaegher, et. al. 2017:492, Gurwitsch 1979, Lechner 1991). The engagement, to be meaningful, contemplates not merely “co-existence and mutual necessity of various first-person perspectives, but [also] perspectives [...] influenced by and co-created by more than one subject” (DeJaegher et. al. 2017:493). This synchronic bonding underscores the essence of social capital. It is essential to the manifestation of its effects (Crossley 1996:202). Power is a relational parasite, larval in the structural hole theorized by Burt but, arguably, the pupa thrives on the synchrony of mimetic intersubjectivity as it emerges in a mature form of social capital. In Crossley’s words, intercorporeal “power relations are always intersubjective” (1996:202); Susan Jacobs and Christian Klesse (2014:135) remind us that “[t]his power is all pervasive, therefore appearing natural”.

### **6.3 Gendered Capital in the Ontario College System**

The references to heteropatriarchy and the ‘old boys’ network inform an expanded discourse about the gendering of social capital introduced by Burt through a feminist lens. Looking back to Burt’s ‘structural hole’, the homosocial and discursively phallogocentric nature of the ‘old boys’ network seems self-evident as does the parallel network’s heteropatriarchal constituency. If either or both of these happens to be the dominant organizational paradigm(s), then the social capital emanating

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<sup>164</sup> According to Furlin (2015:np), “the subject objectivates itself in its own action and out of this comes its subjectivation, i.e., the subject subjectivates itself in action–subjectivation”. Therefore, mimesis understood as an inherent property of Burt’s ‘networks’ functions as a legitimated and reproductive conduit for the outward flow of rationalized and symbolic domination.” [T]he bureaucratic structure is only the counter-image of patriarchalism transposed into rationality” (Weber in Gerth and Mills 1948:245). The significance of legitimacy cannot be underestimated because without it the structure of social capital lacks sustainability owing to its vulnerability to challenge (Barr 1998). The ‘insiders’ possess legitimacy within an organization; the ‘outsiders’ do not and are therefore marginalized. Through intersubjective or dyadic association, an outsider - usually someone from an intersectional minority - may be able to ‘borrow’ legitimacy from an ‘insider’ as a form of “reflected power” (Kanter 1977) and the price for induction into the sponsor’s network is the doxastic imitation of its practices.

from these networks is likely gendered toward males and one might expect to locate a disproportionate concentration of women in 'pink collar, low opportunity jobs' (Burt 1998:19). Yet, Burt's quantitative study found that "[w]omen with dense networks of female colleagues have a competitive advantage in breaking through the 'glass ceiling' into the senior ranks" of the organization (1998:20).<sup>165</sup>

McDonald studied inequalities in the labour market and the social processes that lead to those inequalities. His findings indicate that, where it exists, "being locked out of the 'old boys' club will limit one's access to social capital and, by extension, their chances of attaining higher status jobs. A corollary to the old boy networks perspective is the "wrong networks" approach, which suggests that women and minorities are trapped in female - and minority - dominated networks that provide access to relatively few labor market resources" (2011:317, Neale and Ozkanli 2010, Leathwood 2005). College bureaucracies illustrate McDonald's point. Because of their propensity toward patrilocality, it is the nature of college administrations to induct males "into a hierarchical fraternity [that] marginalizes women" (Duberley and Cohen 2010:188, see: Fenton 2003:13). Fenton (2003:13) suggests that the masculinized and neoliberal forces of competition brought about by the 'marketization of higher education' have generated the preordination of research output and hiring practices with concentration on attracting instructors who possess educational pedigree.

This more vaunted positionality in the career field places women (and their networks) - whose responsibilities are primarily administrative - into a structural hole that does not as readily position its occupants as meritorious candidates for promotion (Duberley and Cohen 2010:189, see: Melamed 1995). Kholis (2018) assembles similar conceptualizations of human and social capital. His study examines the degree to which gender becomes a moderating influence - especially as it relates career success and leadership positions in higher education. He hypothesizes that "human capital and social capital variables affect academic career success, yet gender moderates the

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<sup>165</sup> However, it should also be cautioned that membership in a power network at the optimal time, generating maximal deployment of social capital, does not necessarily guarantee intersectional acceptance. "Certain categories of people (defined by gender, race or other attributes) are in certain organizations not taken seriously as a source of ideas" (Burt 1998:34) and, to that extent, those so affected remain existentially disadvantaged regardless of the composition of the dominant organizational networks.

effect” (2018:2).<sup>166</sup> The resultant heterogeneity of the field is also the place of internecine contest not only over the struggle for access to symbolic resources but also for the chance to gain authority by maneuvering toward the center of the network that establishes the doxa – the rules of the game.<sup>167</sup>

#### 6.4 The Relational Deployment of Power

As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu theorizes the relational deployment of power through many different forms of capital including economic, cultural and, as discussed extensively above, social capital. He eschews any notion of gender-related capital no doubt attributable to his notoriously androcentric view of women<sup>168</sup> who, in his view, were not so much ‘capital-accumulating subjects’ but rather ‘capital bearing objects’.<sup>169</sup> Their utilitarian value, according to Bourdieu, rests in the

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<sup>166</sup> The conclusions drawn from Kholis’ study support Burt’s network theory and McDonald’s quantitative research (Kholis 2018:2). The intersubjectivity of a network’s constituents and the ensuing collective mobilization of power that accumulated social capital brings to the field engages an axiomatic process necessarily implying the imposition of dominance over other ‘unconnected’ agents. Because of their unconnectedness, those negatively affected because of intersectionality may find themselves on the periphery of or even outside predominant and career enhancing social networks. Kirschbaum (2012:7) reminds us that Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital implies “powerful actors are able to close a social space to outsiders by imposing high exchange rates to different types of capital. [Consequently,] only the mobilization of strong and durable social ties yields access to resources”. Such dominance permits the network’s members to dictate the rules of the field. “These rules entail how a given capital circulates and is exchanged by other kinds of capitals. Because powerful actors control the exchange rates and the flows of capital in the field, they are also able to reproduce their dominance” (Kirschbaum 2012:5).

<sup>167</sup> Bourdieu writes that the “degree of indeterminacy and fuzziness in the objects of the social world, together with the practical, pre-reflexive and implicit nature of the schemes of perception and appreciation that are applied to them, is the Archimedean leverage point that is objectively offered for political action proper” (1985:729, see: Anheier, H. et. al. 1995, DeNooy 2003, Merton, R.K. 1968).

<sup>168</sup> Bourdieu was known for his Nietzschean - Derridean catachrestical conceptualization of the role gender played in the male hegemony. According to Giannini and Minervini (2009:13): “The pivotal line of reasoning in Bourdieu’s conceptualization of gender is that the socialization process reproducing the hegemonic representation of masculinity is objectified in the social structures (and in the fields) and is incorporated in subjective perceptions. In this way the gender order is an artificial establishment that is reified in symbolic terms, it becomes something that people acknowledge as real in their subjective disposition because it is performed as real in the objective relations structure. This reasoning is quite close to that one Bourdieu provides for the analysis of social distinction, when he describes how differences of status among agents are built upon the reasonable, practical, legitimate, and shared knowledge that embodies asymmetric social structures (Bourdieu 1984). Thus, the dominant man is first of all something different from the subordinate women because of their specific (that is to say gendered) way of distribution of cultural capital, strictly related with their real power and their position in the space of the objective relations (Susca 2011).”

<sup>169</sup> Friedland (2009:894-895) points out that “in the objectification of women as supplemental social capital, Bourdieu delineates a trans-historical, androcentric order which imprints, or ‘somatizes’, power relations between men and women into their very bodies, their bodily hexis as posture, carriage and feeling, their differentiated locations in physical and social space, in a skein of homologous metaphorical oppositions (hard/soft, out/in) which not only convert power into

support they offer to the more dominant groups of which they are subordinate members (Lovell, 2000; Skeggs, 2004).<sup>170</sup> That is not to suggest that women lack the ability or means to acquire their own unique form of symbolic capital (Adkins, 2000). In that regard, feminists have appropriated Bourdieusian concepts to theorize the roles that gender and its intersectionalities play in an organizational paradigm.<sup>171</sup>

Everyday workplace practices in a bureaucratic organization are “embedded in a field of relations” (Everett 2002:57). The field is an objective, ‘structuring structure’ (Bourdieu 1977:72). Into this dynamic structure individuals import subjective dispositions shaped by the habitus. They employ these dispositions strategically in order to maneuver for organizational positionality in proximal relation to the achievement of their career aspirations. Self-interested, virtuosic negotiation over position entails a battle for power and authority that can be effectively distributed across many networks in the social space. Everett describes the machinations as the “struggle to accumulate capital, that fleeting form of power whose value is always and only ever field specific” (Everett 2002:57). Bourdieu theorises that “the distributions of agents in social space are dependent upon the volume and structure of capital they possess” (Bourdieu, 1989:17). The conflictual paradigm of access to symbolic resources and therefore the accumulation of capital within the objective conditions of the workplace brings to mind Bourdieu’s relational linkage between an “analysis of the humdrum details of ordinary organisational existence with both an analysis of language and a more general social analysis” (Everett 2002:57). In the space created by this linkage there exists an analytical paradigm within which to examine in greater detail the mechanisms by which the management field is navigated with greater or lesser success.

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bodily nature, but then grounds those power relations in that ‘naturalized social construction’, thereby grounding domination in the senses”.

<sup>170</sup> Gender issues in their own right have been the subject of a certain amount of criticism (Stacey and Thorne 1985). Bhambra (2007: 5) argues persuasively that because “sociologists only ever study a part of the world, theory is needed ‘to help us situate the part in the whole’ [Stacey and Thorne 1985: 311]. Without theoretical reconstruction [...] issues of gender [...] remain ‘ghettoized’ [...] Acker [has] argued that while there has been increasing research about women, both empirical and theoretical, this exists ‘in relative isolation from a world of sociological theory that continues in a pre-feminist mode’ [1992: 65; see also, Marshall 1994; Stanley, 2000]. Similarly, Joan Alway (1995) addressed the failure of sociological theorists to learn from feminist theory and suggested that by ignoring this body of thought ‘sociological theory impoverishes itself and the discipline as a whole’ (1995:210).

<sup>171</sup> For example, Shoba Arun (2018:24), notes that the interplay of gender, race, and class in the makeup of social identities “plays an important role in social reproduction and transformation, and it provides more evidence on how gender navigates a woman’s accumulation of capital”. Gender capital propelled by incentivized strategic deployment can potentiate workplace practices that can alleviate some of the intersectional oppressions found in bureaucratic patriarchies.

A significant portion of this dissertation focusses on intersectional oppressions, the product of neoliberalism, patriarchy, androcentrism as well as the implicit masculinities of Weberian bureaucracy. For example, Billing (2011) claims that women are victimized by the ‘phantom of the male norm’, that shrouds organizational administrations under the implied and sometimes explicit cover of homosociality. Corsun and Costen (2001:18) argue that “to be successful [...] women and minorities must play by the rules and within the boundaries established by white men”. However, feminists have used Bourdieu’s capitals to about turn and redirect the discussion away from these social inequalities and instead toward an analysis of alternative approaches to understanding gender identity and agency in the social space (Adkins 2004). As mentioned earlier, McCall (1992:842) contends that one’s gender identity is a “reconversion process by ‘dispositions associated with gender’ resulting in a gendered form of “embodied cultural capital [that] actually manifests itself in [pre-reflexive] dispositions, or put another way, certain types of dispositions are themselves forms of capital” (1992:843).

Therefore, pre-reflexive and “embodied dispositions may operate as hidden, gendered cultural capital or *gender capital*. Hence, gender is potentially a significant form of capital” (Comtesse 2013:18, see: McCall 1992) with the power to transcend class divisions in capitalist economies. Indeed, the greater significance of gender capital cannot be underestimated. In her book, *Development and Gender Capital in India*, Arun (2018:104) writes about the migration of transnational fields and the globalized makeover of neoliberal capitalist ideologies where “[i]n particular, gendered changes are obvious. Women’s ability to gain [...] cultural capital that enables them to act as social agents in their own lives [...] challenges existing class divisions [...] thereby exerting their agency in decision-making while expanding their control in social arenas”. The data gathered for this project demonstrates that this macrosociological generalization has some structural parallels to the microcosm of a college bureaucracy as it does to the global stage. This Chapter continues with a discussion of feminist scholarship about gender capital.

## **6.5 Gender as Cultural Capital**

Examining *gender* as source of cultural capital in college bureaucracies educes Ross-Smith and Huppertz’ work, *Management, Women and Gender Capital* (2010). Their study interpolates

Bourdiesian core conceptualizations of 'field' imbued with feminist perspectives on embodied dispositions forming cultural capital. They inquire whether gender capital in the management represents a dynamic source of power that can be utilized by women to contend with the masculinities of administrative bureaucracy. They explore, (1) the ways in which gender capital as a resource supports women as they ascend administrative career trajectories and, (2) as mentioned earlier, the ways in which the use of gender capital has the power to "shape contemporary management discourses and practices" (2010:547) on both 'macro and micro levels' of social space.

The researchers suggest that "organizations can be seen as embedded in a field of relations in which individuals strive to accumulate capital (Everett, 2002). One such field is that of management" (2010:548). The field is a place where people interact with one another on a semi-private, individual basis, the intricacies of which were shown earlier in the discussion of Goffman. However, it can also be a social setting in which people engage with one another in larger groups or discrete "networks of social relations" (Ross-Smith and Huppatz 2010:554). These engagements are governed by unspoken but understood discursive rules and hexical expectations. Rules (or doxa) make up the "game" agents play in the field as they manoeuvre for hierarchal position.

Similar to the competitive and agglomerative, neoliberalist strategies involved in a game of Monopoly®, utilizing symbolic tokens in the field serves to advance a player or perhaps a network of players toward an individual or collective goal. The 'tokens' represent symbolic 'capital' in the Bourdiesian metatheoretical lexicon. Suppose a player accumulates (1) a greater amount of symbolic capital that is available on demand, that can be (2) legitimated and reproduced as a resource, and that is a (3) reflection of malleable habitus with which to adapt to and expend upon whilst playing the game. It is like placing a hotel on Boardwalk in the Monopoly® game. The player hastens the outcome desired from strategic and, to that extent, exploitative participation in the game (2010:554, see: Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97-99). Time's effluxion and the expenditure of energy entail risk implicit in playing the game. The Boardwalk hotel can be lost on the throw of the dice. The objective structure of the field becomes internalized by its players. The doxic habitus becomes accepted reality, a metaphysical form of symbolically sublimated violence. Bourdieu contends that players "have the game under their skin" (1998c:80). The more committed and more enduring the player, the greater likelihood of achieving the desired outcome and rising to higher levels of seniority with the bureaucracy. It is neoliberal, postcolonialism in action. Investment in the

game is costly, because now it develops into an incrementally difficult task to challenge the rules of the game; the player becomes indoctrinated by the *illusio*, i.e., the internalized conviction that the game is not a fiction at all but a reality. The *illusio* affixes belief that one's emotional commitment to the game is objectively worth the effort involved. Meaning is therefore created, manipulated, and ultimately transformed from an internal strategy to an objective reality as the player travels along the affective path of the *illusio* (Bourdieu 1990b:195, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:116, Threadgold 2019:40).<sup>172</sup>

Ross-Smith and Huppertz' 2010 designed an empirical study to examine whether the investment of femininity as a utilitarian form of gender capital in the workplace has tangible currency playing the game vectored to a desired career outcome. Their research contribution (2010:586) explores the leading feminist discourse over semantic differences between the words 'female' and 'feminine or femininity'.<sup>173</sup> For example, Moi (1991:1036) suggests that having 'femaleness' imposed upon women as a condition of gender amounts to nothing less than an essentialized, socially constructed act of symbolic violence because, "in most contexts, maleness functions as positive and femaleness as negative symbolic capital". On the other hand, 'femininity', strategized as 'feminine capital' possesses intrinsic social utility as a valuable token to be played aspirationally in the game of career ascendancy. For the purposes of their study, Ross-Smith and Huppertz adopted the latter approach: as they see it, "feminine capital is the gender advantage that is derived from a skill set that is associated with femininity or from simply being recognized as feminine" (2010:556).

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<sup>172</sup> In this dissertation, I show that, for a number of historical, social, economic, and existential reasons, "white men usually possess the capital that enables movement into and within the management field" (Ross-Smith and Huppertz 2010:554). It is capitalist doctrine that men have more strategic moves available along their career trajectories and they "are better equipped and positioned for the game of management than women" (2010:554).

<sup>173</sup> There is a limited amount of empirical data gathered in Canada that may suggest slow but steady growth toward gender-equitable and more integrated managerialist structures across Canadian college administrations (Vitality 2015). Women show increased representation and even domination in middle-level management roles in most Ontario college administrations. Roughly "60% of Ontario college administrators are women: 1474 compared to 938 men. More precisely, 61% compared to 39% of the 2412 administrators [are women]" (Swan 2014:6). Thirty-eight of the 127 member colleges of College and Institutes Canada have a female President (Wiat 2016:np). One possible explanation for the inroads having been achieved has to do with 'femininity' and the idea that women may be accessing their own femininity as a token of symbolic capital with a view to achieving their institutional goals (Illouz 1997, Lovell 2000). Femininity (or for that matter, 'masculinity') describes one's self-constructed, inexhaustively malleable gender identity – a non-essentialist dimension of one's personality inevitably shaped by and capable of shaping the *habitus*. Common notions of femininity today share very little with descriptions of what it was like at the turn of the 19th century (Shield 2007, Marmor 2004, Charmon-Deutch and Labanyi 2011). It is unconnected to biology nor is it indicative of sexuality; instead, it is temporal, "plural and dynamic [changing] with culture and with individuals" (Ulenhaut, et. al. 2009:1130).



The data for the Ross-Smith and Huppertz study was comprised of interviews of approximately 170 women occupying senior managerial positions in 19 Australian private and public sector organizations including higher education. A total of 87 men were also interviewed. While the study is inexplicit about the racial composition of the population sample, the assumption is that the preponderance of the interviewees is white and heterosexual. The researchers “found that [femininity as gender capital] is a limited currency [...] often double-edged and situational and [...] perhaps best conceptualized as a tactical rather than a strategic resource. [...]. Women continue to face considerable obstacles in management cultures. Despite the fact that women have achieved greater representation in this field they continue to be subordinately positioned in comparison to their male counterparts” (2010:563). While difficult to argue against, Cooper (2019:205) points out that the conclusions drawn by Ross-Smith and Huppertz make no mention of the fact that white femininity tends to ignore its own white privilege. In that regard, it may be that the study is flawed to some extent.<sup>174</sup>

## 6.6 Hegemonic Femininity & the Queen-Bee Syndrome

Collins’ work (1990, 2004) focuses “on the reinforcing axes of oppression instead of exclusively on gender [so that] this social location comes into view as actively *complicit* (author’s emphasis) in the reproduction of inequality” and domination (Hamilton, et. al. 2019:316). Collins (2004:187-189) leads us to the rather profound inference that the strategic use of femininity as the sort of token capital is a form of *hegemonic femininity*. Using the theoretical framework of Connell’s (2005) ‘hegemonic masculinity’, Collins argues that “within hierarchies of femininity, social categories of race, age, and sexual orientation also intersect to produce comparable categories of hegemonic, marginalized, and subordinated femininities”. I explore this concept further, under ‘*Gendered Hegemonies*’ in Chapter 8, however the essence of Collins’ line of reasoning, as she portrays it, is

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<sup>174</sup> Perhaps it indicates a corrective point where my own work offers some contribution to the feminist scholarly viewpoint. Accordingly, a more intersectional conceptualization of femininity as gender capital but which also takes into account racialization should be discussed. Undoubtedly, gender inequality intersects with patrilocality, but surely white supremacy makes its presence felt by non-whites as well. To that extent it may be that the Ross-Smith and Huppertz study is constrained somewhat by its limited replicability inasmuch as it focusses on the internecine struggles of exclusively white privileged women who rail against the androcentricity of white privileged males in white neoliberal organizations including higher education in Australia. The intersectionalities associated with racial stratification are simply not addressed in their study and likely intersectionality was not an integral variable in the authors’ research paradigm.

that the strategic use of gender capital by women, given the appropriate context or field, is merely a feminist iteration of masculine domination.<sup>175</sup>

In Australia - the location of the Ross-Smith and Huppertz study - researchers studied a form of inter-gender discrimination which they labelled the 'queen-bee syndrome'. In this qualitative investigation a number of female business leaders who had risen to senior levels of power and authority within their organizations undermined and aggressively discriminated against female career aspirants. They "saw no need to push for more women in positions of power in Australian organisations and no need to assist other women aspiring for management positions" (Rindfleish 2000:174). The phenomenon and its conflict problematics in terms of career advancement for women has been observed and studied in other countries as well (Sheppard and Aquino 2017, Bamberger 2013, Rochman 2013, Armour 2005, Tennery 2012, Silverman 2009, Jones, and Palmer 2011, Litwin 2011). However, it should be pointed out that John Archer's (2004) empirical study was not able to reliably distinguish between men and women in connection to verbal (as opposed to physical) aggression in social settings; moreover "[s]elf-reports of indirect aggression showed no sex differences for adults".<sup>176</sup>

## **6.7 Gender Performativity as Management Capital**

Meier and O'Toole, Jr. (2006:24) conducted an extensive study that explores differences in the way men and women engage in the activity of management. In other words, they "probe the question of whether women as managers contribute in different ways to the performance of public organizations and thus constitute, in effect, a distinct form of managerial human capital ...".

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<sup>175</sup> Hamilton, et. al. (2019:316) suggest that: "Performances of hegemonic femininities are motivated, whether intentionally or not, by the pursuit of a femininity premium (author's emphasis) – a set of individual benefits that accrue to those who can approximate these ideals. For individual women, the collective costs of performing hegemonic femininities are often far outweighed by the individual promise of a femininity premium".

<sup>176</sup> In the concurrences associated with queen-bee syndrome, there is a parallel with Connell's (1995:80, 2005) conceptualization of subordinated masculinities and the concentration of heteronormative power and authority in the overarching gender order predominant in neoliberal organizations. Hamilton, et.al. (2019:318), argue that the aggression is manifest in the "hegemony of heterosexual men over gay men or, to a lesser extent, men who perform effeminate masculinity". In these instances, the value of gender capital can be found in presentations of masculinity provided the intersectionalities of homosexuality or effeminacy (Reisen, et. al. 2013, Meyer 2012, Battle and Ashley 2008) are either unnoticed or overlooked by those in a position to assist with an agent's aspirational goals.

Adopting a feminist lens and following a praxis established in prior investigations by Moore (1995), they examined managerial functions from three perspectives: upward, downward, and outward – precisely the analytical metrics involved in any comprehensive study of middle management in public administration such as college bureaucracies. In such environments, middle managers must provide support, influence, and commitment to the larger organizational goals in all three directions - often simultaneously.

These theoreticians conceptualize upward management as the task of having to contend with the principals occupying the executive levels of the administration (2006:26). The typical approach adopted by women in dealing with the administration's upper levels tends to be nonconfrontational, supportive and participatory - qualities most likely to be favorably received in an organizational milieu where women occupy roles at the top (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001).<sup>177</sup> Managing downward tends to be more complex and multi-layered. There is most certainly a dyadic component in the bureaucratic hierarchy from which both supervision and general oversight are more direct and immediately impactful. Meier and O'Toole (2006:26) point out that subordinates "may be regularly influenced by managers without evidence of explicit interaction" because of other structural concomitants such as plenary email dissemination, recourse to policy directives and a wide variety of indirect communication systems that do not necessarily engage dyadic interaction. "Nonetheless, contact with those at lower levels in [an organizational bureaucracy] does represent one component of this sort of managerial contribution" (2006:26). Undoubtedly it has intrinsic value as management capital if it is executed in a manner that effectively exploits the situation through an agent's furtherance of organizational goals and sustenance of individual managerial authority while at the same time garnering respect and compliance from those under one's leadership. Inevitably, downward management means leadership and leadership is rarely an easy task. The responsibility at this level also entails a good measure of risk with the potential to offset the capital gains achieved by career advancement to leadership levels of management. Indeed, Booth (2009:np) questions whether the gender

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<sup>177</sup> There is an increasing number of female Presidents at the college level in Ontario and therefore, in this context, the skill sets associated with women's ability to report upward in a style that is more flexible and interactional represents management capital. An agent thus positioned in the field and possessing the ability to employ effective gender strategies in a way that enhances individual power while making a viable contribution to the performance of public organizations can be said to have amassed management capital. As Tatli, et. al. (2015:5) points out, "[c]apitals and strategies that are available to individual agents are governed by the logic of the field and embodiment of this logic through the habitus. In other words, capitals as potential sources of power and influence become functional only in relation to a specific field and habitus".

imbalance in high-paying jobs and the upper of management might be due to gender differences in risk aversion and facing competition. Her research conclusions are equivocal.<sup>178</sup>

Finally, managing outward is defined by Meier and O'Toole (2006:27) as "behavioral networking or interacting with key actors in the organization's environment". This definition returns us to Burt's concept of structural holes. Depending upon the nature of the hierarchy involved, intra-organizational networking can translate into management capital in situations where an agent has the bridging skills and other necessary attributes to gain inclusion in a number of influential networks. Access to these multiple networks within the bureaucracy translates into management capital when the agent has: "(1) access to information, knowledge, and resources that are not universally held and (2) the ability to play actors, or groups of actors, off against each other in the competition for resources. The spanning of structural holes has been shown to affect careers and compensation, patenting, alliance performance, corporate acquisition performance, market entry choices, and firm financing and growth" (Ebers 2015:621). As shown throughout this dissertation, this skill seems more easily acquired and deployed by men, especially when inter-gender relations are involved.

Meier and O'Toole (2016:33) conclude that "women managers are able to convert the negative impacts of managing upward [...] into positive results on several of the organizational performance indicators". In contrast, women managers generally get lower results from managing downward and managing outward than do their male counterparts. Using Bourdieu's economic model, the study leads to the inference that gender capital is likely to generate greater individual returns on psychic investment when women occupy mid-level managerial roles supporting upper management than in situations where downward command and control skills are not only required but expected. This topic is considered again in Chapter 10 following the study findings.

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<sup>178</sup> This returns us to the relational nature of the habitus and its structuring influence in the field. In *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State*, Camilla Stivers (1995:66) draws on both Freud and Weber to assist in analyzing the underpinnings that reproduce the deeply ingrained cultural expectations of a strong, masculine decision maker. She points out that Freud invariably stressed the collective need for authority, which, because of its "decisiveness of thought, ... strength of will ... [and] energy of action are part of the picture of a father" (quoted in Kets de Vries, 1989, p. 26)". Stivers, quoting Bologh (1990:101) adds that "[for] Weber, "one either adopts a feminine attitude of passivity in which 'life is permitted to run on as an event in nature,' or one adopts a masculine emphasis on decisive action in which life is 'consciously guided by a series of ultimate decisions'".

## 6.8 Conclusion

The literature examined strongly suggests that career paths within bureaucracies are gendered and that gender capital as well as other forms of human and social capital do indeed play a significant role in accessing and sustaining hierarchal dominance within a typical college bureaucratic environment. But the literature seems fairly consistent with respect to the significant micro-political and social obstacles with which women contend for those who wish to pursue the goal of career advancement in management cultures. Women have achieved demonstrably greater numerical representation at higher executive levels in the organizational hierarchy. Even so, they are relegated to a form of influence stasis attributable to their perceived subordinate positional capital in comparison to their male counterparts. If a woman happens to be negatively affected by an intersectionality, race in particular, the exchangeable value of her gender capital in the field tends to be decremented even further so that playing the game in the field might be seen by some as not worth the effort. The exception seems to be a situation in which an agent, whether a member of an intersectional minority or not, attaches to and is sponsored by another in a dominant structural hole, the symbolic power of which, in turn, becomes reflected in the field activities of the aspirational agent. It seems clear that women engage in the act of management in accordance with behavioural practices that are both distinct and immediately distinguishable from their male counterparts. This uniqueness, in certain circumstances, can be exchanged as management capital. But there is a caveat: there are a number of studies demonstrating that female middle managers achieve the most efficient return on their management capital when they are involved in subordinate roles reporting upward to the highest levels of the administration. On the other hand, men tend to predominate in downward and outward managerial roles.

In Chapters 7, 8 and 9, a reconnection is made with these issues by linking them to the quantitative and qualitative data gathered for this project and the main interrogative focus of this dissertation. There is a Rubicon in the Ontario college system that separates students from administrators and administrators from each other along gender and racial boundaries. The student populations of all the colleges investigated are overwhelmingly multi-racial and ethnically diverse. On the other hand, the administrative employees - especially those in middle management and higher - are predominantly white, heterosexual, and middle-aged. There are more women than men working in

this stratum but those whose careers have advanced to higher levels of the bureaucracy tend to be heteronormative males or females who demonstrate stereotypically androcentric behavioural traits in the field. Nurturing employees in middle management tend to remain in stasis indefinitely and most accept the rules of the game and are ineluctably resigned to the outcome. Some individuals strategize their gender identities and presentations in a way that capitalizes their overall systemic value. For example, positive, even aggressive, overtly competitive displays managers of both sexes tend to possess greater gender capital than those who prefer to nurture employees under their direct governance. Racial minorities of any gender presentation do not appear to be in the running. There is not a single, non-white college President in all 24 public colleges in Ontario. Gender and race intersectionality are, therefore, potent drivers on inequality and persistent systemic discrimination. Diversity legislation and institutional policy mandates equalize hiring practices but beyond mere numbers, they do very little to mitigate intersectionality and the predominance of white privilege and patriarchy in an increasingly neoliberalized workplace environment. These phenomena will be examined in the following Chapters.

### 7.1 Introduction

This study began with the intention to focus on the social constructions and lived experiences of mid-level managers in a geographically representative cross-section of Ontario's public college system. However, as the research progressed and the data revealed itself, recognition emerged about the need to account for the mutually constitutive influences of neoliberal enterprise, government legislation and institutional policy. These forces impact upon the provincial college system. It became clearer as to how they conflate in a way that effectively perpetuates the reproduction of historical antecedents and social policy habitus. These antecedents operate to preserve internal hierarchies and power relations that are at the root of the research questions.

By connecting the dots in this much larger picture, it became imperative to theorize several related and important themes and sub-themes that are discussed in this Chapter. Accordingly, Bourdieu's work is the conceptual framework that explains the deployment of social capital in educational administration. Feminist perspectives were added to focus a critical lens on the research questions but, equally important, to draw attention to the reproduction of multi-dimensional intersectional inequalities in Ontario's public colleges. To date, these phenomena in this narrow field of study have been underappreciated, largely unexplored and primarily concerned with gender inequalities rather than 'multiple marginalized social categories' (Breslin, et. al. 2017:160). Following a capsulized history of the Ontario college system<sup>179</sup> this Chapter presents an exploration of racial privilege in middle management and the intersection of gender and racial discrimination. The systemic impact of race, gender and education as cultural capital will be followed in Chapters 8 and 9 by a detailed analysis of the main study findings.

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<sup>179</sup> A far more detailed and panoptic view of the Ontario college system including a significant amount of historical and statistical data can be found in Schedule 'K'.

## 7.2 Chapter Plan & Organization

This is the first of three data Chapters. Research findings are drawn upon from both the survey and the interviews conducted. In terms of presentation, a narrative approach was chosen that is commonly used in ethnographic research to introduce key themes that have emerged from the data (Sharp, et. al. 2019, Creswell 2006, Jones 2004, Brown 2006, Ollerenshaw and Creswell 2002). Chapters 8 and 9 will build upon this in a manner that explores a selected number of the more salient themes that concentrate on the manifestations of power in the field. Bourdieu insisted upon the methodological pragmatism discussed earlier in this thesis. The goal always was to produce “meaningful, robust and useful findings” (Fox-Kirk 2015:138). As Fox-Kirk (2015) points out, numbers are no doubt appealing but they have the tendency to conceal far more relevant data and the complexity of the human experience. This study attempts to address that potential weakness in this and the following two Chapters. With the foregoing in mind, I revisit a topic introduced in Chapter 3, the methodological tension that exists in the two approaches to the study of social phenomena adopted by Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault. Their respective philosophical viewpoints impacted both methodology and analysis in this dissertation as did several other structuralist, poststructuralist and queer theories which I examine in some detail in this Chapter.

As I explained in Chapter 3, the interrogatories were semi-structured, albeit built upon a carefully designed architecture of themes and related sub-themes, suitably offering a methodological framework for the data collection protocol. In this and Chapters 8 and 9, there are two, main objectives. The first is to describe, in some detail, the struggled field of play in the middle management sector of the Province’s college system and then to relate that data to the main research themes drawn from the literature. Primary focus is lent to the textual portions of the survey and the interview transcripts. Second are the participant conceptualizations supporting a number of sub-themes that provide context and richness to the explication of the main research questions from with a framework of the participants’ cultural milieu (Willig 2013). Moreover, the insights gained through active, participant observation by the author in the college milieu are notably documented in this and the following two Chapters. This form of empirical data serves to enhance the phenomenological portrait of intersectionality revealed in this study.



### 7.3 Historical Background

The Ontario college system is socio-demographically bifurcated, and the metaphorical demarcation point is the student services desk in each institution of which the system is comprised. On one side is the student population: predominantly multi-racial, multi-lingual, ethnically diverse and internationalized<sup>180</sup>. On the other side, the empirical data from the survey reveals a culturally isolated, overwhelmingly white, heterosexual, middle-aged, university educated, upper-middle-income administrative hierarchy. Middle managers occupy numerous structural holes (Burt 1995)<sup>181</sup> networked within this hierarchy. Because of budgets, deficits, and an expanding neoliberal business model, the occupants of this cluster of social networks tend to be more preoccupied with self-sustenance than cultural cross-fertilization of the two populations (Burt 1992).

Most of the Province's colleges were built between 1965 and 1973, "in response to a greatly increased demand for post-secondary education during those years" (Cantor 1992:170). Their impetus was derived "from very different socio-cultural roots [...] and were designed to provide educational services in concept with the particular needs of the community or region, and the political and economic priorities of the time" (Dennison and Levin 1988:6). Their origins can be contextualized in a pressing need identified in the early 1960's for skills-based, post-secondary training, especially for boys and young men who, for various reasons<sup>182</sup> would not be attending university nor joining the military forces. Consistent with the federal government's immigration policies, colleges have grown in size, co-ed populations and number, attracting a significant

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<sup>180</sup> Schedule 'K' (sections II - IV) specifically addresses the topic of 'internationalization' which includes a detailed discussion general population statistics and demographics associated with the racial profiles of the Province's college students. I mention in the Schedule Legusov's (2017:1) observation that "[f]rom institutions that primarily trained skilled workers and tradespeople for local communities, [Ontario's colleges] have evolved into complex educational organizations that fulfill multiple functions, with the education and training of international students quickly becoming one of the most important".

<sup>181</sup> It will be recalled from Chapter 6, that structural holes are the product of social networks that lack direct linkages between each other or among two or more entities from disparate networks (Burt, 1992). The theory – applicable to relationships involving organizations and the individuals within them - explains the cultural isolation of and frequent competition among social networks whose constituents and their intersecting relationships portray common struggles for power and recognition (Burt, 1992).

<sup>182</sup> Most student populations of the Province's public community colleges were largely derived from trade-based high schools that focussed their pedagogy on manual skills such as carpentry, auto-mechanics, and metalwork. Students who were funnelled into these secondary schools had been earlier subjected to a battery of intelligence tests in senior primary school where it was determined that they likely would not achieve academic success in the Province's more academically oriented high schools.

percentage of international students. But public colleges lack the pedigree and aspirational lure of the nation's universities that tend to "foster cohesion among high status groups, maintain connections with the top echelons of the occupational structure, and channel students into lucrative careers" (Martin 2010:4). A bachelor's degree or higher from a Canadian university (as opposed to a public community college) is presumed to enhance the possibility of a better standard of living through higher employment wages, job security, greater access to occupational networking and professional standing (Bowen and Bok 1998).<sup>183</sup>

#### **7.4 Intersectionality in the Ontario College System**

Cultural geography and the demographics of local constituencies differentially inform and shape the social topography of given structural fields (Sauer 1925, Gregory and Urry 1985). This phenomenon has not escaped observation by other Canadian researchers (Angus 2013) who have identified the consistent marked contrast between the student and the administrative sides of college hallways and corridors. College administrators are predominantly white, heterosexual, English-speaking, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, and highly educated. These form the essence of class distinction (Spurr and Bourdieu 1983) the theoretical and methodological implications of which are explored in some detail in this Chapter. They are the lineal product of an androcentric heritage (Perkins-Gilman 1911) or what one interviewee suggested "would have been seen as masculine in our childhood" (NE1).

In contrast, the majority of the student population is young, foreign, and ethnic - a non-white cohort, navigating the complex eccentricities of localized cultural artifacts and English as a second language. Stanton-Salazar (1997, 1995) and Valenzuela (1999) draw particular attention to the barriers thrown up when linguistic competence becomes an issue for students. In comparison to students fluent in English, they found an 'unequal distribution of social capital'. With characteristic

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<sup>183</sup> Cantor points out, "the Province's community colleges resemble their British counterparts in at least one important respect, namely [...] the ability to respond quickly to newly identified needs whether by employers, the education service, or provincial and federal governments. An obvious example is the way in which, in many parts of the country, the community colleges are responding to the needs of recent immigrants [and ever-increasing international student populations] by modifying their curricula and services" (Cantor 1992:173). The survey was deployed in colleges across every region of the Province, with most of the survey responses coming from the most populous south-east region.

Bourdieuian theorization in mind, Lareau and Horvat (1999) would add the intersections of race and class conflating to construct a reproducible habitus of social inequality and discriminatory injustice. Education, the sought-after commodity exclusively possessed by the white administrators in middle management, does not by itself embody cultural capital, yet it powerfully informs and is shaped by habitus (Perry 2012:91). The result is an overdetermined expression of Bourdieu's 'distinction' (1979) or what Loveman describes as "the ability to make appear as natural, inevitable, and thus apolitical that which is a product of historical struggle." (2005:1655). Being white, educated and in control of the power to grant the certification for which students compete galvanizes struggles for internecine and cross-cultural competence. The struggle exposes unspoken contests over class relations between those governed and their governors at all levels. The paradigm reflects a power differential over the communicative repertoire existing between students and the administration.

### **(a) The 'Help Desk' & Spatial Relationality**

In the Ontario colleges investigated, white privilege, and what Nietzsche ([1901] 2016) once described as the active "will to ignorance" of its social perquisites exist both objectively and in semantic layers taken for granted by whites.<sup>184</sup> Racial domination and class distinction unselfconsciously reproduce themselves system-wide by those who, in a Marxist ideological sense, are positioned to control the power and resources specific to the field in which power differentials affect identity outcomes (Parkin 1979). The meta-discourse - the invisible linguistic realm of whiteness and its complicit "rhetoric of evasion" (Applebaum 2015:451) - situates itself institutionally. Because of its superficial inconspicuousness, attempts at the dismantling of it must necessarily contend with its intractability.<sup>185</sup> Poststructural feminists understand the hermeneutic

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<sup>184</sup> Barbara Applebaum (2016:449) refers to Medina's concept of 'meta-ignorance' "which is distinct from first-order ignorance in that, while the latter involves mistaken beliefs or lack of beliefs about the social world and one's place in it, the former entails attitudes that limit the ability to identify and correct such first-order ignorance by occluding the subject's epistemic limits. Moreover, meta-ignorance is systemically supported." Influenced by Nietzsche, sociologist Jennifer Logue (2008:54) proposes the "will to ignorance", the meta-discourse of which enables an individual to avoid having to confront or even acknowledge his or her own complicity in the reproduction of white supremacy. SE7 (at page 217), one of the project interviewees, refers to this meta-discourse as taking place within a "white bubble".

<sup>185</sup> Bourdieu contends that power is, itself, a meta-field or "an organizing principle of differentiation and struggle throughout all fields" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp. 229–230). According to Albright and Hartman (2018:8) "[i]ndividuals and groups, organisations and institutions that hold dominant positions and capital in social space occupy

cohesiveness of whiteness itself as socio-historically constructed and profoundly racist (Frankenberg 1997, Ahmed 2012, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010, Fellows and Razack 1998, Kincheloe and Steinberg 1998, DiAngelo 2012). Everywhere in the social spaces investigated for this study employees, including their mid-level managers providing various services in English to multi-racial students, were overwhelmingly white, predominantly middle-aged<sup>186</sup> and female. Never was heard any language but English, even in the college 'International Induction' offices, or at their front-line 'Help Desks'. Virtually all students I observed requiring assistance belonged to racial minorities, and having overheard their interpersonal chatter, it often became obvious that their preferred form of inter-discursive communication comprised a colourful, multilingual tapestry of mother tongues.

The study findings demonstrate that, from the perspective of non-white students, some have come to accept themselves as populating their institution's hallways, classrooms, labs, gyms, and cafeterias as the objects of neoliberal exploitation in return for which they obligingly pay trebled tuition funneled into the predominantly profit-centered business model that is gaining incremental currency in the Province's college system.<sup>187</sup> Here, in this geographic locus, one's sense of place, paradox and the unassailable 'geometry of power' (Massey 1993) in relation to physical space evokes the feminist scholarship of the late Doreen Massey (1993, 2004). She reminds us that Bourdieu's anti-essentialist, theoretical conceptualization of the 'relational' has an objective parallel in spatio-temporality.<sup>188</sup> Power and the processual dynamic of symbolic domination reside

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it. Contests in fields draw unequally from these sources of cultural and economic capital to make distinctions and derive position. Bourdieu notes the greater the difference held by positions in fields between cultural and economic capital, the more likely they are to be opposed in their struggle within that field [Swartz 1997, pp. 137]."

<sup>186</sup> Almost 35% of the 308/1447 survey respondents were aged between 41 and 50; approximately 30% were between 51-60; 9% were aged 61 or over; 27% of the respondents were aged between 20 and 40. This compares to Statistics Canada reporting a slightly younger age distribution in education services across all Provinces. In 2017, the Canadian median age of managers in educational services was 41.0 years with the median ages of 33.6 in the 25th percentile and 47.1 years in the 75th percentile and 54.1 years in the 90th percentile (He, et. al. 2017:np).

<sup>187</sup> Ontario attracts most of its international students from India and China who wish to attend its colleges because of numerous government initiatives making Ontario the preferred college destination for international students. "Ontario-bound international students show a growing tendency to study in the college sector, with over 50% of new entrants attending a college in 2012" (Williams et al., 2015:3).

<sup>188</sup> Of this phenomenon, Massey (2004:6, 8), who shares Bourdieu's avowed anti-essentialist sentiments, observes that "(a)n understanding of the relational nature of space has been accompanied by arguments about the relational construction of the identity of place. If space is a product of practices, trajectories, interrelations, if we make space through interactions at all levels, from the (so-called) local to the (so called) global, then those spatial identities such as places, regions, nations, and the local and the global, must be forged in this relational way too, as internally complex, essentially unboundable in any absolute sense, and inevitably historically changing ...". Quoting Charles Tilley (1994:15),

not merely in the dialogic exchange value of social capital but also in the spatial parameters representing a given field's existential demarcation points. For example, Kitchin (2016: 818) notes that, according to Massey, "the socio-spatial processes that help shape and define places do not operate evenly, with different social groups and individuals relatively positioned as a consequence. Within social geography in particular, the notion of power geometries has become an important way to frame the differential geographies of groups stratified by gender, race, disability, sexuality, religion and so on".

The opposite sides of the 'Information' and 'Help Desk' counters in the colleges investigated were powerful symbols of Massey's (1993) reconceptualized, socio-spatial processes to which Kitchin (2016) alludes. Amidst, yet exuding outward as if glacial to the non-white student populations of every institution visited, there exists the overwhelming presence of white, female plurality occupying and, in a sense, overshadowing these ostensibly service-oriented, bureaucratic spaces. The emergent impression suggests a congruent architecture of gendered whiteness. It is a strictly delimited surface area of symbolic domination, discretely insular and, in a metaphorical sense, protected by the physical placement of disempowering counters, desks, computers and monitors observable by students seeking assistance only from the rear, thereby underscoring the binary nature of the power differential. Here, one finds medial managers in charge of this typified spatial facet of technocapitalist urban existence replete and replicated in the administrative centers of the Ontario college system.

As Giddens (1990:18) points out, "(i)n conditions of modernity [...] locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them". These commonplace and evidently naturalized topological poleis (Bartos 2020) might well have been assumed to be structurally authenticated and even an ontological given. The overall portrait starkly misaligns itself with the dynamic simultaneity of a disproportionate number of international, non-white students in the same spatial areas but on the other side of the 'Help Desk'. For the most part, they patiently awaited assistance which, in many cases, was more than likely to have been dispensed in a domestic language other than their own, itself a barely concealed, monologic

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she notes that "(p)ersonal and cultural identity is bound up with place; a topo-analysis is one exploring the creation of self-identity through place. Geographical experience begins in places, reaches out to others through spaces, and creates landscapes or regions for human existence".

expression of class domination. But also 'space' (and one's geographic positionality within its confines) was observed as a powerfully inflected dimension of relational dialectics. Spatial logistics were potent reminders that power is vested not only in socio-capital accumulation but in complex, multi-levelled, 'spatio-temporality' (Castree 2009) wherein its processual exclusions signify concomitant stratifications individuals come to identify in their lived experiences. Freire (1970) famously coined the term '*conscientização*' (critical consciousness) to refer to this "level of insight at which people recognize oppression as a structural problem rather than an individual failing" (Ledwith 2015).

For example, at one college in Southern Ontario, I overheard a casual conversation between two, male students from different parts of India who were completing their second year of studies on student visas. Each freely discussed with the other his *raison d'être* for being at the college that morning. One happened to mention that while he was fluent 'Marathi' (a common Indo-Aryan dialect of Maharashtra, India) he had never once encountered anyone from the college staff with whom he could communicate in that language. He was asked what he thought about that. Pausing to reflect for a moment he responded, "Well, I have my friends ... but ... like ... it does make me feel that all [the college] want(s) is our money and, after that, 'get out and go home', d'ya know? You're not, like, really welcome here". His companion talked about other students he knew from similar backgrounds who, he suspected, felt the same way. Then he added, "Oh, yeah, for sure ... like, it's the reality for us here". As if to underscore what I overheard, I later noticed that in the cafeterias and student lounges, white students were eating, sitting and chatting with each other in one part of the room(s) while non-white students do the same in another. Evoking Burt's (1992) theory of homophilic structural holes, it was noted that there was little to no social integration observed between white and non-white students in the vicinity, each group of which tended to gather in relative isolation with white students conversing in English and non-white students doing the same in a variety of non-English languages.

Middle managers are aware of but tend to say very little about the Rubicon dividing non-white students from the overwhelmingly female, white administration. Female manager SW14 admitted that most of her colleagues were disengaged from the issue:

Well, I think they would like to be, but I don't think it is in reality because one of the things that's not being addressed in this whole kind of conversation is the distinction between the internal employee population [...] and then there's all the [non-white] student influences that have real influences, ramifications on the way people behave [toward each other] both ways.

The interviewee's observations are a reminder of the reflections of author Rupert Ross (1985) who wrote:

The first step in coming to terms with people of another culture, then, is to acknowledge that we constantly interpret the words and acts of others, and that we do so subconsciously but always in conformity with the way which our culture has taught us is the 'proper' way.

The comment returns us to an observation made earlier by Galway (2000) who suggested that student internationalization is occasionally referred to as a "cash cow" because reliable, heavily inflated tuition reduces budget deficits, supports the economies of scale, and injects sorely needed revenue into the organization thereby assuring sustainability and job security. Numerical demographic diversity is real, but the clinging habitus of predisposed bias and intolerance belies the web-posted proselytization of inclusiveness. SW6 made the point succinctly when she said, "I don't know if there's any teeth to any policy about gender diversity that we have in place". In another college, SE7, a female middle-manager, overheard a colleague say of a non-white student, "(L)ike he can't even speak English; why is he even here?" and several others in her department were heard by the interviewee to routinely convey a pejorative "undertone [...] of these people, [or] them [or] a lot of those when they [discuss non-white] students". Female manager SE6 offered this stark conclusion:

So, in this time where we're living right now, we're just paying lip service to it [i.e., diversity and inclusiveness] and we kind of know the right words to say but we don't feel them very deeply. I'm hoping whoever might read this 50 years from now, they'll be like, "Wow! That was terrible." Look where we started though and look where we are.

## **(b) Gender & the Feminized Workplace**

Apart from the whiteness observed on the service side of the 'Help Desk', there was a preponderance of females. SW11, a gay male manager confirmed that impression when he said, "we're very female dominant [...]. There are a few males [...]. But at least, I mean I'm just anecdotal again; I'd say half identify as gay". And a gay survey respondent observed that his "(c)ollege is heavily female dominated [...]. and as a result [...] male behaviours are not [...] condoned". Female manager, NE3, had little difficulty agreeing: "I find that it's been getting more female heavy across the board here". Female manager NE7 agreed when she observed that, at her level in middle management, "there is this change I would say from a more masculine dominated culture to a more female dominated culture". Certainly SE1, a male manager was aware of the incremental gender shift in favour of females: "Yeah. I have an awareness of being a male working in a field dominated by females [...] it's something that I'm aware of. But [...] the universe bends towards justice. So, I am aware of being a male [in the minority] working in student services".

SE7 was asked why it was so uncommon to observe males assisting students on the services side. She responded by saying that "Oh ... they leave it to us [...] they couldn't be bothered". Another female manager suggested for that reason "there's a little bit more [...] gender bias [in favour of women] when it comes into that middle management side of things" (SE14). A male survey respondent confirmed the foregoing at his college: "I work with all women as this type of work is deemed to be for females" (T1). When this gender discrepancy was broached with NE1, a female manager, she responded by saying that "the college does hire [and] it is largely female driven [...] I think [because we are] the best ones for the job". Female manager, NE3, agreed and thought females should dominate the executive levels at her college: "(W)e still have our males in the wrong role". A survey respondent contended that while she worked "in a primarily female-based office [...] those who are in the top leadership positions are primarily male. So, work is quite a gendered aspect of my life" (T1).

Some complain that Ontario college middle management has become what social critics describe as a white, predominantly female racist enclave to the point that it has become a recent newsworthy item (see: CBC / Canadian Federation of Students 2010, Taylor 2020). Critics allege that



Ontario colleges are a unionized, *postcolonial* protectorate<sup>189</sup> of sorts shrouded in what is referred to as a ‘neoliberal, culture of secrecy’ where intersectionalities are surfeit within a social structure that functions to secure and reproduce a “closed, separate world, set apart from the vicissitudes of the real world”(Bourdieu 2004). The essence was captured by SE5, a white female manager discussing race and gender at her southern Ontario college. She ventured that “it [is] probably is better to be a white male” if one has higher career aspirations but that the field of middle management where she works is largely populated by white, middle-aged females of the “nurturing variety”.

Slightly more than 83.96% employee respondents identified as white, of which approximately 63% were female. A total of 3.36% as African American and the balance (12.68%) identified as members of other races, ethnicities, or backgrounds. This compares to Catalyst (2019b) research findings that racial minorities comprised almost a quarter (22%) of the nation’s labour force in 2016 (Martel 2019) and among this population sector, women occupy approximately 40% of managerial positions (Statistics Canada 2019). However, Statistics Canada (2019:np) reports that “women of colour occupy only a small percentage of total management positions (6.5%)”; moreover, only 5.9% of senior managerial positions in large bureaucratic organizations in 2018 belonged to racial minorities according to the Canadian Board of Diversity Council (2018:12). In terms of ethnic origins, approximately 32.3% of Canadians identify their ethnicity as “Canadian” which includes Canadian-born people with foreign-born immigrant parentage. Approximately 4% of the nation identifies as “aboriginal” while another 16% claim non-aboriginal visible minority status (World Population Review 2020). A major theme throughout every Chapter in this dissertation is the disparity between these statistics and the demographics of the sample populations in Ontario’s college administrations.

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<sup>189</sup> I refer to ‘postcolonialism’ at this juncture to refer to the novel form of neoliberal domination and intersectional subordination that gradually developed in former British colonies and in the wake of the struggled disengagement from historical, British imperialism. Decolonization brought about a capitalist-based, global empire replete with its own forms of inequality, prejudice, and class structure. Dealing specifically with Canada, see, for example, Sugars (2004) “Unhomely States: Theorizing English-Canadian Protectionism”, Grant (1965/1997) “Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism” and Walcott (1997) “A Tough Geography: Towards a Poetics of Black Space(s) in Canada in Black Like Who? Writing Black Canada. Generally, see, for example the works of Fanon (1961) “The Wretched Earth” and (1952) “Black Skin, White Masks”, Cesaire (1950) “Discourse on Colonialism”, and Said (1993) “Culture and Imperialism”.

There is significant homogeneity among several of the demographic variables revealed in the survey data. The sample is predominantly female (63%), middle-aged (65%), white (84%), highly educated (51%), heterosexual (88%) and either married or partnered (83%)<sup>190</sup>. These figures closely approximate those of the 32 participant interviewees (See Schedule 'H', Figure "c"). The female presence in college middle management, extends not only across Ontario. The same phenomenon has been tabulated nationally thereby impacting upon the occupational sex composition of higher education management in Canada (Census Canada 2014, Catalyst 2019, Status of Women in Canada 2020, Statistics Canada 2019). This ever-increasing labour transition is evident not only in the socio-politicization of hiring policies; 'occupational feminization' (Cooke-Reynolds and Zukewich 2004, Armstrong and Armstrong 1990, 1994, Habtu 2002, Anker 1997, Akyeampong 1999) has also affected forms of gender interpellation in the workplace, the specific practices of which seem to depend upon one's perspective: only 12.74% of the men surveyed (compared to 56.4% of the women) felt that 'masculinity' was the predominant gender expression. Just 16% of the women surveyed thought the same of 'femininity' while 28.4% of the men agreed that 'femininity' was a prevalent workplace gender practice. This data is further examined below by interpolating a number of recurring sub-themes which include: (a) the expression of masculinity and femininity as a concomitant of gender identity; (b) occupational feminization in Ontario college administrations and (c) whiteness as cultural capital.

Agentive masculinity or the nurturing rationality of communal femininity (Abele 2003) are concepts usually articulated within the socio-cultural inventory of the stereotypical choices and attributes associated with each (Bem 1993, Conway, et. al. 1996, Eagly and Steffen 1984). However, the dynamic effect of these typical bipolarities on managerialism is emphasized in the workplace. Certainly, the college service counters are both metaphorical and, on many college campuses investigated, literal points of bifurcation. The dichotomy is not only between white people and student racial minorities. On the administrative side, there is an additional gendered binary among the white people attributable to the earlier mentioned preponderance of middle-aged women in middle management. This binary tends to reflect the 'occupational feminization' of the Ontario

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<sup>190</sup> See Schedule 'K' for an expanded discussion of these statistics. A total of 283 respondents revealed their relationship status. The most common response was "married" (69.26%). "Partnered" was the second most frequent response (14.13%), followed closely by "single" (13.78%). A small number of respondents indicated "other" (2.83%). This compares to 2016 Provincial statistics showing a significantly greater concentration of 'singles' (28.3% c.f. 13.78%) outside the college system. It seems likely that the median age of the project respondents, the relative stability and security of the union collectivized workplace environment and the positional responsibility involved all contribute to the higher proportion of married / partnered (83% / 57%) individuals in the sample population. Perhaps this assists in explaining the importance many respondents placed on family and/or children, discussed in this Chapter.

college administrative bureaucracy. For example, SW3, a female interviewee was adamant that she was “in an industry that is dominated by women” in mid-level positions. Mentioning that observation, NE10, a male interviewee, reflected that “from a managerial perspective [...] it seems to take forever to discipline anybody”. SW12, agreed, conceding that while her department was over-populated with females, “the quickest impact in terms of getting another person to respond is definitely a male acting in a masculine way. 100% gets the job done”, as did NW1, another female manager when she suggested that “it’s that firmer hand; it’s that stronger decision-making; it’s the “no beans about it;” no bull; just taking the lead; “just taking the bull by the horns, they like to say”. SE4, a female Registrar, reflected on gender practice and admitted that she ...

... probably should not make the assumption that all of those men are 100% masculine in their traits. I don’t know that. I know you read the statistics and they’re men. I suppose we shouldn’t jump to conclusion that they don’t have feminine traits that maybe got them there.

Kurpis, et al. (2016:32) conducted research to show that ‘agreeableness’, that is, the “tendency to be cooperative, trustful, moral, altruistic, modest and sympathetic seems to be perceived as more typically displayed by women than men”. SW 12 put it this way: “I think femininity is kind of like that. I guess I perceive it to be like nice, kind of smiling, collaborative, willing to co-operate, positive, I guess”. For many participants, that seems to be the expectation. A frequent observation from participants of all gender identities was that “at work, the atmosphere is very masculine and women who behave that way are not respected - especially among the other women” (T1). A survey respondent agreed: “(a)t work, being assertive is often seen as a masculine trait. Sometimes when women are assertive it is not taken seriously or dismissed” (T1). And, while feminine gender practice seems to engender favour with some students and most colleagues it may not be so useful aspirationally. A number of (but certainly not all) participants felt it inhibited leadership assertiveness where tackling the problem demanded ‘taking the bull by the horns’. For example, a female respondent said, “My role in middle management is incredibly gendered. I am surrounded by other female middle managers, and we are ‘the women who get things done’, but are denied agency, are not taken seriously, and if we object or feel passionately about a topic, then we’re ‘emotional’” (T1). A female interviewee agreed: “There’s some men whose eyes glaze over when you start to talk because you’re a woman” (SW3). A female survey respondent underscored the significance of the foregoing:

The way that I interact with people at work is probably the most gendered, in that there are certain men in authority here who behave a certain way and I have a sense that if I behave more "female" with them, I will have little credibility. At the same time, there are many women working here and we tend to act pretty "female" together (T1).

It is suggested that many female managerial employees in the colleges investigated who see themselves in cooperative, nurturing roles appropriate to navigating the turbulence of student concerns and the struggled field of play in middle management tend to be constrained within that structural hole. Viewed from that perspective, the metaphorical 'glass ceiling' appears from the shadows. As SE4 put it:

That's the answer. The glass ... getting to the ceiling. I think ... you have to act a certain way all the time. I mean I will not go past anything here because there is always a perception of who you are and that doesn't always change. If you've ... you've taken a maternity leave your career is obviously not important.<sup>191</sup>

A total of 45% of participants in the sample had occupied a managerial role for at least 6 years. Slightly over 83% of the sample population is either married or partnered. Over 58% of the participants have one or more children being cared for at home and, of those participants between 41 – 60 years of age, 72% placed pride of their families top-most in a lengthy list of life's highpoints, well ahead of personal achievements (64%) which placed second on the list. Corroborating the foregoing, over 62 % of the respondents in this age category engaged in "frequent" family outings, and slightly over 21% said they "can't get enough" togetherness time with their families. Every coupled participant - even those who are childless - mentioned the importance to them of their

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<sup>191</sup> Maternity implies family; creating a family demands and often (but not always) develops nurturing skills and nurturing skills are the praxis of communal femininity in typical Ontario college settings. In the intersectional transition from domestic to public patriarchy, nurturing is an interconnected element of the dual identities middle managers must creatively manufacture to earn respect and recognition. They achieve this sleight-of-hand by nurturing those below, whilst simultaneously mimicking the hegemonic practices of those in higher authority. Those who are successful in these dual roles gain access to power positions. The objective structures of the field surely mediate but rarely dominate agential virtuosity (Hays 1994) except in narrowly defined strategic manipulations. Where it resonates in the psyche, the will to nurture, regardless of its value in terms of social capital, can never be fully divested merely through the interposition of day care and business garb. I explore the gendered implications of nurturing more fully in the following Chapter, however, here, the topic attracts a brief reference to Bourdieu's theoretical notions of habitus and capital which I discuss following a few relevant statistics.

current families, especially the extent to which their current families influence their ideas about gender roles in their workplaces. For example, SE1, a male manager pointed to:

Needing to be aware of gender. Needing to be aware of privilege, needing to be aware of how other people engage with gender and how I engage with them. Yeah, that's an area that I've had to grow and learn, to become more comfortable with. And still [...] growing there, I think. I hope so anyway [...] As far as the rest of the life, family [...] if I step wrong, I get called [...] There is an area where traditional male roles and that stereotype can sort of still take over if you're not careful.

This exchange with NE10, another male manager corroborates the congruence between family, nurturing abilities, and transporting those skills to work as capital accretion:

ROG: You mentioned that you have the nurturing skills you developed at home, raising your family [and] that you use those nurturing skills [...] in your workplace environment. And you do that most of the time. Can you talk about that?

NE10: A lot of it's to do with handling conflict. So, I see a lot of parallels between how you would get to two of your children who are having a conflict to try and calm down and talk to each other about it to figure out what the problem was. I see a lot of parallels there with some of the little conflicts that arise at work can be dealt with. And because the little conflicts do happen more often, that that seems to be the quick way to try and get to the bottom or get to the root cause of the conflict and come up with a solution.

Finally, SE2, a female manager talked about the importance of her family and how, on a daily basis, she applies the nurturing skills she learned from her own mother to her own family with two children and from that family to her college role:

Yes, those traditional family values, stereotypically nurturing, would be a more feminine trait than a masculine trait and nurturing is certainly [a] value when it comes to how we interact with our students [and] how we are expected to interact with our employees when it comes to working within the leadership team.

Clearly, family is an important variable for the transmission of valuable cultural artifacts<sup>192</sup> - nurturing skills included among them - into the field of play at work.<sup>193</sup>

The phenomenon elicits the traditional, American sociological predilection toward structural functionalism, that is, the idea that, to survive, society must do whatever is necessary to reproduce and perpetuate itself. The structural functionalists theorize that survival depends upon structural organization which *a fortiori* implies a division of labour.<sup>194</sup> This means that men, because of their physical attributes, invested their labours at work whilst ‘their women’ stayed home attending to domestic and child rearing responsibilities<sup>195</sup>. Functionalists accord primacy to the family because,

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<sup>192</sup> These attributes are carried forward from the family habitus and represent transferrable values at work (Eddleston and Powell 2012). Nurturing, a social capital but construed by some through a feminist lens as gender capital (Silva 2005, Ross-Smith and Huppertz 2010, Huppertz 2012), is accorded special attention in the next Chapter. Significantly, 39.2% of this age group interpreted innate nurturing abilities transposed from home to the workplace as having a valuable moderating effect found useful to their superiors. Of this percentage, approximately three-quarters were female – an indication of theoretical sensitivity. For example, Bourdieu (1977) might refer to this transubstantiation of the habitus into corporeal reality through bodily hexis. Human capital at home morphs into social capital in the workplace with transactional value in the struggle for position and power.

<sup>193</sup> The post-World War II neoliberal business structure necessarily connotes a social corollary which has essentially remained unchanged: women abandoning diapers and skillets to venture into the workplace patriarchy can expect to occupy occasionally integral but tending toward subordinate positions in a postcolonial bureaucracy (Schwanke 2013, Wochenbericht 2012, Algahtani 2020). As Clive Pointing (1992:69) suggests, “History does not occur in an existential vacuum”. Mid twentieth-century, Western middle-class ideology framed by a structural and dispositional practice scheme by which women’s societal roles - particularly as they related to the family – have been almost inextricably tied to gestation, supporting husbands and nurturing progeny (Garrett 2009:152). As female interviewee, NE10, put it, “[women] came to believe this ideology of motherhood as though motherhood is the most important thing they could possibly do as woman”. Even when the husband is absent, and women are compelled to work out of necessity, society never excuses them from domestic responsibilities (Germano 2019:np). As sociologist Aliya Rao (2019:np) recently, pointed out in *The Atlantic*, “gender equality for women still lags in another realm: their own houses”. See also, Cerrato and Cifre (2018), Edwards and Rothbard (2000), Borelli et. al. (2017) and Bianchi et al (2000).

<sup>194</sup> Other intersecting social phenomena, such as the impact of gender and race on the division of labour – especially the unique experiences of multi-racial minorities in the post World War II, postcolonial environment of Western culture – have been traditionally ignored as being outside models of explanation within established sociological paradigms (see Calhoun 1996). As Bhambra (2007:2) points out: “The limited engagement between sociology and postcolonialism is primarily concerned, on the side of sociology, with saving the universality of sociology’s core concepts in the light of a postcolonial (and other) politics of knowledge production [see McLennan, 2006; Delanty, 2006]. There is little engagement with what could be learnt whether from the initial failure to address colonial relationships as integral to modernity, or from the subsequent neglect of decolonization and postcolonialism”.

<sup>195</sup> Here, the work of Doreen Massey (1994) and, in particular, her views about ‘space, place and gender’ have profound relevance. The male, hegemonic implication is that ‘space’, i.e., the family home where a heterosexual man’s wife went about her daily chores – cleaning the house, washing, and ironing the clothes, caring for the children, and cooking meals – traditionally was ‘a woman’s place’, an old-fashioned concomitant of patriarchy and, in terms of social geography, the latitude and longitude of where she belonged. In other words, ‘space’ itself had a gendered, discriminatory connotation. Women were permanent inhabitants of that space which, by today’s standards, amounted to nothing less than carceral precisely because of the fact that the “home” – a space which, despite its consumerist, mediatized appeal of benign domesticity, kept women consigned to an arbitrary and subjugated division of labour – an accessory to her husband’s capital exchange value. The discussion has deep roots closely tied to my findings. SW6 talked about being a youngster at home in Jamaica with her parents and older brother who, after dinner, once offered to help with the dishes whereupon

in their view, the family represents “the ‘basic building block’ of society which performs the crucial functions of socialising the young and meeting the emotional needs of its members. Moreover, heteronormative constructions of the typical family culture underpin social order and economic stability” (Thompson 2014:np and see: Peterson 2011, Cowan, et. al. (eds.) 1993, Fish 2008, Frankel 2003, Haddock, et al. 2003, McGoldrick, et al. (eds.) 1989).<sup>196</sup>

The concept actually urges us back to Bourdieu’s habitus, or the “subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class” (1977:86). Bourdieu was influenced by Durkheimian theories of structuralism / functionalism, and he did not necessarily disagree with this ontology of social action (Ozturk 2005, Bourdieu and Raymond 1974, Bourdieu 1975, 1983, 1988).

Today, while the importance of these gender role assignments has become somewhat quaint and outmoded, the vestigial ideology remains surprisingly intact. The resilience and power of this cultural habitus is, indeed, impressive. For example, the survey revealed that most female respondents felt they were doing the job they were intended to do, seemingly as if the enduring structural framework of relations to which they had resigned themselves is the product of the inexorable reproduction of their own subdominant gender habitus that powerfully influences symbolic interactions with others in the field of play. A female respondent put it this way:

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her father pounded the table with clenched fist and shouted, ‘a man doesn’t do the dishes; that’s women’s work’. SE2 recalled doing the dinner dishes with her mother on warm summer days during her pre-teens whilst looking out the kitchen window at her brothers roughhousing and playing ball in the backyard. She wondered about but never dared to openly question why it had to be that way. Additional observations regarding Massey and social geography can be found above in this Chapter, “*The ‘Help Desk’ and Spatial Relationality*”. See also: Meriläinen, E., & Koro 2021, Hopkins 2019, Meegan 2017, Werner 2018, Allen, et. al. 1988, and esp. Parvathy (2021) who discusses Massey’s work in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic in her journal article, *The Rhetoric of Privacy, and the Gendering of Domestic Violence in the Covid-19 Pandemic*.

<sup>196</sup> Copenhaver (2002:26) suggests that “(t)he belief and value system of the culture exerted pressure on an individual to maintain her or his given roles” exceptionally requiring an element of recalibration when, as the result of some internal calamity, there is disruption in stereotypical nuclear family roles. The ontology can be traced back England from the 1600’s through to the early twentieth century here in Canada when “(i)n marriage, men were expected to rule over their wives, and all property (except in some cases property acquired by the woman before marriage) belonged to the husband. Men were the primary wage earners, while women were expected to be primarily responsible for housework and childcare [...] Women’s paid employment was typically low status, low paid, and involved fewer skills and responsibilities than men’s” (Elmsley, et. al. 2020:np).

Absolutely! In my own experience, as a woman I know I have been written off for stretch [i.e., long-term] projects or career advancement because of my gender. I have been discriminated against and harassed in the workplace. Not to mention how I have been socialized (in ways I'm sure I am both aware of and unaware of) to behave in the workplace and what kinds of goals I can and should set for myself (T3).

However, a number of the men interviewed saw the situation through an utterly different prism. They freely acknowledge the incremental feminization of their workplace environment. Moreover, they understand the socio-political impetus that demands the disruption of an androcentric, neoliberal policy habitus historically grounded by the “sedimentation of history, structure and culture in individual disposition to practice” (Lingard, et. al. 2005:764). Yet, they also tend to see themselves as being victimized by emasculating influences in a structural network of predominantly feminized symbolic referentials. “The need to put into practice the skills traditionally linked to femininity, make incompatible the masculine way of “doing gender” [...] because this is linked to other types of skills conceived as antagonistic” (Aguilar-Cunhill 2017:4 and see: West and Zimmerman 1987).

In other words, men in a feminized workplace environment such as middle management in the Ontario college system resent the “(c)ultural barriers [...] based on the fact that the social constructions of what it means to be a man or a woman are linked to generically differentiated skills and abilities, which make women socially more suitable for one type of work and men for others” even though empirical research suggests that “in feminized work, men are more easily promoted than women, having a crystal escalator that aids them in their job advancement” (Aguilar-Cunhill 2017:4 and see: Williams, 1992). Female interviewee, NE10, recognized that “(b)ecause you’re born male, you have privilege” and male manager, SW1, agreed when he observed that “for men, even very mediocre people can have that opportunity to be a manager”. Another male interviewee echoed the thought: “I still know that I am male which still has great privilege” (SW15) and SE1, a male manager, placed a fine point on the idea by suggesting that “it is a male world”.



## 7.5 Masculine & Feminine Convertability

A gay, male interviewee noted that his workplace atmosphere made him feel like he should be wearing a dress because, in his department no one would notice.<sup>197</sup> And a survey respondent wrote about “being surrounded by women (T1)” at his college. However, overall, the data obtained for this study suggests that the ‘sedimentation of history’ and consequential misrecognition of the systemic inequalities for which it stands “continue to govern the status of doing women’s work and the privileging of men within the education system” (Martino 2010:37). Moreover, in Ontario, empirical research has shown that a heightened tendency toward postcolonial neoliberalization of higher education is contributing to “increasing and intensified masculinization [...] of school governance” at higher bureaucratic levels. Clearly, both masculinized and feminized queer theory in middle management, evidently framed by the “encroachment of feminization under postfeminist conditions” (Martino 2010:47) illuminate the need for concerted discourse about the socio-politics of gender identity and its systemic impact.

Approximately 40% of the total number of the participants responding to the question indicated that gender influences their experiences of ordinary interaction either most of the time (27%) or all of the time (13%). A total of 60% of the women surveyed (compared to 41% of the males) felt that gendered skills are important organizationally and 55% of the female respondents (compared to 15% of the males) were of the view that a manager’s gender positively relates to credibility in the workplace. Throughout this dissertation, Goffman theorizes about the performative strategies of personal display and its inevitable linkage to the “culturally established correlates of sex [and the] conventionalized portrayals of these correlates” (1976:1) essential to “playing the game of management” (Ross-Smith and Huppertz 2010:554). He argues that “...gender [...] lays down [...] an understanding of what our ultimate nature ought to be and how and where this nature ought to be exhibited” (Goffman 1979:8). The survey statistics suggest that a sizeable proportion of the sample population, especially females, engage in playing the game of management in accordance with its doxic orchestrations. Mimesis and even misrecognition are the mechanisms by which the process is navigated, or it may be a more strategic and chameleonic invocation of nurturing vs. hegemonic femininity explored more fully in the next Chapter. Regardless of motive or even in the absence of

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<sup>197</sup> Hale and Ojeda (2018:310) have observed that “queer femininities are commonly viewed as ironic and theatrical, therefore superficial (Dahl, 2012) or invisible (in the case of the femme), [thereby] negating a conversation about their potential as serious tools for subverting patriarchal pressures and colonial sexual impositions” (regarding ‘femme’, see fn. 247).

it, the responses are linked to one of the main research objectives, namely the project goal of understanding the impact of gender identities and regulated improvisations in the workplace (see Comut 2018).

Women who adopt mimetic behaviours drawn from more typically androcentric leadership taxonomies,<sup>198</sup> and those males whose agency is congruent with that doxastic compliance, appear to be career aspirants more easily accessing the hierarchical rungs of power. For example, over 45% of the survey respondents agreed that, at work, the display of "masculinity" as a gender-specific trait exhibited by either men or women tends to enhance one's career. NE5, a male manager who had no specific career aspirations but merely wanted to hold on to his own job suggested that "in my college, I would say masculine [...] characteristics [i.e.] women that are displaying those are advantaged [...] and men, particularly white men, are disadvantaged, and that it is to my advantage to be more feminine under masculine/female leaders". The comment illustrates the relevance of Connell's theory hegemonic masculinity, expanded upon in the literature review and also in the micro analysis of the Ontario college system explored earlier in this thesis. The societal function of hegemonic masculinity legitimates, justifies, and thereby reproduces men's socio-cultural dominance over women and any other marginalized expression of sexuality by men. By extension, women whose gender performance is more malleable, strategically mimic dominant masculinities or, in some cases, sexualized femininities to achieve aspirational goals. Consider this exchange with SW12, a female manager:

ROG: You say, in your survey, that you've leveraged femininity in looks and body language many times in order to influence heterosexual males ... (*interrupts*) ...

SW12: Yeah [...] if I'm going to a meeting that involves [...] a vice president there or whose male and heterosexual or somebody [...] of higher status and higher position, sure, I will go out of my way to dress a little bit and try and push myself to interact with them [...] I might leverage [my] femininity [...] so that [...] in the future if I decided to pursue something, I have those connections.

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<sup>198</sup> Anne McTaggart (2012:41), at the University of Alberta, makes the point that female mimesis of masculine practice – depending upon one's perspective, arguably a physical representation of anti-feminism – is certainly nothing new. Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* focuses on the idea that the lady of the household possessed the paradoxical right to 'maistre' and 'sovereynetee' in a marriage relationship and beyond. However, Ruiz (2008:25) elegantly sums up the point being made in the text above by suggesting that "our behaviour and gender performance are clearly influenced by our context, our relationships and interactions".

Another female survey respondent suggested the same: “I use my gender to my advantage by flirting with my various bosses. If I can sense that they (are) attracted to me then I use that as a tool to get my projects etc. approved” (T2). NE4 put it this way:

I often play into gender norms and stereotypes as a tactic (not malicious manipulation) to move forward goals. Anything from clothing accessories, to how I wear my hair to how assertive or demure I am being in personality. I have ‘played dumb’ to get men to explain to me while slowly coaxing them to believe my idea was their idea but asking strategically placed questions. I have been assertive in tone and body language and used more ‘locker room talk’ to get people to consider my point of view. I have worn skirts and been very passive to appear non-threatening when negotiating sensitive situations.<sup>199</sup>

Viewed from a male perspective, a manager who identified as ‘gay’, felt that upward mobility within the hierarchy depended on these overtly feminized displays of sexuality as in the case of SW12. His view was that “males [...] are moving up through the ranks but [...] I’d say half identify as gay [...] because being gay is considered more feminine; therefore, more appealing to the upper management” (SW11). The interviewee later explained that ‘moving up through the ranks’ meant being rewarded with “more job security” in middle management as opposed to ascending the executive rungs which he thought was an “unlikely event”. His comment suggests that objective masculine and feminine characteristics and performances, reflecting individual self-images of one’s own sexuality, may be constitutive of wholly independent and multipolar dimensions of theoretical analysis. Austin’s (1962) ‘perlocutionary effect’ on the inferences we draw from various communicative expressions, Butler’s ‘gender performativity’ (1996,1999) mentioned frequently this dissertation and Felluga’s (2008) idea of hegemonic social conventions or ideologies are theoretical constructs that easily come to mind (see also: Blakemore 1991, 2011, Padilla-Cruz 2012).

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<sup>199</sup> The theoretical tradition explaining this behaviour tends to characterize gender performance as an integral concomitant of a dominant power-structure. The foregoing volitional and strategic expression of sexualized femininity actually serves to inform and reproduce hegemonic masculinities and the culture of heteronormativity (Herz and Johansson 2015, Toomey et. al. 2012, Rosenfeld 2009). Therefore, it can be understood as gender-driven capital in its own right because its field functionality reinforces and reproduces traditional androcentric notions of gender. However, in the next Chapter I introduce a converse intersectional perspective by discussing Patricia Collins’ notion of hegemonic femininity through both gendered and non-white lenses. It is the idea that the strategic use of femininity (by either men or women) renders them complicit in reproducing the habitus of masculine, intersectional domination.

### 7.5.1 Sexuality in Ontario College Administrations

Sexuality was often raised in the study. Of the total number of responses, 88.54% of the participants identified as straight (i.e., heterosexual), 6% as gay / lesbian, and 3% of those responding indicated they were bisexual. Three individuals identified as asexual. The remaining 2% of the survey participants were either “not sure”, in “some other category” or would “rather not say”. This compares to data obtained from a 2014 Statistics Canada Community Health Survey (2015) which reported that the percentage of Canadians aged 18 to 59 who consider themselves to be homosexual (gay or lesbian) is 1.7% and 1.3% for those indicating bisexuality. These figures are up since 2009 when the Canadian averages reported by Statistics Canada was 1% for each category.

SW12 linked her own concept of femininity to displays of sexuality which she utilized as a strategic ploy ostensibly to show workplace competence through a “demonstration of some sort of sex appeal”. She noted that she likes to “wear tight fitting clothes and I typically wear dark coloured clothes to [convey a] sort of serious kind of bold but competent type of femininity [...] (y)eah, I think that’s how I would mostly describe femininity ...”.<sup>200</sup> NE 1, a female manager added that “a woman that is not as well kept physically – now whether that’s make-up or hair or attire – is not as respected or looked at as [...] approachable as a woman that comes out a little bit more feminine ...”. SE3, another female manager at a different college suggested that femininity means “dressing nicely asking for admiration”.

The overall impression is that women in the colleges investigated are generally collegial, supportive<sup>201</sup> and tend to be ‘nurturing’ unless they are aspirational. In that case, they tend to either

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<sup>200</sup> SW12, is in her early thirties. She has an athletic morphotype which she gained from being actively involved in competitive sports. She received me wearing extremely tight-fitting and, to that extent, revealing sports clothing. She told me that her “boss” was a “straight male” and when I inquired about her clothing – unusual in a business environment – and whether it attracted negative comments, she jokingly responded by telling me that “I get what I want”.

<sup>201</sup> Not everyone held that view. For example, SW2, a female manager, told me that, in one department where she worked, the administrative staff is “very female – the front-line [is] all women and [...] they were mean. They were catty. They were mean. They were not nice. I couldn’t stand the dynamic. It’s the first time I’d really been exposed to that in the workplace. All the bosses were men, and all the front-line staff were women”. SW6, another female manager at a different college offered this reflection: “Women have – women just need to be kinder to themselves and to one another. Stop trying to make your body and everyone else’s a perception of what a woman is, who a woman is, what she should look like, how she should behave, what we need to work towards, I think, is acceptance of one another for who we are”.

overtly sexualize or more strategically masculinize their gender performances<sup>202</sup>. As for the males, SW11 pointed out that men with feminine workplace behaviours tend to be constrained to the same structural hole as their female counterparts. He said that “the gay guys always sit closest to the women at board meetings”. Dominating behaviours in the workplace exhibited by either men or women is what ‘gets the job done’ and what facilitates agentic mobility up the ladder of a neoliberal hierarchy. Subdominant, appeasing, or nurturing behaviours tend to be regarded as merely supportive<sup>203</sup> and, as a survey respondent put it, “(o)ften [...] employees [...] misinterpret this feminine [...] approach and try to take advantage of the weakness” (T1). SW10 described typical boardroom behaviours at her college she notices:

... when I am in meetings [with] quite a number of participants around the table. There are differences in language that come from women, differences in tone of voice that come from women around that table. There are differences in body language between genders at meeting tables. There are differences in where people will locate themselves around the table where they will immediately come in and sit themselves down in a table. I notice all those differences between the genders all the time.

SW4, another female interviewee, recounted the number of times she had noticed the same behaviours around the boardroom table at co-ed meetings when a distally positioned yet assertive male dominates the discussion, consciously leveraging his own distinctive iteration of what Bourdieu would recognize as ‘symbolic violence’:

When you walk into a room and you can see who the players are, and who – it’s through their words, it’s through their actions, it’s through how other people follow them around, how quickly other people are to shut their own thoughts down to coincide with this individual.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> In Chapter 6, I mention the views of Mavin and Gandy (2016:1110) who point to an authoritative body of “work on abjection, gender, and women in academia, highlighting how, through their efforts, women [...] leaders are not only subject to forms of gender domination and subordination, they may (albeit unwittingly) reproduce those forms”.

<sup>203</sup> Also, in Chapter 6, I refer to Bourdieu’s notion that the social capital women bring to the table rests in the support they offer to the more dominant groups of which they are subordinate members (Lovell, 2000; Skeggs, 2004).

<sup>204</sup> David James (2015:101) points out that this form of masculine domination usually involves a concomitant of “largely below-conscious complicity on the part of those subjugated, and processes of misrecognition are what make this possible: ‘symbolic violence is that form of violence which only acts on social agents with their complicity’” (see: Poupeau 2000:71). Clearly, “the term ‘agent’ suits Bourdieu better than ‘actor,’ because the agent is being acted upon as much as,

Female manager, SW2, succinctly captured the essence: “I think in leadership roles, males do have more power and I don’t know – I think that we automatically give it to them. I don’t know that it’s always earned or deserved”. Most of the female participants seemed equivocal about the strategic use of aggression or assertiveness in their work environments. The following survey response from a female manager was not unusual:

I find power is the important thing. You need to know how to project power, which is typically thought of as a male trait, but I see a lot of women in my organization with this ability. Something that I wish I knew how to project. I am more of a nurturer and collaborator and peacekeeper. Not so comfortable with power (T3).

Notably, no participant mentioned overt, situational victimization relating to LGBTQ status. Instead, a typical response was, “I work with males, females, transgender, gay, lesbian etc. and we are all working with the same goals and plans” (T1) written by a female survey participant. A gay, male manager wrote that he “would rather be a gay male who acts straight than a straight female who does the same thing” (T1), although one male wrote that “(i)t would not be acceptable [...] to act ‘campy’ at work” (T1) thereby reminding us that Billing’s “phantom” of the male norm in patriarchal organizations is heterosexual. Homophilic networks such as the ‘old boys’ club’ requires agents in the field to self-regulate according to Bourdieu’s doxic orchestrations. Allodoxic behavioural presentations are understood as disruptive and potentially threatening to the solidarity of the network<sup>205</sup>. Contrasting with SW11’s observations, some participants felt that one can be gay and ‘out’ provided that person’s sexuality and sexual preferences are not obvious, the very concealment of which generates its own intersectionality and resultant perturbations (Madera 2010,

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if not more than, he acts: in a way, what acts within him is habitus, an entire socially incorporated structure [...]” (Truc 2011:156).

<sup>205</sup> Bourdieu, especially in his later years, tended to move away from “misrecognition” in favour of a more sympathetic “allodoxia”, a form of behaviour that represents an unbounding from the otherwise unchallenged rationality implicit in the way the game is played in the social terrain. For a discussion of his use of both expressions see, e.g., Miller (2010), Lowerson (1999). According to Brown (2018:np), “Bourdieu uses allodoxia to describe what results from violations of the autonomy of field production. Deriving from the Greek terms self (auto) and law (nomos), the concept of autonomy when applied to Bourdieu’s fields means fields function according to the logic of the field itself rather than heteronomously — that is, they are not directed by external forces such as economic and political power. However, while fields and sub-fields enjoy a relative degree of autonomy, and the kinds of capital competed for in each field are generally specific to those fields, they are themselves grounded in a broader field of power. This has an effect on individual fields”.

Sedlovskaya, et. al. 2013). A straight, female interviewee held a more holistic view as she referred to one of her:

[...] direct colleagues who's very out about being queer as well, and she was out before she got promoted to where she got to. I know that our President is extremely supportive of this sort of thing, and we just added a new value belonging to one of our values which is all about how everyone belongs, and this one person who's very out is extremely highly respected by everyone at the senior leadership team. So, I don't think there's necessarily any bias against that.

Ironically, a female manager observed that “some men are uncomfortable with gay men but they kind of think it's hot when someone's a lesbian” (SE5).<sup>206</sup> She felt that at her college, most people find it “easier to accept someone who's a lesbian than someone who's a gay man”. In that regard, it was noted that SE5 described her own female college President as being “butch” (that is, androgynous or less traditionally feminine) in appearance (Krakauer and Rose 2002). When asked for an explanation, she replied, “I don't think that you have as many women who got that high being feminine versus the ones who have a little more masculine [sic]”. SW6 pointed out that at her college “one of our most powerful people [...] is a woman who I think exhibits male leadership traits and she's a very hard person to work with”.

Returning to Burt's (1995) 'structural holes' theory, there is the notion that an organization's ego-collaborative, strategic network of hierarchically direct and laterally indirect linkages oscillates (in a manner characteristic of Bourdieusian circularity) between the substrata of virtuosic agency and the objective structures in which agency occurs. The freedom of agency is nevertheless “structured in a certain manner, so that [agents constrained to various structural networks] are predisposed to act in a certain way, and therefore their actions respond to previous processes that have structured the structuring subject” (Belvedere 2013:1094). SW6 put it this way:

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<sup>206</sup> This is not an uncommon phenomenon. This particular form of eroticization attracts a wide male audience as evidenced by the proliferation and availability of lesbian content in media visualizations specifically intended for straight men (Palys 1986). For example, Puhl (2010) refers to the worldwide television broadcast of Madonna and Britney Spears locked in a passionate embrace on stage, in the middle of an awards program.

Men see women, in my estimation, as within their socialized roles of being caregivers, teachers, nurses, that kind of thing, appropriate. When a woman wants to break out of that role and enter what traditionally seems as a male dominated field [...] that's when men are challenged by it, but sometimes women are challenged by it as well.

The implication is that any interorganizational network theory must account for the structured and structuring power dynamics resident in each firm-wide social network. In other words, it must reconcile “the individuation of the social and the socialization of the individual. Bourdieu uses both expressions as synonymous“ (Belvedere 2013:1098). Incumbent influencers possess intrinsic power to close career doors for some and open the same for others depending upon how objective networks are bridged, by whom, in what contexts, and by how the game is played (Burt 2015, Ahuja 2000).

Aspirational manoeuverability might be enhanced by adopting the risk-management protocol of a time-tested economic investment strategy: gender diversification. As with traded stocks, a diversified investment portfolio characterized by fluidity and gender-performance variegation represents a transposable range of various capitals that generates the highest return for the least social risk. Gay but not acting ‘campy’, straight but acting ‘fem butch’ (Wajcman 2013); dressing casually in some instances but donning business-suits in others; being the female President but practicing in masculinized ways – these appear to be value-added risk-management strategies. They are constitutive of a carefully choreographed, strategically contextualized gender play purposed for navigating the structural networks of the workplace field. Gender practice shapes itself into a virtuosic gambit allocating different, simultaneous practice investments in competing structural holes (Burt 1995) reflecting the plastic stratagems of a continuously malleable ego-identity portfolio. SW15, an openly gay male manager, talked about his “own sexual fluidity as I’m trying to identify myself and work through that. What does that mean for my job? I don’t know” but he agreed that his “sexual expression should always be flexible”.<sup>207</sup> His comment evokes the notion that, according to Rumens, et. al. (2019:594) and several other scholars in the field,

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<sup>207</sup> In fairness to the interviewee and in context, this comment appears to have been intended by SW15 as a *double entendre*.



[...] queer theory has also made significant inroads into management and organization studies [with emphasis on] its potential to disrupt the ‘normalizing effects of discourses of capitalist hegemony’ [typically] mobilized to analytically subvert the heteronormative alignments between sex, gender and sexuality”.

The idea is that gender and sexual diversification inevitably yield the prospect of a higher return with lower risk through ‘smart’ agentic investment in different social networks whose doxa varies depending upon its network constituency. SE6, a female interviewee, captured the idea in her reminiscence about the last college where she was employed: “It didn’t matter what your gender was. If you were smart and you knew what you were doing [...] it didn’t matter whose mouth it came from. If it was smart, that was smart [and] smart was the currency there”.<sup>208</sup>

## **7.6 Gender Performance & Social Standing**

Marshall (1996) reports and Statistics Canada (Cooke-Reynolds and Zukewich 2004:24) confirms that, while “Canadian women are more likely to be employed as administrative or “other” (middle) managers” it is also true that encroaching workplace feminization in the college system has produced a gender-driven and occasionally hostile dynamic among both students and employees who harbour disparate opinions about whether masculine or feminine gender performances are desirable characteristics found in the most effective managers (Duehr and Bono 2006). It is not surprising to learn that some research has shown an androgynous gender presentation tends to be the most highly regarded (Dematteo 1994) but, in the absence of managerial androgyny masculinity seems to be most valued for its workplace efficiency (Koenig, et. al. 2011).

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<sup>208</sup> The absence of any reference to overt discriminatory behaviour toward LGBTQ employees in the data I gathered may not be so much attributable to more accommodating workplace attitudes toward LGBTQ issues. More likely it is related to personal fear arising from the apprehension of severe union reprisals, possible job loss and/or the imposition of punitive legislative / regulatory sanctions that could result from a proven complaint by an employee alleging discrimination. For example, see the Supreme Court of Canada decisions in *Egan v. Canada* (2008:46) and *Eagleson Cooperative v. Thebarge* (2006). All mid-level managers in the system have unionized job seniority. Regarding sexuality, a 2009 Statistics Canada survey revealed that 2% of Canadians aged 18-59 identify as being LGBTQ 8% lower than Kinsey’s 1948 findings that “one in 10” of all men are gay. This compares to approximately 12% of the sample population, the differential, as mentioned, likely attributable to enconced diversity protocols in hiring practices as well as various job and system-wide anti-discriminatory legislative protections.

Several researchers have examined the ontological underpinnings of misogyny (e.g., Banet-Weiser, et. al. 2016, Szymanski, et. al. 2009, Mantilla 2013, Weitzer and Kubrin 2009, Barlett, et. al. 2014, Miner-Rubino and Cortina 2007, Phipps and Young 2015). For example, Manne (2017:1) examines “the logic of misogyny, conceived in terms of the hostilities women face because they are living in a man’s world”. In his article, “*The “Boy Problem” in Schools: Has Feminization Gone Too Far?*”, Paul Bennett (2010) suggests that the feminization of educational environments has resulted in unintended consequences, not least of which is steadily declining enrollment of males in Ontario’s colleges that has become an “uphill battle” (Chiose 2017:np). The imbalance and a measure of male student negativity was apparent in every college visited. In the cafeteria of one school, at a crowded table where everyone was having lunch, a number of young, differentially racialized, male students studying Business Administration were engaged in animated conversation. They complained to each other about ‘dumb’ females in the administrative offices. The impression was that the grievances were about being “misunderstood” and about “overdoing everything” which made the young males feel as if they were object of a certain amount of covert derision among their peers - a perceived unwarranted intrusion for which they had little patience and even less respect.

SW1 was interrogated about the obvious demographic disparities between staff and students at his college when he was interviewed. In his mid-thirties, unilingual, white, married, a manager for 7.5 years and straight, SW1 is the director of the *International Student Services* department at the college where he is employed. The impression was that he perceived himself to be a moral and ethical outlier in his role. He acknowledged that, one day, he expected to be compelled to leave his position which he conceded should neither be white nor unilingual. He also noted that he “rarely gets the chance to interact with men” in his current role because of its predominant female presence. Asked if he had any explanation for how that came about, he said that “a lot of the white guys here – especially the older ones – come from a different era [...] They don’t really mix well with foreigners who don’t speak the language and so they let the women do it ... because they’re more, I ‘dunno, tolerant I guess”<sup>209</sup>. The speaker is implicitly referring to the idea that women are more

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<sup>209</sup> A preponderance of females responded to the survey. Of the 289 completed responses 35.29% identified as male; 63.32% as female; 1 person identified as non-binary; 1 person as gender queer or gender non-conforming and 2 persons identified as “other”. A total of 12.66% respondents did not indicate any gender identification. In the age range 18 - 59, women slightly outnumber men with 95.6 men for every 100 women in the Province (Ontario Ministry of Finance 2010), suggesting that, compared to the Province’s gender distribution, significantly more women than men found interest in the survey. However, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, women predominate middle-level management roles (i.e. Public Sector Employment Bands 5-10) in most Ontario college administrations. Moreover, a number of studies have shown that

tolerant, understanding and nurturing. It was observed that female participants in the study tended to see themselves in that light. But men sometimes adopt a similar gender performance as a deliberate field strategy. A survey respondent wrote “(s)ometimes I choose to be nurturing to gain trust or achieve certain goals. If I want to achieve a goal that is usually associated with women's work, then I may play that up in order to get other women on board, or to get men to excuse me for making them do something they don't see as important” (T2).

Slightly over half of the survey respondents agreed that a person's gender performance is linked to social standing. Of that percentage, 23% identified as male while 78% identified as female. NE11, a male manager interviewee, suggested that “social standing [at his college] tends to be males higher up [...] than females. That glass ceiling effect. You look up. You don't think it's going to be different, but it is”. Tied to gender performance, a preponderance of women participants felt their work apparel influenced common perceptions of their social standing (Halim et al 2014, Nabbijohn et, al 2020, Nicholas 2019 and see, e.g., Reilly and Rudd 2009). A female interviewee, said,

I've always felt that clothes and shoes were my armor [...] So, if I feel like power suit high heels I can walk, and I can be a strong independent woman like all of the movies. That makes me feel better, but it is very noticeable in my workplace. I do tend to stand out ... (SE3)

A female manager elsewhere, pointed to the connection between workplace image and social standing through the visual perceptions of both men and women:

(I)t's always about what they look like. It's always about what they're wearing [...] in a way which just never happens with men. They just don't do it. It's very rare that men will comment on their hair or their looks or what they're wearing ... (SW10).

Pro-feminist discourse offers numerous perspectives suitably conjoining the foregoing with this project's main research objectives inasmuch as it investigates the extent to which career paths in Ontario colleges are gendered, whether career paths are affected by intersectionalities and, in the

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women are more likely to contribute disproportionately to surveys than men (see, e.g., Lucas and Smith 2004, Miller 1991, Underwood et. al. 2000).

final analysis, whether those paths are trammled up the bureaucratic rungs to executive leadership through the discrete invocation of gender capital which obviously includes agentially staged gender performances. This point is developed in the earlier literature review in which reference is made to Hall (1997) who suggests that the strategic praxis of staging oneself through stylized apparel such as business suits and accoutrements successfully re-inscripts the benchmarks of patriarchy which can only be reproduced through differentiation. And appearance regulation tends to reinforce gender differentiation (Whisner 1982:76).

Feminist intersectional polemic is that, in the staged practice of agency to gain social recognition, women are thereby 'disproportionately affected' because they unconsciously submit to the misrecognition of wearing masculinized professional clothing – the doxic iteration of an androcentric norm (Dolan 2014). Cremin (2020:99) argues that while dresses and skirts are singularly “emblematic of a feminine style”, they are also the indicia of “women’s subordination to men” in a habitus-constructed, dispositional repertoire of femininity situating women in the field of play as “objects and body parts” (Waggoner and Hallstein 2001:30), ultimately begging the question as to politically correct feminine affect and apparel in multi-gendered workplaces. The colorless and sexless uniforms of Orwell’s “1984” come to mind. Indeed, men are not spared. They face ubiquitous reminders that “(f)or the sake of your job—and your self-respect—[men] should still be dressing to send the right impression” (Evans 2018:np)). NE1, a female manager, opined otherwise and suggested that she had “seen it firsthand [...] men that come to work dressed a lot more casually in similar roles [...] aren’t questioned and women [...] are. Impression management, however manipulated (or not) to one’s advantage, as a reflection of gender performance, is an important strategic tool in the workplace. A survey respondent wrote, “I am a large guy, about 220LB and pretty solid. People have certain perceptions about me because of the way I look, on occasion I have used those perceptions to my advantage”(T3).

Social comity and ranking, therefore, inevitably entail acknowledgment of the functional yet obscure relationship among (1) gender, (2) the perquisites of social recognition and (3) outward appearance (Wilson 1984). As Neumann (2011:119) suggests, “(w)ho we are is inscribed upon our bodies and in extension, our bodies as defined and represented through dress”.

## 7.7 The Impact of Race, Education & Cultural Capital

Contextualized within the study parameters. gender performances seem only to produce viable results when the agent (whether male or female) is white, educated and straight acting. The black experience in this neoliberalized, postcolonial encounter is discrepant. A black, female interviewee who does not possess a university degree put what some might call a ructious slant on her observations:

I'm not the sister. I'm not the sassy black girl who, you know, does this. That's a role that's predetermined, predefined and acceptable and people know how to – or feel like they know how to deal with that person [...] I'm not Aunt Jemima.<sup>210</sup> I'm not the roly-poly, nurturing, you know, hair in a dew rag and "c'mon honey child," like that's not me. That person, people know what to do with. I feel as if I'm someone that people don't know what to do with (SW6).

African American males in the system face the same, depersonalizing challenges. As Frantz Fanon (1952) writes: "In the white world, the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty". According to Joshua Takano Chambers-Letson (2013: 138):

Franz (sic) Fanon understood the process of racialization as occurring within a circuit of visual assessment, performance and consumption, which he described as the ethnic subject's self-consciousness of being 'taken by a racial epidermal schema'. For Fanon, the racial epidermal scheme lays claim to ethnic subjects as they come to see themselves through the eyes of the dominant white culture and to perform within the coordinates demanded by the dominant spectator.

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<sup>210</sup> "In a 2015 opinion piece published in The New York Times, Cornell University professor Riché Richardson said the [Aunt Jemima] logo [branded on baking products in the USA for over 130 years] is "very much linked to Southern racism." Richardson said the Aunt Jemima logo is based on a "'mammy,' a devoted and submissive servant who eagerly nurtured the children of her white master and mistress while neglecting her own." A statue of a slave mammy stereotype was approved by the US Senate in 1923, but it was never built" (Valinsky 2020:np).

Wallace (2018:466 and see Archer 2011, Reay 2007) points to the “significant, longstanding tradition in British sociological research that renders cultural capital synonymous with whiteness”. In the open-ended survey texts and interview narratives, racial ‘whiteness’ was mentioned 439 times, 83% by females. It was the 13th most frequently cited concept in a written record of surveys and transcripts comprising almost 400,000 words. Bourdieu saw the specific configuration of whiteness and education as integral to the reproduction of cultural capital and the attendant preservation of social power and dominance.<sup>211</sup>

Neoliberalism is white and male and masculine. As has been argued throughout this dissertation that patriarchy - still prevalent in the Ontario college system - at its core is racist. NW 1 revealed that, at her college in middle management, “our makeup is predominantly white”. SW 14, a female manager, agreed: “Looking at it purely from the point of view of demographics I think that it’s a fairly still a white bred kind of pool people in the mid-range. There you can see that there’s increasing diversity but there’s still pretty white bred”. SE7, a white female interviewee, put it succinctly: “I believe that male, specifically white male, has a much easier sort of steppingstone to a further career [at her college], and with a better job comes more money; with more money comes more opportunity.”

Consistent with what has been discussed above, NE5, a white male interviewee, added that “it has to be disguised, and if it’s not then you have to get rid of it. And so that’s being a white male”. And SW12 suggested that “we are more culturally diverse at the lower level and then as you climb up the ladder it becomes more singular – white, male, heterosexual ... yeah.” Finally, SW6, a female manager who works at a college where the student population is multi-racial, but she deliberately lives some distance away, talked about an isolated instance where she was “sitting in the car at a light and someone crossing the street was a person of colour, and my husband was like, ‘look, a black person!’” Clearly, issues suggesting the existence of racism in the Ontario college system were powerfully felt and experienced by this researcher in a way that had not been contemplated

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<sup>211</sup> These core, Bourdieusian theoretical principles tend to interpolate and inform each other, “resulting in a more nuanced engagement of the interplay between structure, agency, and racial realities in education” (Tichavakunda 2019:651). In *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992:134) he wrote: “Those who dismiss my analyses on account of their “Frenchness” (every time I visit the United States, there is somebody to tell me that “in the mass culture of America, taste does not differentiate between class positions”) fail to see that what is truly important in them is not so much the substantive results as the process through which they are obtained”.

when the preparation for this dissertation began. It has a quiet yet powerful presence that is felt from the moment one walks into any of the colleges investigated. Accordingly, the last data Chapter of this dissertation is devoted to a more detailed presentation of this theme.

More than likely owing to the nature of their work environment, the sample population is highly educated. And education carries significant weight as social capital<sup>212</sup>. A male interviewee observed that “education definitely provided authority and credibility and having a Ph.D. [...] it’s like people don’t ask me what my doctorate is in but being called “Doctor” has enormous benefits” (NE5) which are increasingly valued in terms of being hired and subsequent career advancement. NE3, a female manager stressed that “with this being a higher education institution [...] the education requirements are held much stronger over the last 10, 15 years than previously”. A total of 51.06% of the respondents hold master’s degrees or higher. This compares to the aggregate total number of Canadians aged 25 to 64 who have earned a master’s degree and higher of just 7% (Wall, et. al. 2018, see: Frenette and Frank 2016, Etmanski, et. al. 2017). Approximately 28% of the survey respondents possess a bachelor’s degree, 9% have doctorates and 4% possess various government recognized professional designations (such as P. Eng, CIM, M.D., LLB, etc.). Professional ‘designations’ often require extensive academic training following at least one undergraduate degree. Finally, only 11% of the participants hold either a Certificate or College Diploma. Similar credential percentages are reflected in the education profile of the participant interviewees. The black interviewee above was one of the few interview participants holding less than a bachelor’s degree. Several of the female interviewees see their education in terms of power relations and a levelling of the playing field with men. For example, NW1 said:

I’m working on my Masters, and we talk about this. It’s often, especially as a female, all that we feel in order to do be powerful because generally in the past, males tended to hold positions of power that female, in order to exert their power, they need to act in a masculine way or there’s that association that people who are powerful are masculine.

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<sup>212</sup> As does income. More than half of the survey respondents who answered the question about their annual household income (56.18%) reported \$150,000.00 or more. This is comparatively high in relation to the average annual income for Canadian households in 2017 (\$59,800 according to Statistics Canada) and even twice that for Ontario (\$75,369 according to the 2017 Ontario Census) which is considered by most economists to be the Country’s wealthiest Province. In fact, a total of 256 (90.45%) of the 283 survey respondents who answered the question have annual household incomes that are approximately twice to three times provincial and federal family income medians.

Education is a cultural artifact extended beyond the habitus to inform, shape, and reproduce the pragmatics of latitudinal and longitudinal social relations: the former, cross-culturally across the 'Help Desk' to students, the latter entailing the internecine struggle up the metaphorical ladder-rungs to the executive chambers. The patrimony of whiteness (Sims 2016) and the class distinction of education are sources of 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1994:14), wielded by those who control the market for college credentials. As George, et. al. (2020:159) point out "(r)acial equity in Canadian education remains elusive. Despite Canada's status as a multicultural nation, many minority students continue to be marginalised". The authors specifically point out British Columbia and Ontario as Provinces harbouring notable instances of racial marginalization (see also Bailey 2020, Etoroma 2020, Henry and Tator 2009, Canadian Federation of Students (Ontario) 2010, Samuel and Dei 2005). White college employees are in control of disseminating education as social capital. The colleges they govern commoditize the exchange value of educational certification like currency transacted for the price of admission to aspirational pursuits, themselves rich deposits of cultural stratification and social distinction (Spurr and Bourdieu 1983, Bourdieu 1984) for consumers. As Bourdieu mentioned earlier in this Chapter, for them it may be an elusive quest.

## **7.8 Social Class & Whiteness: the Gender-Based Model**

I return now to Chapter 3 and the discussion of the methodological tension between Bourdieu and Foucault. As I suggested in Chapter 3, this tension is reflected throughout the study findings. From a reflexive perspective, this essential and demonstrable difference between the methodological approaches preferred by Bourdieu and Foucault connotes profound, real-world praxis implications for the qualitative researcher. For example, in this study, it was obvious, from well prior to the actual preliminary interview staging and perfunctory live introductions at the outset, that the researcher and white participants were, for the most part, situated homologously as a cultural group.

There was an understandable correspondence among middle-managers (including the researcher) who were almost invariably similar in critical respects: white, middle-aged, well-educated, upper



middle-class income, and with positional seniority in virtually indistinguishable bureaucratic college environments. In Hofbauer's (2011:25) words, this obviously power-suffused, culturally dominant construct represents a form of "social homogeneity accounting for cultural hegemony in [the] institutions" investigated which had the practical effect of minimizing any intersubjective sentience of 'class' distinction in the traditional Marxian or Weberian senses. This is not surprising. Butler and Watt (2007:178) note that "theorists of postmodernity and late modernity have argued that class identity has declined in importance and become increasingly ambivalent. [P]ost modernists point to the notion that class is simply one identity among many hence it should not be surprising that it is characterized by far greater uncertainty".

A Foucauldian perspective of the foregoing would emphasize that "[...] 'those with power are simply unable to see the mechanisms that privilege their own viewpoint over others' (Parker 2005:2) and that amplifying the voice of the marginalized individual [is necessary to] counter [...] these hegemonic and institutional tendencies of powerful social elites" (Fadyl and Nicholls 2012:26). In other words, to a Foucauldian researcher, it is possible that the interviews themselves might very well be regarded as somewhat discursively tautologous and, to that extent, rather pointless:

Looking at it in this way, a research interview might be a means of obtaining a text for analysis, but it is not a means of revelation (as in phenomenological, symbolic interactionist or similar approaches) or emancipation (as in feminism or critical race theory). This is an important departure from phenomenology and critical theory perspectives [...] and this distinction must be taken into account when considering the function of interviews for this type of research (Fadyl and Nicholls 2012:26).

However, Foucault (1988:148) and Bourdieu (1993:176) agree that agents are the human product of historical constructions of 'class power' (Cain 2002, Bidet 2015/2016) and that by engaging in the existential power-based struggles of the field, agents in turn structure their social reality. But Foucault sees the theoretical ontology of class power as politicized (Oskala 2010:445), distinct from notions of either agency or structure and instead primarily discursive whereas Bourdieu

understands class power<sup>213</sup> as objective, “factorial social space” (Weininger 2003:141)<sup>214</sup>, invariably interpolated with both agency and structure and eminently “conspicuous by [his] reconceptualising it in relational terms” (Grenfell, 2014:22). Moreover, it will be recalled from Chapter 3, that, according to Bourdieu, any theoretical construction of power must be accompanied by appropriate empirical investigation, absent which leaves one’s research project in stasis or scientific limbo. Bourdieu cautioned that “[...] theory without empirical research is empty, empirical research without theory is blind [...]”. (1988:774). The higher educational milieu or *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu 1984/1988), or in other words, the structural environment of those examined for this study is, in a Bourdieusian conceptualization, the strife-ridden situs of ‘symbolic violence’. In practical terms, it is based upon unassailable social status differentiations “heavily laden with the values and interests of particular class factions in the social hierarchy” (Grenfell 2019:11). In the managerial administrations I investigated, those class factions comprise a multi-levelled, almost prismatic, social hierarchy. As Koski, et. al. (2015:528) suggests, “[t]he underlying concept [...] is that hierarchy formation is the result of individual variation in influence or power and the most valued member[s] achieve [...] the highest status” (see: Halevy, et. al. 2011, Moors and DeHouwer 2005). At one level of analysis, that hierarchal formation is almost exclusively occupied by white employees with heteronormative males typically ensconced in the majority of the senior, executive organizational roles. In that regard, sociologist Cecilia Ridgeway (2001:651) reminds us that:

Although gender status beliefs lie at the core of gender stereotypes, they are only one component in the gender system of social practices that differentiate men and women and organize relations of inequality between them. Yet beliefs about men’s greater status worthiness and competence are an especially insidious component of the gender system, because they embed an essential hierarchical element into our fundamental cultural conceptions about who men and women are.

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<sup>213</sup> See, especially, Bourdieu’s scathing criticism of higher education in France, which he holds as a prime example of ‘class power’, in *The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relation to Culture* (Bourdieu and Passeron (1964 / 1979), trans. Richard Nice, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Also see: Wacquant L. Symbolic power and group-making: On Pierre Bourdieu’s reframing of class. *Journal of Classical Sociology*. 2013;13:2, pp. 274-291. doi:10.1177/1468795X12468737.

<sup>214</sup> However, Bourdieu’s theoretical relationship between ‘class power’ and ‘social space’ has been criticized. For example, Dylan Riley (2017:114) points out that: “Bourdieu’s attempt to explain habitus as a result of class is thus vitiated by a basic conceptual weakness. He does not explain how his indicators of “class” connect to his theoretical class map. Thus, his scheme of the space of social positions contains a series of seemingly irrelevant (from the point of view of class analysis) social differences. This creates a serious problem for his work on class [...] because, in the absence of a clear concept of class, any difference [...] along any social dimension recorded in his surveys becomes evidence of a class difference in habitus. Paradoxically, then, for a book often considered a classic of sociological theory, *La distinction* suffers from a common error of empiricist social research: the concepts and indicators Bourdieu uses collapse into one another, so that any array of evidence would seem to be compatible with his argument.”

The affected employees within this racially dominant hierarchal formation, in essence, are, in Foucauldian terms, 'victimized' (Vollhardt 2020, Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Berenblum 2010, Munro 2003) by the gender-based "pervasiveness of status asymmetry between gender categories" (Faniko, et. al. 2016:3), the prejudicial, androcentric habitus of which is securely lodged within the framework of an overwhelmingly white, power-driven structural homology. But, understood in the context of an archetypical Bourdieusian theoretical framework, class distinction is at the core of the power relations supporting the hierarchy (Bourdieu 1979, Bennett 2010, Harker, et. al. 2016, Swartz 2012, Wacquant 1993, 2013, Williams 1995).

That having been underscored, Meisenhelder (2000:82), acknowledging Bourdieu, (1977) makes the point that in Canada "social class refers to a group of individuals who share a similar [...] field position and who, as a result, also possess a similar internal habitus resulting in certain dispositional and behavioural resemblances [...]". The interview situation, for example, could hardly be described as anything less than a flawless exemplar. Ziegler, et. al. (2013:np) clearly makes the point that, in Canada, undoubtedly "class continues to be a very real dimension of personal identity, alongside other factors like ethnic background, gender identity, or sexual orientation. [However] [i]t's difficult to acknowledge class distinction in [institutions of higher education] because the distinction between individuals isn't obvious ...". Decades ago, Christina Newman (1962:np) went so far as to suggest that "[i]n fact, the whole concept of class as a governing force in our lives is somehow repugnant to Canadians. [i]t contradicts everything our public mythmakers, from politicians to high school valedictorians, have been telling us for decades". Admittedly, one of Canada's foremost sociologists, John Porter, an expert on the class system in this country, held a somewhat more realistic view: "We may not call it that and we may not know even we're doing it, but class evaluations are a basic factor in our lives" (cited by Newman 1962:np). In that regard, Canadian sociologist Simon Langlois (2000:392) observes that:

Social class was probably the key concept of Anglo-Canadian sociology during the seventies and eighties, as we can see in reading the table of contents of the two major journals of sociology published in English. However, is social class still a useful concept

in explaining social phenomena? Today the answer is not as clear. For example, research done by Statistics Canada showed that wage polarization or growing labour market insecurity have grown within, not between, social classes. Other studies arrived at the conclusion that social class approaches have lost their analytical power for explaining much that is consequential to class theory.

The fact is: “Most Canadians think of themselves as middle class” (Cazzin 2017:np). Stephen Gordon, Professor of Economics at Laval University in Quebec, suggests that: “Everyone wants to believe they’re middle class [...]. People don’t want to be low status, but you don’t want to be the one per cent or you’ll get things thrown at you” (Russell quoting Gordon 2019:np). Proudfoot (2019:np) notes “the way we elide, erase and ignore socio-economic class in Canada [amounts to] an invisible fact that shapes everything, but is acknowledged nowhere.” Sociologist, Susan Robertson, of the University of Saskatchewan, adds that: “[...] just as class distinctions have blurred in recent decades, so too have class traits. A very wealthy person may enjoy bowling as much as opera. A factory worker could be a skilled French cook. Pop star Justin Bieber might dress in hoodies, ball caps, and ill-fitting clothes, and a low-income hipster might own designer shoes”(2021:np).

Despite the foregoing, even Langlois acknowledges that ‘gender’ within the medial sector of Ontario college administration represents a defining point of field demarcation, social class, and social stratification. He points to the work of Canadian researchers, Wallace Clement and John Myles who:

Analysed the role of class and gender in the stratification process in Canada and in other developed countries. The results of this research, *Relations of Ruling* (1994), have suggested that new relations of ruling were constructed around class and gender in all advanced capitalist societies [including Canada] (1994:392).

Nevertheless, the recounted lived experiences and Bourdieusian ‘testimonies’ of the white participants interviewed for this study conveyed the impression that, in this extremely narrow social field of struggle, issues of intersectional victimization were, at no point, understood as relating to ‘class’ in the traditional Marxian or Weberian sense, but rather to the oppositional logic

and oppression arising from gender-based structural inequities not fully addressed by the imposition of institutional diversity policy and certainly not acknowledged as a struggle relating to class.

Where the topic was broached, I observed that, for the white research participants, social class tended to be thought of as a hierarchal conceptualization of social consciousness, the routine categories of which have been historically understood in somewhat more Gothic terms of Edwardian, colonialized upper, middle and lower classes as one might find in the period writings of Charlotte Bronte or Joseph Conrad. Nor was social class perceived as lending itself to more an even more narrowed definition by focussing on cultural artifacts such as income, formal education, and hierarchal position in the bureaucracy.<sup>215</sup> Using those social identifiers as relative demarcation points, most of the white research participants with whom the topic was raised perceived themselves as belonging in the same 'white bubble' where such differences were of diminished consequence. In what one interviewee referred to in terms of an isolated, stratum (SE7:263) the dialectical unity of earlier-mentioned social homologies, to which Meisenhelder referred, prevailed throughout every institution investigated.

American sociologist Nancy Andes (1992) provides a relevant empirical model of social stratification based on gendered organizational processes within the same occupational level such as is found in the middle management sector of the province's college system. She contends that traditional, empirical demarcation points - including sex differentiation - "do not adequately reflect the interactive relationship between gender and class as social processes" (1992:232 and see: Acker 1989, Blum 1987, Mason 1986). According to Andes, the researcher must closely examine the structural characteristics of the occupational sector under investigation to discover evidence of masculine domination. For example, the survey statistics reveal that the medial administrative level in Ontario's colleges is heavily populated by females who far outnumber males in the same occupational sector. Andes (1992:234) finds "[t]he predominance of women in a restricted set of occupations [...] as evidence for male domination within [class-based] stratification systems" even

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<sup>215</sup> This finding is consistent with historical Canadian research conducted by Lambert, et. al. (1986:384) who discovered that: "In answer to our first question [*i.e.*, what is social class?], many people said that they were unsure of, or did not understand, the idea of social class." As indicated above, this perception has not changed. Andrew Hargraeves (2020:np) suggests that "Canada has its own [...] cluelessness, expressed in the widespread belief that the vast majority of Canadians are middle class".

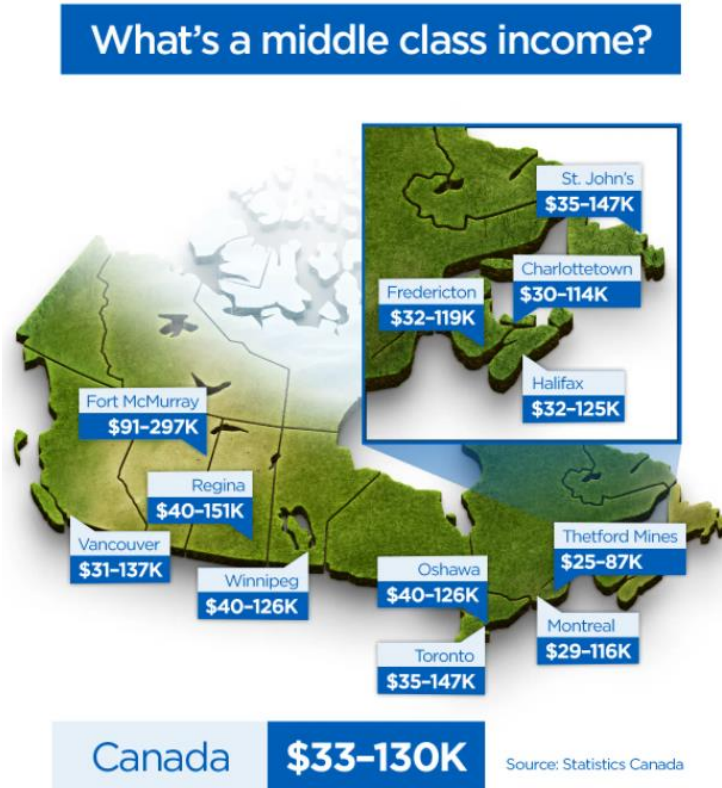
within homogenous social structures (like the Ontario college system). She argues that access to capital accumulative social networks within the same occupational stratus, based on gender alone (e.g., the old boys' network), are constitutive of social class relations analytically related to both patriarchy and power. As Hartmann (1979:13) puts it:

[...] capitalist development creates the places for a hierarchy of workers, but traditional Marxist categories cannot tell us who will fill such places. Gender and racial hierarchies determine who fills empty places. Patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organization, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places. It is in studying patriarchy that we learn why it is women who are dominated and how.

From a researcher standpoint in the field and also from a theoretical perspective, the foregoing structural indicia of social stratification and class distinction clearly are mutually constitutive existential realities even within an empirically homogenous sub-culture such as middle management in Ontario's colleges (Nunkoosing 2005). However, the fact is that white research participants uniformly perceived 'class-based' stratifications that fall within the classic Marxian typology (i.e., differential economic production, education, income, and wealth) as irrelevant to gender-based discriminatory labour segmentation among themselves.

Nor was the Weberian theoretical alternative to the Marxist ideology of social class structure (which, in this case, would broadly default to class differentiation based almost exclusively on monetary distinctions within the managerial hierarchy) understood by the participants as being necessarily applicable. The reason becomes clear by considering the figure depicted below. Virtually every participant in the study falls into the 'middle class' category when employment income is used as the sole criterion for arriving at class-based distinctions.

Figure 3: Defining 'Class' by Income in Canada



Source: Global News © 2019

Marx's contrast between the elitism of the bourgeoisie and the struggle of the proletariat, Weber's more nuanced, impersonal and income-based articulation of power-based social differences impacting the lived experience of agents in this narrow field nor even Connell's politically infused notion of class distinction between the 'ruling' and the 'working' classes in Australian society seemed to hold conceptual resonance in the investigative milieu of this study. Instead, from the participant viewpoint, people saw themselves as either 'middle class' or 'classless' by any of the paradigmatic structures above.

The expression 'classless' is used deliberately. Sandy Cameron of the *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives* points out: "We don't like to talk about 'class' because we don't like to be put into a

category. We say, 'I am who I am, and that's it'" (1999:np). Underscoring Cameron's observation, Langlois (2000:394) has identified: "A new discourse on Canadian identity [...] presently being built in English Canada and it reflects the structure of its population. The latest publicity campaign - *'My name is Joe and I'm Canadian'*". The expression notably eschews any implication of 'class' as a meaningful distinguishing characteristic of Canadian identity. Finally, Canadian sociologists, Little and McGivern (2014:np), are explicitly doctrinal in their insistence that, in this country: "There are no formal or explicit class, [...] or other boundaries that prevent people from rising to the top".

With the foregoing in mind as an investigative backdrop, it is unsurprising that discrimination on the basis of patriarchy was the preferred characterization by white participants as the potent form of symbolic domination and an impediment to the career aspirations of white women. Workplace inequity based on Marxian or Weberian attributes of a capitalist social structure and class division, at least from the perspectives of the participants who mentioned it, was not understood as the driving force behind gender discrimination in their workplace. The salient point of labour division for the white participants in the study focussed almost exclusively on the inequity of gender discrimination - not explicitly recognized nor necessarily understood as constitutive of a class-based barrier in the modalities that Andes or Hartmann suggest above. However, in an ironic twist, the general lack of acknowledgment or even awareness of distinctions between the researcher and participant interviewees, in any sense based on social class, meant that access to implicitly collaborative knowledge construction based upon the flowing discursive rapport in the interview setting (and afterward) became more focussed, transparent and more easily understood.

The topic of 'social class' in this administrative sector of the Ontario college system is revisited and more fully theorized in the 'Discussion' section of Chapter 10. A theoretical appreciation of the phenomenon is necessary because it leads to an understanding of how the habitus of gender capital operates to structure and is itself structured in relation to the objective circumstances of the field. Patriarchy, which necessarily implies class-based stratification, engages gender in a pivotal role in the objective structure of the field. The product of patriarchy in a neoliberal, capitalist organization is social class location based on gender. White patriarchy only adds a racial dimension to gendered, class-based barriers. In Chapter 10, a theoretical discussion of the study findings proposes that Ontario colleges tend to be closeted, semi-autonomous social structures where white patriarchy, and the everyday banality of its heteronormativity legitimates and reproduces misaligned



hierarchical and discriminatory class, race, and gender relations (Martinsson and Reimers 2010, Croteau 2005).

## **7.9 Non-White Participants: the Racial Model**

Given virtually identical preliminary staging which led to the interracial interviews with black participants - each with their own collective histories (i.e., habitus) and cultural artifacts - there evolved a 'problematizing', reflexive challenge to any pre-existing ideological notion of the ability to elicit collaborative knowledge construction (Chadderton 2012, Mizock, et. al. 2011, Agyeman 2008, Bourke 2014, Reitman 2006, Rastas 2004). Instead, what loomed over these cross-racial dialogues during the interviews was the tacit, mutual recognition of the absence of a binding, common denominator (Agyeman 2008, Rastas 2004). And, in that uncomfortable and gaping void, there emerged the recrudescence of awareness of a dominant discourse; the palpable sense of a phantom-like, intersubjective power differential that deflected eschewance, even though it had little to do with the actual discursive aspects of the engagement (Sands, et. al. 2007, Haw 1996, Shah 2004, Acker 2000, cf. Osanami-Törngren and Ngeh 2018). Here, in this incommensurable dialectical space, as in the preceding section, once again the conceptual alignment of Bourdieu and Foucault figured prominently.

Foucault and Bourdieu point out that we live in historical, social and cultural contexts that influence the way we can write, think and talk about social objects. Foucault [...] shows that we are related to various discourses and that dominant discourses lead us to move, speak and think about ourselves in specific ways. [...] Discourses can be described as power-related structures of how we understand reality. Foucault was interested in the extent to which discourses permeate society and stressed the importance of uncovering discourses in everyday practices [...]. We have the option of positioning ourselves in relation to accessible discourses, but when the dominant discourse is seen as too powerful or is not seen at all, the possibilities for positioning oneself and influencing what happens are limited (Aléx and Hammarström 2008:169).

Bourdieu (2001) describes how our habitus (how we think, sit, speak and move, etc. in a social context) is formed by the access we have to economic, social and cultural capital. When habitus encounters the social world that produced it, it is like a 'fish in water', but when habitus encounter

an unfamiliar social world, it can change and transform (Reay 2004). These theories of Foucault and Bourdieu underlie our analysis of power in interview situations.

It was in this spatial inequality that issues regarding race, sexuality, gender and class converged and became “interlocked” (Combahee River Collective 1981 [1977]:210) in the unitary voice of oppression. Members of the Combahee River Collective express the phenomenon this way:

The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. [...] We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. We know that there is such a thing as racial-sexual oppression which is neither solely racial nor solely sexual (Combahee River Collective 1981 [1977]: 210; 213).

In scientific terms, the stark reality was that language itself had to be generalized and neutered to avoid misunderstanding and / or unintended offence (Yeong, et. al. 2018, Castillo-Montoya 2016, Jones et. al. 2013, Lincoln and Guba 1999, Kim 2010). Bourdieu (1977:40) addressed this conundrum in a broader social context:

Recourse to a neutralized language is obligatory whenever it is a matter of establishing a practical consensus between agents or groups of agents having partially or totally different interests. This is the case, of course, [...] in the transactions and interactions of everyday life. Communication between classes (or, in colonial or semi-colonial societies, between ethnic groups) always represents a critical situation for the language that is used, whichever it may be.

From a methodological perspective, the experience during the interviews was far more appropriately attuned to the meta-language implicit in Bourdieu’s symbolically dominant relational paradigms. Bourdieu had limited awareness (Wallace 2017 and see Puwar 2009 and Loyal 2009) of racial issues potentiating negative effects on one’s ability to navigate social class hierarchy. Bourdieu was French, and he saw French society as, for the most part, racially undifferentiated. Wallace (2017:909) makes the point that “[r]ace’ mattered to Bourdieu, but his understandings of ‘race’, and language for it, did not fit neatly with dominant logics of the time. Bourdieu was arguably disinterested in interpretations of ‘race’ as a fixed biological category – perspectives that though

scientifically disproven, remained popular in the mid-20th century when Bourdieu began his fieldwork in Algeria (Bourdieu, 1962, 1979).” For Bourdieu, therefore, it is probable that any notions of anti-racism had more to do with anti-colonialism and his personal criticism of the French occupation of Algeria (Go 2013).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Go (2013) is not entirely convinced that Bourdieu ever saw race and ethnicity other than through an economic lens through which his notional typology of raced and classed cultural capital certainly emerged as a potent, reflexive reality for the purposes this project. As Wallace (2017:908) reiterates, “[r]ace’ can (and often does) influence experiences and expressions of cultural capital”. Here, in these settings, the obvious differences in skin melanation and, in the case of one female participant, differences in both skin colour and gender, between researcher and interviewee assumed an unspoken, disparate social dimensionality profoundly intuited by both interviewer and interviewee. Sociologist, P.J. Rhodes (1994:549), suggests that:

The issue is not simply that black people may be inhibited in their communications to a white interviewer or that these communications will be passed through a white cultural filter, but that there are dimensions to black experience invisible to the white interviewer/investigator who possesses neither the language nor the cultural equipment either to elicit or understand that experience. In other words, the lack of an insider perspective precludes the white person from access to the black social world [...].

Viewed from another methodological perspective, the researcher’s experience of interviewing non-white participants seemed to align itself more neatly with Stuart Hall’s (1980) idea of a phenomenological ‘coding and decoding’ process that occurs. Both researcher and interviewee reflexively understand and immediately recognize the mutual exclusivity of the cultural capitals each brings to the setting. And, in that disparate micro-space (or field), where embodied physical presentations play out through the habitus of bodily hexis, there exists a transcendent and systemic power differential conveyed through a meta-linguistic vehicle having little to do with the words exchanged before, during and after the interview (McCorkel and Myers 2003, Nakayama and Krizek 1995, Hoong Sin 2007). Rhodes (1994:552), precisely captures the vaguely discomfiting interactive paradigm this researcher personally experienced during the dissertation interviews with non-white participants:

The significance of skin colour was rarely the same from start to finish of an interview and more was gained from considering it as an interactive factor in the dynamic context of each interview than from attempting to isolate it as a variable. Skin colour, moreover, was not the only 'social signifier' and its significance to participants waxed or waned according to the topics discussed. Ethnicity, gender, class, age, education and non-professional [...] status all emerged as dimensions of differing significance during the course of the interviews.

Bourdieuian researcher, Ali Meghji (2019:3), suggests that “[a]t the individual level, negative experiences of ‘white spaces’, which produce much traditional middle-class cultural capital, often increase individuals’ cognisance of the racialised dynamics encoded into cultural capital.” Any racialized dynamic necessarily incorporates a form of symbolic domination somewhat removed from more theoretical, abstruse and discursive Foucauldian abstractions.

The study findings, including entries made in follow-up field notes documented after each interview session, reveal the awareness of this self-evident cultural Rubicon by both white and non-white participants surveyed and interviewed for this project. Meghji (2019:5) points out that “black middle classes learn to decipher that some forms of cultural capital have been encoded as pertaining to white or black middle-class [individuals]”. Accordingly, “decoding is facilitated not only through analysing the content of the cultural capital, but also the people, institutions and practices which produce, uphold, and recognise it” (Meghji 2019:6). The reality is that black interviewees tend to be uniformly conscious of the fact that “[t]heir [own] cultural capital, expressed through the embodied form of presenting oneself as respectable, is not perceived to be legitimate in virtue of their ‘fact of blackness’” (Meghji 2019:9).

In Bourdieusian terms, symbolic domination is an intersubjective derivation of that fact. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) himself refers to this special form of dominant encoding. It is a relational process of social hierarchizations and practices occurring in the taken-for-granted consumption of white cultural capital that is not generally shared with non-whites. For example, in Bourdieu’s later book, *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), he refers to the three magi attending the birth of the Christ child. In many paintings through the centuries, the magus, Balthazar, is depicted as black (Bond and Junior 2020:np), kneeling before and bringing gifts to a white child of unusual birth and apparently of immediately inchoate but potentially immense power and influence. The dominant paradigm is obvious and forms part of a racial habitus that is endlessly reproduced and legitimated.

Finally, understood from a pragmatic perspective, it can be argued that, in the classic, sociological tradition of Durkheim and Levi-Strauss with particular attention to the work of Marcel Mauss, Bourdieu adopts a structuralist approach to methodological praxis, favoured in this study, while Foucault, with his strong emphasis on the deconstruction of language and its signifiers to arrive at meaning and truth, which figured suitably in certain interview situations but certainly not in others. At various points along his intellectual trajectory Foucault tends to shift from tacit acceptance of structuralism to post-structuralism as the mechanism by which the social world is explicated - a diverse and multi-layered methodological approach that was not ignored in this study, especially as discussed below when it came to interviewing gay and lesbian participants.

## **7.10 From Structuralism to Post-Structuralism & Queer Theory**

Foucauldian discursive analysis, the processual phenomenon of intersubjective coding and decoding identified by Bourdieu and Hall and the methodological eclecticism of feminist post-structuralism - most notably including Butler's theory of gender performativity - are brought together once again in the theoretical work of Nick Rumens (2019). And even before Rumens, the Canadian fieldwork of Bowring and Brewis (2009) is an excellent example of carefully articulated post-structuralist methodology (also see: Popoviciu, et. al. 2006, Moisander, et. al. 2009, Baxter 2008, Francis 1999, Fardon and Shoeman 2010). However, Rumens' reflections on the queering of theory and queer theory itself influenced the overall methodological fluidity of this study, particularly when it came to interviewing gay and lesbian interviewees. As a theoretical touchstone to my own methodological explorations in this dissertation, I reflected on Rumens' observation that:

Since its emergence in the early 1990s, queer theory has mainly been used to examine the discursive constitution and regulation of non-normative sexualities and genders, especially those coded as 'gay', 'lesbian', 'bisexual', 'transgender' and 'queer' [...]. This scholarship challenges the status of heteronormativity as 'the elemental form of human association, as the very model of inter-gender relations, as the indivisible basis of all community, and as the means of reproduction without which society wouldn't exist' [In fact] [c]ritiquing the normative status of heteronormativity and demonstrating the impossibility of any 'natural' sexuality, queer theory is widely regarded as a resolutely

anti-normative mode of politics because it interrogates and seeks to transform social norms and relations of power [...].

As much as I was inspired by Rumens' ideological stance, I remained mindful of the overarching notion that a Bourdieusian researcher must always be aware of the ethical importance of listening carefully to the participants' narratives. No less important is documenting the views and insights of the interviewees by according them the opportunity "to testify, to make themselves heard, to carry their experience over from the private to the public sphere; an opportunity also to explain themselves in the fullest sense of the term" (Bourdieu 1999: 612–15). Nevertheless, the methodological implications of employing post-structuralist queer theory during the interviews with the gay and lesbian minority of the sample population inevitably engaged situational embodiment - a challenging reflexive contest between phatic participation that imbued the affective intersubjectivity of the moment and the simultaneously contrasted professional inclination toward academic detachment.

The resultant findings were that, in several respects, the qualitative aspect of the methodology employed in this dissertation, when it came to a number of semi-structured interviews with self-acknowledged gay and lesbian middle managers, tended to resemble the findings of post-structuralist researchers Michele Bowring and Joanna Brewis of the University of Leicester very closely. In 2009, they investigated "the ways in which Canadian lesbians and gay men manage their non-hegemonic identities in organizations, given the relative paucity of qualitative data in the area, the importance of work as a site for identity projects in the contemporary west and growing pressure on employers to attend to sexual orientation as part of diversity management initiatives" (2009:361). I found myself inspired by James Williams' (2005:16) over-arching conceptualizations that frame the post-structuralist approach to methodology:

In poststructuralism, life is not to be defined solely by science, but by the layers of history and future creations captured in wider senses of language, thought and experience. This explains why poststructuralists do not seem to spend that much time on the sciences. In fact, when they resist and criticize attempts to give a scientific view of language, poststructuralists are making a wider point about science and its limits. Furthermore, the future of thought cannot be guided solely by science. Our desires, acts and thoughts have valuable extra-scientific dimensions. These dimensions are an important part of a full sense of life. Science cannot operate independently of that part and does not do so even when it claims to. Many poststructuralist arguments are reactions to the technological

approach to life characterized by science (when done in abstraction or without imagination). They stress undervalued and hidden influences at work within science (emphasis added).

The surveys explicitly revealed participant sexualities so that full a priori awareness of that status with respect to each interviewee was always an empirical 'given' that needed to be prepared for and, if necessary, appropriately managed. Everyone falling into this culturally non-hegemonic sample sub-set was "out" therefore relieving (or, at least side-stepping) any sense of apprehension or sexual tension when the topic of sexuality surfaced directly or indirectly.

Despite the traditional "disciplinary disdain for personal narratives" (Kulik 1995:20) and through some planned experimentation, it was found that before and after the structured formality of the recorded interview setting, general and unconventionally intimate conversations about shared interests and personal experiences took place naturally and easily. Mutual trust was invariably assumed, especially as professional colleagues in virtually the same medial management sector of the Ontario college system. This triggered the desired fluidity in both the formal and informal conversations. But also there were a number of difficulties which I reveal immediately below. Even so, cautiously articulated researcher silence in response to certain hesitations (often themselves revelatory discursive harbingers) at appropriate junctures always produced the fulsome results and, in some cases, a veritable flood of insight, introspection, conscious individuation and queer subjectivity from the interviewee.

In the interview setting, there emerged several opportunities - either on or off the record - to experiment by introducing a researcher / interviewee interactional paradigm which incorporated the articulation of the project aims and goals alongside its basic interpretative stance. In the words of Beverley Skeggs (2002:30) the goal was to:

[...] make a claim for using the interpretations produced through dialogue but over which [the researcher has] ultimate responsibility and which are generated in relation to the research questions I investigated. [My approach] would enable me to reassess my speculations and frameworks, sometimes leading to modification, abandonment, but also to reassertion.

The emancipatory nature of such engagements was thought to instil in the interviewee the pathic desire to reveal the more emotional side of personal experiences relating to sexuality from the superordinate position of the self and also the freedom to experience of discussing deeply personal narratives directly related to the project themes. For example, I asked self-divulged gay interviewees about what they thought of the 'old boys' club' and their subjective perceptions of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' in this structural domain of power and influence.

The Boys' Club is not only a place, or a structure occupied by men: it is the means by which masculinity becomes a gendered sex which is not really a gender because it represents the entire world. The Boys' Club renders man (white, heterosexual, and middle-class) the representative of the neutral and the universal. It makes the masculine dominate the feminine, the white the racialized, the rich the poor, the heterosexual the queer, etc. But it is not only their presence which gives men power, it is the way they organize themselves and find themselves together, seated around a table, an icon, an ideal (Delvaux 2017:np).

Despite some gay participants identifying as male gendered and therefore notionally at the doorstep of the 'club' and looking in simply by reason of biology, I wondered whether they saw themselves as marginalized and perhaps even subjected to class distinction because they were "out" with regard to their sexuality. Their answers varied and avoided any self-recognition of individual or groupist class distinction altogether, but most often their answers defaulted to the ideologically 'universalized' presentation of white masculinity (or what Martine Delvaux (2017:np) characterizes as 'immaculate' and 'anonymous') as the fairly standard acceptance criterion. In other words, the impression conveyed was that one's sexuality did not become an issue prohibiting entry to the old boys' club (if so desired) unless it was made so by words or presentation inconsistent with the habitus of white, middle-class heteronormativity.

In sum, engaging in what obviously was a much less structured approach deliberately adopted in interviewing this sub-set of individuals from my project sample, I found myself in the shadow of Beverley Skeggs' ethnographic account, *Formations of Class and Gender* (2002:22), in which she wrote:



I knew little about methodology and began [...] by just [...] talking to the [interviewees] as much as possible. I was doing ethnography by default. Rather than reproducing the colonial method of traditional anthropology for studying the other through the provision of detailed field notes and description, I followed a particular angle [...] to enable links to be made between theory and practice, structure and culture.

These quiet, intimate discussions, while certainly fascinating in their own right, proved to be a delicate, not altogether unpleasant but ultimately awkward exercise as the critical intersection between empathetic understanding and knowledge emerged through the dialectic. As Wyman (2016:22) puts it: “With the help of [...] largely non-empirical [...] cognition, which takes the form of a [...] ‘hypothesis’ about one’s defining essence, I begin to apprehend the inner unity of one’s being, gradually situating one’s expressive gestures, actions and lived experiences, perceived externally [but] within this emerging unity”. Therefore, it is a process of subjectivation “by which the part of those without part struggle, in spite of their differences, to constitute themselves as a subject. The assumption of equality is the vehicle, both of this transformation and its identification with the whole of the community” (Tanke 2011:67). In Jungian terms, it is precisely that point at which the reciprocity of transference and countertransference converge as a shared reality; knowing gives way to feeling. Jung explains this phenomenon in his book, *The Undiscovered Self* (1957:52):

As understanding deepens, the further removed it becomes from knowledge. An ideal understanding would ultimately result in each party’s unthinkingly going along with the other’s experience – a state of uncritical passivity coupled with the most complete subjectivity and lack of social responsibility.

The practical consequence was that with a few interviews, at isolated junctures, the discourse became somewhat more difficult to manage. In a few instances, the interviewee referred to highly personal but ‘off-the-record’ content in the recorded, formal interview which then became problematic from a TCPS:Core II, ethics perspective. But, in a few other situations, the primary thematic focus of the interview became tertiary from the perspective of the interviewees who then demonstrated a certain amount of anxiety related to either waning patience or anxiety about the pressing obligation to move on to other appointments. Mirjam Knapik (2006 and see: Josselson 1996, Munhall 1988, Gergen 2001, Lieblich 1996) conducted research exploring, in much greater detail, some of these variables having to do with a project called *Responsive Participation in Knowledge Making*. However, it suffices to point out that, at least for the purposes of this project,

the particular interactive modality described by Knapik - as an inductive methodological protocol - did not tend to support the ideological and strategic investment that had been originally intended in the design of this study. In addition, the regulatory constraints found in the TCPS:Core II federal requirements governing the conduct of human research in Canada tend to support quantitative over qualitative data gathering techniques, the most experimental of which are typically viewed with some degree of historicized disinclination and restraint.

Federal compliances aside, it was found that the methodological application of queer theory, in this project sample, added another level of practical research complexity because it:

[...] does not encompass a methodological programme *per se*, although it is clear that those seeking to adopt its central tenets will seek to question, or trouble, taken-for-granted understandings and ways of knowing (Dilley 1999, Seidman 1996); in particular, to question the notion of a stable, objective, fixed and essential subject of research. This deconstruction is something that is also central to the work of the post-structuralist queer feminist theorist, Judith Butler (King and Cronin 2010:88).

Of course the post-structuralist work of Judith Butler (1993, 1996, 1999) was always kept in mind. As Rumens (2019) suggests, Butler adds a much favoured, expansive dimension to this empathetic form of postmodern thinking about methodology. Butler stresses the importance of human interconnectedness and shared vulnerability. She writes, “let’s face it. we’re undone by each other. And if we’re not, we’re missing something (Butler 1993:31). Browne and Nash (2011:34), also following Butler, suggest that queer methodology:

[...] pays attention to the performativity of a self which is gendered, sex, sexualised, classed and generational in the research process. It demands [from the researcher] an honest sense of oneself that is open and reflexive, rather than holding on to a sense of self which provides an ontologically stable place from which to enter into the field world and subsequently come back to.

To Butler, gender is something that is performed in accordance with societal expectations: movies and television tend to create indelible stereotypes showing iconic males as masculine in presentation (even if they are gay) and women the opposite (even if they are lesbian) as an accurate

reflection of the natural order. The idea evokes the compelling Foucauldian notion that, for example, 'man' or 'woman', as we commonly understand the expressions, are post-Enlightenment conceptualizations that serve to create the things they describe. In other words, human nature is merely a contemporary invention.

In that philosophical context, Butler (1999 [1990]:42) challenges the androcentric dominated, heteronormative “matrix of power and discursive relations that effectively produce and regulate the intelligibility” of anything having to do with one’s gender or sexuality. With this in mind, the goal of the methodological approach to interviewing gay and lesbian participants was to subtly channel at least some portion of the semi-structured interviews or, in some cases, the informal conversations before and afterward in the direction of intersectionality, specifically “the [oppressive] effects [if any] of non-heterosexual identity on the participants’ work lives. They were asked to talk about the degree to which they were open about their sexual orientation in different contexts, their identity at work, the consequences of their identity at work, and the important issues they felt needed to be addressed with regard to these themes” (Bowring and Brewis 2009:364). The intersectional aspect of the research interest was focussed on whether gay and lesbian participants found themselves coerced into heteronormative practices that had the net effect of reproducing “patriarchal values and relations” (Rumens 2019:601). Everyone was forthright and generous in their responses. Accordingly, their voices on this topic are heard in Chapters 7 through 9 where the study findings are discussed.

### **7.11 Grounded Theory & Symbolic Interactionism**

Throughout this dissertation, frequent mention is made of both Erving Goffman (1954, 1959, 1961, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1981) and ‘grounded theory’ (“GT”). Both are mutually constitutive and uniformly accorded prominence in this study with good reason. Andrea Salvini (2019:11) points out that “Grounded Theory (GT) constitutes one of the most consolidated methodological perspectives in ‘qualitative’ research and is one of the most discussed and debated ones, especially among its own supporters”. The constructionist approach to GT was a profound and inspiring methodological touchstone in this study especially because of its commensurable alliance with Goffman’s theory of symbolic interactionism (“SI”) understood simply and best by its key interrogatory themes.

Although there are several, three of the most important are briefly described below by Salvini (2019:19-20; also see Scheff 2005). They emphasize the overarching significance of:

1. Symbols and meanings: The different ways in which individuals assign meaning to their experiences are of particular in the study of the 'social worlds'[..],
2. The consideration of the participants' point of view: [i.e.,] the invitation to acquire an intimate familiarity with data and social worlds, both perspectives [on which] underline the importance of 'assuming' the point of view of the social actors and of the research participants; [and]
3. The identification of the 'social placement' of individuals: Each research participant builds their own understanding, a unique story within which they interpret their own experience (in relation to the studied phenomenon); this assumption requires a continuous communicative interaction with the participants, which is promoted in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of those stories.

Sociologist Shahid Khan (2014:225) captures the methodological essence of GT when conducting interviews in an employment situation such as the institutional settings for this study:

In a 'grounded theory' approach in which the researchers try to highlight and explore employee's perception regarding some phenomenon [...] (Khan, Qureshi, & Ahmad, 2010; Tepper, 2000) in an organization [wherein] qualitative data [is] gathered through face-to-face [...] interviews. Further, to refine the construct and to answer the research questions, the researchers have to get data and analyse it [...] until and unless new data stop emerging or the data saturation occurred (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). [Therefore] the grounded theory approach is an appropriate way to study human behaviour on a sensitive topic even in a different cultural context (Wolcott, 1980).

The data saturation point came to be identified through the coding process in NVivo 12. This necessitates preparing a coding table, deriving relevant codes from the data and then going through the tedious process of refining those codes. They are often based upon initial impressions from the interview transcriptions and post-interview field notes. Further refinements are based upon iterative reflection and consideration of the entire interview holistically. I took into account, and took note of for example, the interview settings, spatial relationality between the interviewee and myself, and various socio-cultural artifacts such as clothing, office desk and room accoutrements and, of course, the bodily movements and facial gestures of the interviewees.

Emergent through NVivo, my findings were revelatory. For example, while the interviews with participants, in some cases, hinted at their relative importance, my field notes documented my impression that matters of attire and general appearance held significantly more importance for females than for males in the study. With few exceptions, men dressed very casually, often with little attention given to the overall impression that might be conveyed by their choice of clothing. This was much less the case with the women who were interviewed. Goffman's notion of 'impression management' immediately comes to mind as does Butler's 'gender performativity'. But it was through the coding process in NVivo that these nuances were revealed as a relatively consistent presentation characteristic throughout the interviews.

In another example, I noted in the interviews, and I eventually coded from both the transcriptions and my field notes, participant references to 'family' which included mentions of 'children' and 'spouses'. The coding process revealed that interviewees who were most comfortable in 'nurturing' identities at work, regardless of gender, mentioned or alluded to 'family' and related constructs more frequently than those already occupying sought-after or aspirational positions in the managerial sector of the college system. Unsurprisingly, the coding refinements also revealed that the 'nurturers' in the study had more pictures of 'family' on the desks, tables and shelves of their offices than any other live participants. Bourdieu's dominant paradigm embracing the fundamental notion of the ultimate transposability of the habitus is evocative. As he puts it:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu 1977, 72).

One sees how the paradigm shapes cognitive states and the lived experiences of the participants fully realized in the observations that are reflected in my findings. They underscore the fundamental significance of symbols and meanings in grounded theory and methodology.

However, in the final analysis, methodological goal was to hold fast to Bourdieu's earlier hortatory cautioning researchers to be mindful of the ethical valence attached to the accuracy of listening to

and the documentation of the narratives provided by the study participants. The findings in this and the next two Chapters reflect that commitment to both ethics and scientific rigour. The overarching goal was always to maintain a relational perspective through the analysis of agents in the field of struggle, their habitus and internalized dispositions that are structured (and capable of structuring) the objective conditions of their workplace environments. Even so, the methodological praxis chosen for this project remained thoroughly consistent with the foregoing principal elements of SI and, as a result, produced a great deal of relevant and meaningful data related to systemic intersectionality. This aspect continues to be explored with some detail in next two findings Chapters.

## **7.12 Conclusion**

The themes and sub-themes presented in this Chapter reveal a portentous undercurrent of postcolonial protectionism, racial and sexual bias, class discrimination and intersectionality despite the ostensible existence of pervasive diversity and inclusion policies at the institutional level across the Ontario college system. There is a palpable incongruity between promulgated diversity schemes on college websites and the reality of the social hierarchies ostensibly informed by them (Argyris, 1995)<sup>216</sup>. Power and domination are at the root of it. A minority of whites control the administrative machinery of the colleges where they are employed in unionized positions. They are able to dominate, with impunity, their considerably larger, multi-racial and linguistically diverse student populations. Within the minority of whites in middle management there is a large female presence combined with a much smaller cohort of 'out' gay males. Together, they see themselves as resigned to relatively static and subordinate structural holes (Burt 1995) dominated by the

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<sup>216</sup> Bhambra (2007:2) posits an intriguing view of this phenomenon. She writes: "While gender, sexuality, and race have come to be regarded as significant aspects of experience that deserve sociological consideration, they are nonetheless organized in terms of pre-existing orderings which render them an adjunct to general sociological understandings. In other words, while there may be recognition of the claims of gender or sexuality or race within standard sociological approaches, there is also an attempt to protect core categories of analysis from any reconstruction that such recognition would entail. Typically, this occurs by positing a distinction between the „system“ and the „social“, where the system refers to that which is general and the social to that which is particular [see Holmwood, 2000]."

seemingly inexorable persistence of hegemonic masculinity dominating the executive echelons. Protest is inefficacious.<sup>217</sup>

Within those subordinate, mid-level populations of each college, there are the ‘nurturers’ who favourably transpose their enduring familial habitus to the workplace where they receive peer and even executive approval, but they also endure a concomitant loss of personal visibility with the result that career advancement eludes them (Barrett and Barrett 2011). There are the ‘queen bees’ relegated to another structural hole who adopt masculinized gender performances to ascend the hierarchy. They generally achieve their goals but at the expense of being regarded with an element of derision by those below - perhaps concealing, even from themselves, envy, or jealousy. Finally, there are the hegemonic feminists. These are women who volitionally choose to display the hegemonic practices of heteronormative femininity. The organizational goal is to strategically manipulate and literally trade on their own sexualized femininity as gender capital to achieve personal career aspirations. SW12, for example, formed a ‘special’, covert engagement with her straight male boss flowing from her prior, egregious flirtations.

And throughout that [relationship] I think I saw an opportunity to allow him to develop me in terms of my skills and to mentor me [...] So, I guess he got what he needed out of it in terms of the personal engagement, and I saw that it was a learning opportunity for me.<sup>218</sup>

This Chapter introduced, through a recounting of the study participants’ lived experiences, those ‘gendered categories’ across themes and sub-themes in the complex and power-laden social tapestry characterizing the Ontario college system. Taking into account the literature review, the theoretical discussion of gender and social capitals and the data presented in this Chapter, there would appear to be little doubt these institutions are very powerfully gendered (Cohen et al. 2004). Power in the form of symbolic violence is omnipresent, often thinly veiled by a discursively ambiguous sub-text (Höpfl and Case 2007). The family and its nurturing historicity remain

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<sup>217</sup> Erving Goffman (1976:5) points out that: “(I)n our society whenever a male has dealings with a female or a subordinate male [...] some mitigation of potential distance, coercion and hostility is quite likely to be induced by application of the parent-child complex. Which implies that, ritually speaking, females are equivalent to subordinate males, and both are equivalent to children”.

<sup>218</sup> Jacobs and Klesse (2014:136) contend that these self-evident “gendered positions may be complex and shifting but [they] also entail social and cultural hierarchies, both between men and women and within gendered categories”.

prominently female in the division of labour at home and at work (Benschop et al., 2013). And, as mentioned at the outset, agents do struggle with gender identity issues in the field of play. Symbolic vestiges of the 'old boys' network are situated and ensconced everywhere across the system even as increasing numbers of women fill managerial positions within the hierarchy.

Amid these processually shifting field tectonics characterized by instability and change, gender identity and racial inequality and social class barriers gradually become exposed as prominent issues to which further exploration is devoted in the following Chapters including the Discussion section of Chapter 10. Perhaps a student of Goffman might argue that the issue is not gender identity at all but rather agentic gender performances, that is, the way we present ourselves in social situations. Bourdieu would contend that virtuosic agency can only carry one so far – there is always the habitus that shapes and is shaped by the outcome of the games played in the field. Connell would conclude that there is little hope for escape from the dominance of hegemonic masculinity, especially in a neoliberal bureaucracy. Keeping in mind the primary research questions driving the investigation of middle management in the Ontario college system, the next Chapter is devoted to a more comprehensive discourse relating to this topic.

The data shows that, clearly, agents do struggle with gender identity issues at work. Women contend with the masculinist vestiges of the 'old boys' network – a structural hole (Burt 1995) that persists and likely will continue to do so until its members evanesce through attrition. As increasing numbers of women fill managerial positions within the hierarchy all the way to the Presidency, men feel the social impact and are affected as well. They chortle at what they perceive as the incremental feminization of the workplace, and they do what they can to cling to the phantom of the male norm as they witness the emerging role of feminization in the Ontario college system. This may have the unintended consequence of exacerbating existing inequalities in the managerial landscape.

The sub-themes discussed in this Chapter carry added salience because they provide greater context for the entire data set and therefore, they assist in adding a deeper understanding of the research participants' subjective meanings within their social reality. The more complex narrative that emerges provides a relational interpretation of the social phenomena rather than simply serving as a container of meaning detached from the lived experiences of the survey respondents



and interview participants. Coding and clustering qualitative data sharpened the focus of the thematic analysis which became critical to expose the sub-themes and their semantic integrality to the project's primary research questions (Vaismoradi, et. al. 2015). In addition, this Chapter introduced and contextualized the next two 'findings' Chapters that will provide even more focussed attention on three major themes: patriarchy, gender capital and racial intersectionality.

Gender identity becomes an issue and an intersectionality: how should women dress and behave to gain respect and trust from their subordinates who are mostly female as well as attention from those at the top who dress in business suits and act in masculine ways? Should they be bold or nurturing as they are with their families? Accommodating or aggressive? True to themselves or strategically chameleonic? Diversity policies exist in the system but, because racial minorities represent the tiniest fraction of administrative populations, discrimination is not an issue when seen through a white lens. It is precisely this myopia that creates racial and gender intersectionalities because, in this and the following two Chapters, it will be shown that discrimination is not simply about colour or gender but rather about the conflation of both without necessarily being addressed or even noticed by the white majority.

### 8.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, themes of power and symbolic domination as well as themes of strategic resistance such as nurturing and hegemonic femininity in the workplace are examined. They emerged with strong voices from the survey and interview data collected for this project.<sup>219</sup> Moreover they are linked to the theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation, driven primarily by feminist interpretations of foundational Bourdieusian concepts. These themes are organized around the over-arching goals of this dissertation which are to investigate gendered career trajectories within the Ontario college system and the intersectionalities that impact upon the subjective identities of individuals in middle management. In the following discussion, an explanation is offered to show how agency has the potential to maximize social capital accrual built upon intersubjective opportunities of resistance through strategic diversity management. These opportunities represent potential resources for optimizing network connectedness in vertical organizational structures such as the Province's colleges. The Chapter concludes with the idea that, notwithstanding many inroads made toward breaking the so called 'glass ceiling', women occupying executive positions in Ontario's college system endure discrimination and bias attributable to the male mythopoeic stereotype.

### 8.2 The Malleability of Nurturing, Resistance & Risks

Intersectionality originates in the cognitive structure of androcentricity (Bourdieu 1995: viii, Leberge 1995:132-134). The structure is the *mise en scène* of seemingly inexorable struggles

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<sup>219</sup> The themes were identified through the coding functionalities available in NVivo 12 data management software. The program assists in constructing a rigorous architecture around frequently mentioned themes prominent in the interview narratives and survey texts. Dey (1993) and Welch (2002) suggest that NVivo adds objectivity to the process of qualitative investigation and the requirement to address broad questions concerned with discovery and description of the data and the development of theoretical premises.

against organizational patriarchy in Ontario's colleges.<sup>220</sup> However, it may be that gender discrimination can be met with both feminine and masculine presentations of gender capital that can be construed as strategic and even survivalist diversity management practices that are acted out in an otherwise power-imbalanced playing field. The idea is not so much related to physical survival which, in this study setting, is unlikely ever to be in jeopardy. Instead, it is the proactive reconceptualization of one's own egocentric and subjective palette of dispositions in the workplace environment.<sup>221</sup> It is the suggestion that there are tactical opportunities for 'resistance' to the doxic order of gender performativity in social contexts that are otherwise unrecognized. The term 'resistance' is used throughout this Chapter to suggest that feminist articulations of nurturing behaviours in the workplace can be uniquely understood in terms of inscribed resistance to socially imposed compunction to mimic androcentricity and its various permutations.

For example, nurturing behaviour in the workplace is best understood within the much broader sociological theorization of gendered 'caring' - a notion itself not uniformly defined because of its multifaceted inflections (Thomas 1993:649-653, Walby 1989, Waerness 1984, Finch and Groves 1983, Dalley 1988). In this study, nurturing assumes an alternative, feminist reconceptualization of Foucault's "oppositional "standpoint" self which goes beyond those found in the phenomenological, anti-sociology tradition" (Doran 2015:131). Moreover, nurturing as a concept is aligned with feminist scholarship that seeks to illuminate a connection between agentive caring as an embodied concomitant of gender subjectivity and the persistence of gender inequality inevitably subsumed by ostensible gender neutrality in the workplace (Oliker 2011, Acker 1990). But nurturing practices have the potential to be self-formative and a behavioural expression of sustainable resistance to patriarchy which otherwise silently and powerfully charts the "conduct of conduct" (Hamman 2009:37) in neoliberal organizations<sup>222</sup>. The study findings suggest that, intersubjectively, nurturing, as a form of identity technology, can be self-limiting when subordinated to supportive

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<sup>220</sup> In fact, three of the publicly funded colleges approached in this study - Niagara, Algonquin, and Centennial - operate 'male only' colleges in other countries with the knowledge and apparent approval of the Provincial government (See: Leslie 2017).

<sup>221</sup> Witz 2001:211) suggests that "(i)t is a conscious, non-conventional reaction to conventional mental modalities traditionally founded upon the "anamnesis of the hidden constants of androcentrism" (also see: Bourdieu 2001).

<sup>222</sup> It is, according to Foucault (1993:203) a "versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself".

social roles.<sup>223</sup> It can also provide a countervailing paradigm of resistance and power because of its pivotal functionality in middle management.<sup>224</sup> At that organizational level nurturers, as the intermediate leaders of those below, may very well be the victims of change orchestrated from the top, but they are also its carriers, solely responsible for directing policy implementation among those below – crucial to organizational sustainability and therefore powerful in practice (Anchich and Hirsh 2017). Moreover, as will be demonstrated below, nurturing is an effective means of volumizing gender capital (Ross-Smith and Huppatz 2010).

In previous Chapters, the notion was suggested that the time-varnished linkages among family, child-rearing at home and the transposition of nurturing behaviours exhibited by some individuals to the workplace are widely understood as the societally expected ‘natural order of things’. For example, a middle-aged, female survey respondent in college mid-management wrote about the expectation of a nurturing modality in the governance and leadership of her employees: “I think mostly, as I work in human resources, [I tend to] to take on the nurturing and understanding role that employees look for” (T2). However, the study findings show that nurturing behaviours should not necessarily be construed as merely emotional literacy where situational accommodation is the expectation nor even as workplace submission to the power discourses of neoliberal patriarchy.

The implicit docility of nurturing behaviours can be understood as an enduring, habitus infused, relational geography encrusted by popular expectations of traditional masculine and feminine presentation. But, given agency, it can also be understood as a conscious strategic performance with the potential to validate and even profitize gender capital. Its intrinsic value resides in its transformational power to be an endlessly manipulative, autonomous, and countervailing instrument of control: dramaturgical performances reignite people to do what you want them to do

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<sup>223</sup> Foucault (1979:202), argues further that an individual “who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection”.

<sup>224</sup> I introduce this possibility in Chapter 5, where I refer to research by Sanchez / Medkik (2004) and others revealing that employees in middle managerial positions subversively resist post-Foucauldian ‘governmentality’. They do so by capitalizing on the “creative and facilitative possibilities” of ‘power’, another expression the semantics of which are articulated in this Chapter. In doing so, middle managers optimize “the freedom of the governable subject to resist attempts to regulate their behaviour” (McKee 2012:216), especially when there is the perception of a threat to the integrity of their own self-identities. Elsewhere, I introduce the notion of Foucauldian (1980) semiotics contextualizing the symbolics of “power and [the] processes of subjectification” replete and replicated in bureaucracies. I analogize the foregoing to Bourdieu’s (2001) compelling ‘doxa’ or the socially constructed historicization of one’s social space that is universally misrecognized as the ‘natural order of things’.

to achieve one's own personal or even organizationally inspired goals. Max Weber points out that true power is in the creation of "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his [or her] own will ..." (1968:53). Within the discrete networks of a bureaucratic organization, Miller (1992:241) sees this form of gender power as "the capacity to produce a change — that is, to move anything from point A or state A to point B or state B". As one female manager put it: "in terms of getting things done, sometimes I guess I figured out that [as a woman] I can use gender as a means to accomplish things quicker [...] in certain situations where I perceive it to be of use essentially" (SW12). She underscores the processually fluid and performative nature of gender and gender identity and its embedded permeability. For Judith Butler (1990:43) "*woman* itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to interpretation and resignification [...]" as is the gendered expression of womanhood. This Chapter explains how 'nurturing' can be conceptualized not as the subjugation of gender identity but as an instrument of capital accrual and even as expression of transformative, empathetic leadership.

### **8.3 Research Findings**

In this section, a number of key findings linked to gender performances in the workplace are examined. The notion of 'nurturing' as a chameleonic practice is introduced followed by a specific focus on male chameleonic behaviours as conformal means of compliance with prevailing, heterosexist expectations. Various responses to androcentric regimes are discussed, including expressions of gender capital as feminized resistance contrasted with the strategic deployment of nurturing as a career-saving social mechanism. However, these practices sometimes come at a cost, occasionally with diminished value as social capital - another key finding in this study.

#### **(a) Nurturing as Chameleonic Practice**

Clare (1999:123) contends that "Gender reaches into disability [which then] folds on top of race [...] everything finally piling into a single human body". Fredman (2009:74) adds that the individual

experience of gender inequality “is not symmetrical: it operates to cease or entrench domination by some over others”. This matrix of domination resembles the Minoan labrys: double-axed with the consequence that power relationships possess the potential to be turned on their own axes through compassionate resistance. The dominated have in the frameworks of their identities, the inchoate capability to activate dominance over the objective and cognitive structures of the field so that “the overarching relationship is one of domination and the types of activism it generates” (Collins 1990:221).

McCormack defines activists as strident and “[radical] persons who advocate institutional change.” (1957:434). In fact, attempts at the destabilization of androcentricity need not be either strident or radical. At the boardroom table, that sort of aggressive metanarrative tends to be dismissively regarded as “unmindful and uncool” (Kawakami, et. al. 2000:60). Feminist activism is capable of generating resistance in a more discrete yet effective manner and nuanced ways of utilizing identity topologies as a means of resistance against institutional gender inequality.<sup>225</sup> Several female interviewees pointed to *nurturing* as an integral component of a chameleonic guise - a form of motivational impression management tool manipulated to achieve a tactical endgame. It is flex-framed in social temporality to achieve capital accumulating internal and external goals. At one college in northern Ontario, NE7, a male manager, said:

I’m a chameleon and I’ve classified myself as a chameleon my whole life, I [...] can usually read a room and know what [is] best approach to take for a group of people [...] you develop skills of reading a room, right? So, you are able to read a room and understand how to [...] manipulate the experience so that you get what you need.

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<sup>225</sup> Bourdieu advances the sociosymbolic alchemy of domination whereby the relational deployment of power is inculcated through and in many different forms of capital including cultural and social. The feminist appropriation of Bourdieu’s theoretical schemata is constitutive of the various roles gender and its intersectionalities play in any reproductive social paradigm. It is self-evident that gender is, at its core, a social construct or, as NW2 put it, “[w]e’re all born naked and the rest is drag, right?” And like other constructive forms of social capital, gender has the capacity to be both accumulative and capitalized (Arribas and Vila 2007). For example, 54% of the survey respondents indicated that gendered skills possess intrinsic value in accessing leadership positions at work. Ansari (2016:528-531) developed a semi-structured qualitative research design to demonstrate that “respectable femininity” as an “impression management” skill in the professional lives of female managers has the capital volumizing capacity to assure career maintenance. But, as I discussed in the previous Chapter, the deployment of these skills also pose the risk of personal subordination and inaccessibility to power networks of authority especially when aforementioned techniques are mishandled (Ansari 2016:528).

The interviewee's practices are consistent with the ethnographic findings of Biswas and Cassell (1996), who learned that women are adept at assuming behaviors and roles that are contextually appropriate in the service of their own career objectives. Similarly, Butler (1990:179) suggests that "[g]ender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time instituted in an exterior space through stylized repetitive acts". A female Registrar offered a consistent viewpoint:

I referred to myself in my different lives as a bit of a chameleon. It's a "cue" what do you want me to be? [...] I mean where - wherever you need me to be, I can be that (SE4).

The text component of the project survey was equally revealing. One participant wrote:

As a 'young' female, I find that I often have to explain my ideas or logic a lot more than my male co-workers in order to be taken seriously. I also will dress more conservative/masculine at times when I want to be respected as a professional. Likewise, though, I will dress more feminine in specific situations as well. Being taken seriously at work is absolutely impacted by my gender (T1).<sup>226</sup>

Another female interviewee abjectly repudiated the inauthenticity of conformal gender expectations and talked about the enduring consequences of her decision:

SE6: Yeah [men are] fine because they're allowed to be who they are. I am not allowed to be who I am. I must be who they believe I should be. The fact that I refuse to be inauthentic, to not be myself, I don't have time for that. I just don't need to be that person unless I want to. That's not how I live my life. But if I refuse to do that means that I will not ascend beyond where I am right now.

ROG: How do you feel about that?

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<sup>226</sup> Butler (1992:15) describes this phenomenon as "learning the double movement" in the manoeuvring of which there is always the risk of exclusion from career enhancing power networks and therefore the possibility of enduring subordination to supportive roles within the organization. I have suggested earlier that an authentically nurturing, mentoring, consensus-building middle manager may gain respect and loyalty from those below. However, that same manager may be dismissed from consideration for higher level roles by those above who demand a more authoritarian, 'take charge' form of leadership. In this sense there are risks in playing (or in deciding not to play) the game. An unwary agent in the field may very well strike a discordant key in the doxic orchestrations that comprise the game's institutional melody.

SE6: It saddens me a lot [...] I am not an angry woman. I am a disappointed woman. And I am disappointed because they're still getting a lot of good out of me because I can't give less [...].

Her comments are a powerful reaffirmation of the right to be seen and heard on her own terms and a distraught voice over having to come to grips with the social consequences of acting on that impulse.

### **(b) Male Chameleonic Practices**

Men face the same conundrum. SE3, a rugged-looking facilities manager in a large college mentioned that whenever he has tried to be collaborative and 'nurturing' (in the way that he is naturally at home) such non-stereotypical practices toward fellow male employees cause them to "snicker" behind his back and gossip aloud about whether he is a "pansy"<sup>227</sup>. The women responsible to him feel the same way or, even worse owing to the risk of sexual harassment allegations, they circulate rumours that he is "coming on" to them. Mitchell and Soloman (2020:26) suggest that: "There is an unspoken crisis plaguing the workplace today: male leadership. Male leadership has become synonymous with reinforcing male stereotypes of dominance, aggression, independence, and resoluteness". Male behaviours deviating from gender mainstreaming and the unconscious bias of heterosexism tend to attract repudiation in the field. While it is theoretically and analytically helpful to disarticulate gender from sexuality notwithstanding their facile populist coherence, the research for this dissertation found no mistaking of the systemic, often nuanced resistances toward lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans equalities in the workplace setting.

Legislation, diversity policies and the attitudinal rhetoric of gender neutrality appeared to have little impact on the views held by many of the study participants. Interviewees reflected on the existence of heteronormative and patriarchal gender stereotypes producing disempowerment and powerlessness sensed by carriers whose behavioural qualities are non-corelative with the

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<sup>227</sup> "Pansy" is a derogatory word that means behaving in a feminine manner with homosexual overtones. For a discussion of the word in a sociological context, see: Rose, A.M. (1957) Sociology and the Humanistic Intellectuals. *The Antioch Review*, 17:4, pp. 502–506.



ideological *umwelt* of traditional masculine and feminine bodily hexes (see, e.g., Brown, Nash, et. al. 2018). Virginia Held (1989 [1993]:np), points to Bartky's definitive study of shame and "[t]he heightened self-consciousness that comes with emotions of self-assessment [which] may become, in the shame of the oppressed, a stagnant self-obsession. Or shame may generate a rage whose expression is unconstructive, even self-destructive. In all these ways, shame is profoundly disempowering" (Bartky 1991:97). Precisely expressed above by SE6, the 'rage' is "more subtle and oblique, [...] rooted in the subjective and deeply interiorized effects [...] both of the emotional care we give and of the care we fail to get in return," (Bartky 1991:111).

### **(c) Response to Androcentricity**

Nurturers in the workplace tend to eschew overt expressions of rage or anger when confronted with dominant and heterosexist male behaviours. Counter aggression offends traditional societal stereotypes but, more importantly, it generates more or less indelible negative labels in the workplace. Male resistance to homosocial dominance threatens the culture of hegemonic masculinity and inevitably throws up barriers to inclusion in the 'old boys' network (Pardoe 2018:12) and therefore men tend to curtail such practices. Women who speak up attract pejoratives such as "nag", "whiner" or "bitch" (Stock-Ward 1995:31). For example, female interviewee NE4 who describes herself as a "nurturing manager" recounted a boardroom situation in which three male colleagues, with raised voices, one with pointed index finger, attempted to control the meeting agenda at which she was the chair:

I had to [...] stop that meeting and say, 'listen, I appreciate the things that you're bringing forward but you're not the only people in the room. Let's give everybody else a chance here!' And I was a bitch for that. They didn't call me that directly, but if looks could kill I was picking up the implicit messages that were being sent.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Goffman (1976:6) suggests that "it is here in these small, local places that [agents] can arrange themselves microecologically to depict what is taken as their place in the wider social frame, allowing them, in turn, to celebrate what has been depicted. It is here, in social situations, that the individual can signify what he takes to be his social identity and here indicate his feelings and intent – all of which information the others in the gathering will need in order to manage their own courses of action – which knowledgeability he in turn must count on in carrying out his own designs".

The same interviewee suggested that “if it were a male leading and chairing that meeting, he probably would have handled it a little differently. But [...] when women are too assertive, they get called bitches”. SW6, another female manager, felt the same way when, in stark departure from her usual submissive behaviour in the face of aggressive behaviour by colleagues, she chose to volubly resist:

I’ve had long experience with this organization and I’m familiar with the categorizations of women who speak out or who are assertive being identified as difficult or bitch or confrontation because those are words that I’ve heard to describe myself.

A male college manager in southern Ontario, was blunt and unaccommodating in his reaction:

It’s a straight boys’ masculine atmosphere and the women try to act as if they are straight males thinking that it will get them respect. But the reality is that they are just ‘fem’ bitches trying to act butch. And it’s taken for what its worth as with anyone playing a charade (T1).

A survey respondent described her “butch” manageress in the following terms: “The [...] manager of this place humiliates, manipulates and never respects her employees” (T2). Both male and female interviewees frequently mentioned the risks of assertive females being labelled either ‘bitches’ or ‘butches’ depending upon the nature of their organizational relationships. T2’s observation serves to recall comments made outside this study by a gentleman who was interviewed by Raewyn Connell for her book, *Confronting Equality* (2011:33). The individual said:

I notice that especially women who get into serious positions, the first thing they want to do is to exert their authority ... They’ve appointed a woman [and] now she’s gone totally feral. She has told him to, you know, ‘Get f\*cked, you’re useless, I have been carrying you since I got here.’ And it just degenerated [...] and that was the culmination of about six or eight months of just abuse and bullying.

Potentially career deflating backlash, however, sometimes ensues. Research demonstrates that deviations from expected gender normative behaviours often are censored through sociopathologically invoked strategies of sexualization and stereotyping (Barker and Robbie 2012). One male interviewee in another large, southern Ontario college observed that “if you’re a women and have too many masculine traits [...] you’re going to get labelled that you’re a lesbian” (SW9). A male survey respondent suggested that “[a]t work, the atmosphere is very masculine and women who behave that way are not respected - especially among the other women”. Understandably, a female survey respondent wrote “I sometimes shy away from being too assertive for fear of it appearing too aggressive”. A similar sentiment was expressed by an interviewee female manager in a south-western Ontario college who felt much “safer” in “nurturing” roles even though, ultimately, it meant her own career stasis:

Men see women [...] within their socialized roles of being caregivers, teachers, nurses, that kind of thing [...] When a woman wants to break out of that role and enter what traditionally seems a male dominated field [...] that’s when men are challenged [...] When somebody breaks out of role that has been pre-determined, pre-ordained for them [...] it challenges the status quo that has been established in an organization ... (SW6).

This, of course, implies a potentially stifling regression to submissive constructions of gender identity. Female interviewee SW10, at another college observed that “women, if they are not on equal footing in the organizational hierarchy with the other people in the room, they will take what I would call more submissive position within the room, compared to men who don’t seem to care as much. They will always take a seat at the table no matter what”. She mentioned her own natural tendency toward ‘nurturing’ behaviours in these situations, which, she admitted, often are misrecognized by the men in the room. Appeasement almost invariably encourages uninvited aggression (Liu, et. al. 2013).

#### **(d) ‘Feminized’ Resistance**

Bartky insists that women possess free agency capable of being manipulated intersubjectively in response to various expressions of power between two agents. Evidently, SW10 decided upon a Foucauldian permutation of resistance of her own design and volition:

In my office if I have water or coffee [...] I will ask people if they want coffee, do they want water, and I find it's rare, if ever, a male manager or someone at work will ask me if I want something to drink or if I want that. I feel like it's a feminine trait. And then I started to think a few years ago, is that one of those feminine traits that you shouldn't be portraying because it puts you in that position [...] of that 'I'll be the woman who's providing the food and providing the drink'? <sup>229</sup>

Recognizing the passive regularity of what she identified as a 'feminine trait', SW10 chose to engage in self-reflection surrounding the everyday nurturing symbolics of serving refreshments. Embedded in that self-interrogation there is resistance and a form of leadership harbouring implicitly binary presuppositions. Leadership is not necessarily a tautology requiring followers nor is it a masculine or feminine performative stylization. It is a polysemic amalgam of gender identities drawn upon agentially in the form of self-constructed subjectivity to further individual or communitarian purposes and goals; it is, therefore, difference ultimately directed toward to empowerment and liberation from complicit and *monocategorical* thinking (Collins and Chepp 2013). As Schippers 2007:91 points out, typical masculinist gender performances including "strength, the ability to use interpersonal violence in the face of conflict, and authority" are instruments of symbolic violence only when aligned with monocategorical and contextually non-resistant gender performances traditionally associated with femininity such as "physical vulnerability, an inability to use violence effectively, and compliance". <sup>230</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> The strategic deployment of a specific masculinized or feminized presentation of gender capital potentiates conscious and unconscious patterns of subtle, discursive contestation. Sometimes barely palpable, it is an invariably perceptible recalibration of the doxa that creates difference both before and after. As Deutch (2007) argues, it is a matter of 'undoing gender'. Contrary to Leibniz' grand metaphysical notion of 'difference' ultimately being consigned to the infinitesimally small (Verlag 2011), I suggest the emergent possibility of 'difference' generating a difference through a resistant form of leadership. Billing (2011:302) mentions both difference and resistance when she points out that the managers she interviewed in her qualitative study "sometimes use gender resources and create differences and sometimes they do not follow gender norms but resist them. It is not what has been internalized in terms of gender, but rather how action and interaction are guided by strong norms for doing gender in the right way, leading to the confirmation of these norms, and avoiding sanctions for deviations".

<sup>230</sup> SW10's narrative evokes the Deleuzian (1994) hortatory to counter-actualize virtual events. In other words, Deleuze challenges us to question "underlying processes of repetition that we cannot fully control or understand" (Williams 2013:92). Repetition itself creates and effectively reproduces in the 'living present' the illusion of fixed identity, including one's consciousness of that identity category and the corollary of the offeree's similar, albeit symbolically dominant and therefore asymmetrical, expectation. The presently synthesized act of serving a cup of coffee in one's office, premised as it is upon conscious yet passive expectations of its experiential past, causes the "active syntheses of memory and understanding [to be] superimposed upon and supported by the passive syntheses of imagination" (Deleuze 1994:71). In other words, the intuitive self-perception embodied in SW10's conscious reflection about the essential meaning of serving refreshments to a male colleague is itself a form of resistance that can produce change 'from state A to point B'. The results disrupt the self-contained vocabulary of stasis and equilibrium in the objective structure of the field of play in neoliberal organizations.

The project data reveals similar field practices which, for some, are understood to effectively resist or, at the very least, ameliorate intersectional oppressions found in otherwise prevailing managerial patriarchies (Dick 2008, Belanger and Edwards 2013, Yarborough 2010, Fleming, and Spicer 2003). To illustrate, SW12, a female manager in one college visited presents a strategic and arguably dominant approach to role play:

[...] you can use gender in a way that can sort of fulfill that role on more of a personal level. [...] if I feel that somebody wants or needs to be nurtured or given more like caring or [...] nurturing type of feedback, I can play that role versus if someone is more responsive to, I guess, being more stern in a certain context or needing a bit more of what a stern persona, I can also play that role as well. I think gender is very fluid and it applies different based on different scenarios and context, and with different people [...] in order to get the result as quickly as possible.<sup>231</sup>

In a feminist appropriation of Bourdieu's theory of practice, 'nurturing' is an affective and relational expression of 'emotional capital', embodied through a variety of cultural and social frames. Over the past two decades, emotional capital has been the subject of an expanded, more culturally integrative appreciation of what had been traditionally regarded as particular to biomedical and psychological discourses (Zembylas 2007, Ahmed 2004, Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990, Williams 2001, Barbalet 1998, Lupton 1998, Reddy 2001). From a post-Bourdieuian, feminist standpoint, nurturing practices in the field serve to mediate between the objective structure replete with the doxic orchestrations of the workplace setting and the "biographical understanding we attach, through the habitus, to our affective experiences" (Zembylas 2007:446, Probyn 2004). The societally accepted exchange value of emotion - which embraces the exploitative capacity to be

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<sup>231</sup> Differing viewpoints exist as to whether men or women are more capable of manipulative (and, to that extent resistant) gender practices in the field (van Emmerik 2006, Bern 1974, Burt 1997, Addis and Mahalik 2003). However, there is general agreement that the moderating influence of nurturing behaviours deployed as a self-regulated form of impression management in either dyadic or larger social situations in the work environment can be, in certain circumstances, a compellingly heuristic device of resistance and control (Robledo, et. al. 2015, Azjen 1991, Reay 2000, 2004b, 2015, Reay and Ball 2005, Cottingham 2016, Ridgeway 2011). With the right support networks in place, the ultimate product can trigger movement from 'state A to point B' in the greater design of organizational initiatives and policies that generate capital accumulation and, ultimately, socio-economic value to everyone affected. According to Threadgold (2019:41), there are always "hidden profits of individual actions [...] entrenched in an affective economy, where one's aspirations will be in relationship to possible fulfilment through relations of social homology and social closure".

nurturing in appropriate social situations can be understood within the framework of an “affective economy” in a workplace environment (Zembylas 2007:445) and therefore as a socially imbricated instrument of capital accumulation.<sup>232</sup> In a Marxist framework, nurturing ability in the neoliberal culture of the modern college workplace can be understood not merely in terms of its use-value or salient usability but also in terms of its existential worth and the career increments into which it can be exchanged (its ‘exchange-value’). Once transcendent neoliberal ideology becomes a “universal equivalent” (Zembylas 2007:445) against which everything in our lives is measured, the material reality of real-world utility - the internecine struggles of the typical college employee - is devoured by its own implosion.

### **(e) The Exchange Value of Nurturing**

Nurturing was a frequent discussion point raised during the interviews. The survey specifically asked respondents whether they thought their nurturing skills were valued by their employers when those skills were utilized in the workplace. A total of 61.5% felt they received positive feedback at least half the time or greater. However, of the 137 respondents who said they received approval most of the time or always, 68% were women compared to 31% males. The ratio demonstrates the positive value, attributed preponderantly to female managers, who display nurturing behaviours in the workplace whilst similar practices from their male counterparts appear to be significantly less capable of capital accumulation. Supervisory males in the heavily male-populated facilities management / operations sector of the colleges visited confided that nurturing behavior toward their employees could be regarded as “gay” and potentially offensive. In contrast, a female manager in the same role, with a similarly populated environment at another large college noted her impression that employees very much appreciated the “nurturing skills [she] brought from home” Such accounts are potent reminders of the pervasiveness of both descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes in the field.

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<sup>232</sup> Arguably, to individuals, sufficiently practiced in the embodied performance of nurturing (Emmerling, et. al. 2012), and who are willing to execute its concomitants whilst playing the game, capital accumulation triggers a Houdini-like unshackling out of what could be an otherwise socially subordinated and intersectionally oppressive ‘structural hole’.

Earlier, an allusion was made to the implicit risks associated with appreciating the concept of ‘nurturing’ as a dimension of emotional capital and then perceiving emotional capital as an affective, albeit manipulative, extension of gender capital. Boler (1999:176, 190) points to the implicit gendered bias toward the relegation of nurturing behaviours to merely supportive functionality. It is socially unjust, she argues, to regard the discourse of emotion within the deterministic habitus of traditional gender roles. Such a discourse is theoretically imbued with an inherent tendency toward epistemic vulnerability and oppression (1999:179,182) which, as a consequence, according to Boler’s theory of *critical pedagogy*, (1999:197) requires both resistive and radical feminism and even mandates the organizational discomfort of utter subversive destabilization (1999: xvii).<sup>233</sup>

#### **(f) Costly Tactics**

Earlier in this dissertation, the inherent plasticity of Bourdieu’s habitus is discussed as well as the notion that agency implies a relative degree of freedom despite history and its implicit psycho-social parameters inevitably determined by the habitus. In a Bourdieusian *oeuvre*, there always the shared *illusio* of the field (Bourdieu 1990:195) - the innovative freedom of regulated improvisations – the self-evident *modus vivendi* in engaging the subjectively constructed calculations of the game. Aarseth (2017:12) suggests that:

Bourdieu’s notion of *illusio* offers a tool for grasping the different formations of anxieties and desire that emerge in and in turn incite particular engagements with the world, an affective dynamic underlying the enchantment with the game.

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<sup>233</sup> Building on Boler’s observation, Paulo Freire (2018:47) argues that in order to “surmount the situation of oppression, people must...critically recognize its causes”. And, in that conscience-raising awareness, Freire cautions against armchair conscientization by which pathways to less oppressive structures are accepted as adequate responses to perceived social injustice. Passive affirmation of an individual’s right to challenge the patriarchy of hierarchal gender roles in a historically neoliberal and postcolonial context “do(es) nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality” [and] amounts to little more than “a farce” (2018:50). Freire champions “the radical requirement” to assiduously restructure “the concrete situation [referred to by Boler, above] which begets oppression” (2018:50, 66).

SW10 resisting the nurturing urge to serve coffee in one's office is a leadership transformation of the transposable habitus on behalf of those who follow. Inevitably, we are transactional and capital accumulating agents in the struggled interplay of the field whose presentation strategies are engaged, by choice, in the pursuit of 'hidden profits' (Aarseth 2016). In other words, as SW12 suggests, "to get the result as quickly as possible". A survey respondent wrote that:

At times I use 'masculine' dominance to get responses from other areas or to bad (sic) up staff in challenging situations. I don't see the supportive, nurturing, coaching or collaborative aspects of what I do as particularly 'feminine', but I do these too (T1).

Slightly over 54% of the survey respondents, more than two-thirds of whom were women, agreed that gendered skills are an important tool for accessing leadership positions in their administrations; 37% agreed that 'masculine' gender presentations were the key to top-down recognition compared to only 20% who maintained that 'feminine' practice was the entry ticket to vaunted structural networks for career aspirants. The T1 survey text question asked respondents to describe aspects of their lives that seemed to be the most 'gendered' and while family responsibilities were foremost, variations on workplace roles - especially for women - were the responses in second place. They include the following:

- Taking time off to care for a child leaving work on time to pick up from daycare/cook/clean  
Managing the kitchen space in the office
- My work life is the most "gendered" aspect of my life
- Leadership style, career stereotyping, conservative gender roles at work and in the community
- Wardrobe. There is an expectation that women dress professionally, which includes dresses and heels
- The way that I interact with people at work is probably the most gendered, in that there are certain men in authority here who behave a certain way and I have a sense that if I behave more "female" with them, I will have little credibility. At the same time, there are many women working here and we tend to act pretty "female" together.



When it came to using gender as 'capital' (Huppatz 2009) to achieve workplace goals it was women again who were far more forthright than men in responding to the survey questions. Considering question T2, an inquiry about using 'gender' to achieve a specific objective, male and female, some respondents said:

- I think mostly, as I work in human resources, to take on the nurturing and understanding role that employees look for
- I relate well to people one-on-one, and my warmth, sincerity and integrity is well rewarded with my external clients - fulfilling the objectives of my role. However, those same attributes are not valued within the internal hierarchy. In fact, they're likely viewed as weak
- Often I can tell when I'm brought to a meeting or function in an attempt to attract new partners (as a young(er) female). I play a part in this expectation to an extent
- I find women are better at relationship building and I find that's the key to my success at work
- My professional background is in a female dominated profession. I have directly experienced social stigmatization for being male. In my most recent role as a manager I am often the subject of 'jests' or comments that directly relate to gender such "you wouldn't understand; you're a guy" or "this doesn't affect men". Men receive social messages, both overt and covert, that are harmful to their mental health as well. As a male manager when I have sought out support for a variety of issues I have been told to 'suck it, your (sic) a guy and can handle it'. While these experiences do not help me to achieve a specific goal I generally know from whom I can expect such comments and am able to prepare for meetings where male gender may not be as appreciated.

One interesting, common thread that can be extracted from the foregoing is the uneven and at times tenuous paths with which individuals must contend in their attempts at workplace transitioning of gender performances. What Bourdieu would term the 'bodily hexis' or what Foucault might describe as the 'anatomical politics' of the human body tends to reflect long-standing societal expectations of family-derived, nurturing docility for women even as they transition to the different demands of the workplace where they aspire to leadership positions. Conversely, the same precept applies to traditional, heteronormative archetypes of masculinity for men even as they cautiously attempt to reveal a softer side by reaching out for emotional support from their workplace colleagues. The prevailing stasis imposed by a change resistant cultural hegemony imposes structural constraints that lead to psychological suffering which is, of course,

in Bourdieu's typology, a form of symbolic violence. There is an emotional and psycho-social price to be paid for the workplace roles we try to assume and the respect we attempt to garner when those efforts fall outside traditional expectations. As Acker (1990, 2006) shows us, bureaucratic organizations - despite plenary policies promoting gender neutrality - are very much gendered and a substantial and convertible cache of gender capital is often required to navigate the related systemic obstacles to career success or, at least, security and satisfaction.

Arguably, traditional middle-class social ideology characterizes the role of women in families as the bearers of children and "the makers of men" (Garrett 2009:152) who, in the mythopoetic stereotype, went to work daily to support their wives and children. John Goldthorpe (1983) argued that all members of a nuclear family held identical positions with regard to social class. But because men had the opportunity to become the main familial providers, the prospect of upwardly transitioning class position was available based upon their economic contributions to the household and the greater community. Men's work led to leadership roles, highly valued within the economy, while the wives remained at home to support their husbands by taking care of the family home and by raising and nurturing their children. Bourdieu did not disagree. In *Masculine Domination* (1990), he suggested that this performance of domination "assumes a natural, self-evident status through its inscription in the objective structures of the social world". Over time, and as agents follow the doxa of the game in the field, these objective structures evolve and eventually "become embodied and reproduced in the habitus of individuals" (McNay 2000:37). Haslanger (2012) describes "the pattern of social relations that constitute the social classes of men as dominant and women as subordinate" (2012:228) with the result "that women [were] oppressed, and [...] are oppressed as women" (2012:231). Rosener (1990:124) notes that "[u]ntil the 1960s, men and women received different signals about what was expected of them" as if to suggest that those days are now an historical artifact. But, in fact, little has changed; Rosener admits that as recently as the 1990's even a woman's ordinary enthusiasm toward her workplace role:

can sometimes be misunderstood. In conservative professions [higher education being an example] such an upbeat leadership style can be interpreted as cheerleading and undermine one's credibility [...] One of the women [interviewed by Rosener] acknowledged that her colleagues don't understand or like her leadership style and have called it 'cheerleading' (1990:124)

Even today, Fernando and Cohen (2014:136) have found that women transitioning to the workplace are often expected to align their gender presentations with prevailing societal notions of femininity or what the researchers describe as “respectable femininity”. The difficulty, of course is that In fact, what society has characterized as stereotypically ‘feminine’, much like local currency, often finds itself subject to institutional devaluation as is demonstrated in the dissertation findings. The troubled path to career advancement is therefore often fraught with disquieting identity compromises that one must endure if organisational success is the strategic goal (Kolb, 1992). In terms of the intersection of gender and class, Aguilar, et. al. (2016:133), citing Wright (1992:47) offers the suggestion that “the interaction between class and gender exists, but only at a concrete level. In other words, class structures are shaped by gender relations solely in a circumstantial, material sense [and] it is only at that concrete, circumstantial level that gender shapes other class-related phenomena, such as class consciousness and collective action.”

Drawing on the foregoing from a materialist perspective, Bourdieu did not view the value of the social capital women were capable of producing as homemakers as transcending an adjectival role in the evolution of the cultural ecosystem (Bourdieu 1985:724, Watkins 1985).<sup>234</sup> Yet women, *en masse*, progressed into the labour force of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kemp, et. al. 1990, Colley and Buliung 2016), by eventually stowing their ‘aprons’ (Lipman-Blumen 1972:34-42) and placing their children in daycare (Kubata 2017) in an attempt to compete with men’s labours in the collective participation force. However, they brought forward the habitus of individually embodied behavioural expectations primarily based upon traditional notions of gender (Shakeshaft, 1993). The result is that, while women aspiring to college leadership positions are expected to demonstrate authority that elicits respect and compliance (Kelly 2020, Hennessey, et. al. 2014, Adams and Ferreira 2009), they are also expected to display a generous enough measure of caring and nurturing behaviours so that gender archetypes remain static (Orser, et. al. 2011, Shaked, et. al. 2018). Relationally, these archetypes are, as Aguilar suggests above, unassailably linked to notional class structures.

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<sup>234</sup> Yang (2020:319) points out that the essence of Parsonian structural-functionalism, a popular conceptualization of sex-role theory in the immediate post WWII years, was that “socializing agencies like families and schools, initiate boys and girls to conform with and ultimately internalize, different and complimentary roles, such as a career-oriented, masculine role and a domestic, feminine role”. Bourdieu’s theory of the *habitus* to a large extent aligns with this characterization.

In terms of symbolic interaction, Goffman (1959:72) suggests that these gender practice dualisms can be confounding with occasional negative results. For example, a female manager in a northern Ontario college made this observation:

... we had a senior manager who was a female here recently [and] there were several male deans and chairs under her, so she was their superior, but [...] they did not really respect her. She tried to manage through nurturing [...] She would even bring them food and serve people rather than really truly claiming authority [...] I don't think they were respecting her at all for doing that or respecting her decisions (NW2).<sup>235</sup>

The disrespect may even elicit physical discomfort thereby inhibiting goal-oriented interpersonal commensurability in either dyadic or team settings. The bodily hexis-habitus is linked to the concept of 'practice', which, according to Bourdieu (2006:88) is "the space of the dialectics of the structures and hexis-habitus" (Bourdieu, 2006: 88), in other words, systems of permanent dispositions located in individual bodies. For example, it came as little surprise to hear a female manager suggest that "there are many females [...] I can think of who act in masculine ways or in certain environments, feel they need to take on more masculine ways in order to show their power" (NW1), practices learned as children from observing their own fathers. This is consistent with the findings of Eagly, et. al. (1995:126) who discovered that women fortunate enough to advance to leadership roles previously held by men and who choose to manage in a nutritive, compassionate manner are often the subject of "prejudiced evaluations and lowered effectiveness" when compared to those women who, instead, adopt a more traditionally autocratic leadership style.<sup>236</sup>

Cheng (1996) proposes that women who pertinaciously resist the inevitability of career atrophy by choosing to adopt androcentric governance modalities tend to be successful in the performance of

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<sup>235</sup> Goffman (1976:3) notes that "how a relationship is portrayed through ritual can provide an imbalanced, even distorted, view of the relationship itself. When this fact is seen in the light of another, namely, that displays tend to be scheduled accommodatively during an activity so as not to interfere with its execution, it becomes even more clear that the version ritual gives us of social reality is only that – not a picture of the way things are but a passing exhortative guide to perception".

<sup>236</sup> These findings are contradicted by Fiaz, M., et. al. (2017) whose research found that in emerging economies, an "(a)utocratic leadership style is found to be more dominant and exhibits significant negative relationship with employees' motivation, whereas democratic and laissez-faire leadership styles are shown to positively predict motivation of employees".

their roles (Kawakami, et. al. 2000, Ly 2007, Cosby-Hiller 2012, Fleming 2014, Billing 2011).<sup>237</sup> It brings to mind Morley's (2011) caution that gender relations in academic management means far more than mere positional access.<sup>238</sup> NW2, a female manager, explained:

NW2: Gender privilege is in full operation. Again, it's like I say – it's not that the women can't [get] ahead but it's what happens when they get there too.

ROG: What does that mean?

NW2: It's, again, when I talked about how [women's] decisions are not treated in the same way or they may eventually need to go away, or they may not be effective in that role.

She added:

Privilege isn't about formal structures. Privilege is a very subtle thing. It's about people walking in the same space but walking in a different space. So, the person that can stand up and say something, and [if] it's a woman president, male privilege means what she says is not taken seriously. It's the same thing as white privilege. I, as a white person, have all sorts of privilege that's not obvious. It's almost invisible (NW2).

This narrative underscores the identity conflict women routinely face in the social construction of their workplace roles (Karelaia and Guillen 2014:204-205). As Janssen (2010:11) observed earlier, the challenge with which women must contend in these situations is the seemingly incessant compunction to redefine one's subjective identity within the objective framework of an increasingly neoliberal managerialist paradigm. If a female leader resists the nurturing stereotype and pays the price for social legitimacy through mimesis and induction to male hegemonic orchestrations, she is

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<sup>237</sup> But often there is a conflictual and therefore stressful price to be paid for the choice (Ly 2007). Erving Goffman (1959) characterizes the social reality of this double-bind gender presentation conundrum as 'dramaturgical' and most often a matter of "impression management within the establishment" (1959:242). And, as one female leader put it, "[i]t's awful in some ways and some ways I hate the fact that I can't be genuine sometimes .." (NE7), or, expressed by another female manager, the "need to take on more masculine ways in order to show [...] power" (SW14). There is the subtle connotation of compelled inauthenticity in a female leader's group and even dyadic interactions.

<sup>238</sup> Hamilton, et. al. (2019:334) argue that "(w)omen's efforts to navigate for personal and group gain help uphold the matrix of domination. When these women leverage their privileged intersectional locations to exercise power over others, they engage in forms of intersectional domination that have damaging consequences for people of color, in particular."

regarded as being “insufficiently nice” (Rudman 2001:742). Conversely, if she portrays a softer side and brings nurturing skills from home to construct her own social performance of organizational leadership, it becomes much more difficult for her to wield authority, earn respect, and drive the institutional vision and mission.<sup>239</sup> The subjective conflict arising from these gender stereotypes and the negative implications for career progress can be carceral and overwhelming.<sup>240</sup>

A female interviewee noted that nurturing female leaders “are the women who get things done, but are denied agency, are not taken seriously, and if we object or feel passionately about a topic, we're 'emotional' (SE5). It was SW10’s opinion that in being “nice” through ordinary nurturing gestures, she subordinated herself:

I’m a little bit nurturing that way, am I nurturing that way because I’m a woman? Does it stem from being a woman that you want to nurture people? ... I [had a] habit of being so used to providing food and drinks to everyone [at meetings] ... so I pulled back from doing it ... and then I stopped ... I didn’t have a coffee maker in my office anymore which it has helped, but I stopped doing it ... because I found a couple of things ... I realized that ... maybe those men at the table weren’t taking it the way I was ... Have I put myself in a lower position by doing it? So, I stopped doing it.

The foregoing points to the argument that “the integration of women in leadership roles is not a matter of ‘fitting in’ the traditional models, but [instead] ‘giving in’ the opportunities for them to practice their own leadership styles” (Trinidad and Normore 2004:575). This represents a challenge not only in the Ontario college system but in organizations across the nation developing proactive measures and policies to flatten their predominantly gender-based hierarchies. Processually, they must contend with the heteronormative micropolitics embedded in workplace social structures that

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<sup>239</sup> This, indeed, justifies viewing the obvious conflictual problematics involved through an intersectional lens. “The role that cultural ideals of womanhood play in binding axes of oppression, the costly tactics women in powerful positions use to navigate the matrix of domination, and women’s role in upholding multiple forms of oppression are all obscured [...] without an intersectional approach [because otherwise] it is difficult, if not impossible, to recognize cultural ideals of womanhood and efforts to achieve these ideals as tools of oppression wielded by some women for personal gain” (Hamilton, et. al. 2019:334).

<sup>240</sup> Theoretically, the hexis habitus “unnecessarily limits the possibilities of thinking of gender as a form of multiplicity that is both internally and externally differentiated” (Linstead and Pullen 2006:1287). In other words, in keeping with Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) rhizoanalytic model (Masny 2013), these typical social constructionist binaries arguably inhibit the conceptualization of gender identity from more encompassing and multiple paradigms of immanence, intensity and consistency.

have been traditionally inhabited by men, or as discussed above, those few women who more recently have taken it upon themselves to mimic the habitus of aggressive and successful male leaders as defining role models (Trinidad and Normore 2015, Appelbaum and Shapiro, 1993, Gold 1996, Jamieson 1995, Grogan 1994).

### **(g) Nurturing as Social Capital**

An agent's innate nurturing ability is a gender attribute which, as discussed earlier, particularly in an academic setting, is often amenable to conversion into valuable social capital (Bass 1985, 1990, Bass and Avolio 1993, Coleman 1988, Leithwood, et. al. 2001, Piccolo and Colquitt 2006). Indeed, some studies purport to show that leader humility has a salutary effect on organizational performance (Ou, et. al. 2015). The contention is that humble leaders increase respect from subordinates. Some managers find such an identity presentation deeply satisfying. For example, NW2 said:

I mean I like to be nurturing. So, I mean when I'm my workplace, we're all nurturing with each other. Like I said, we take care of each other. I love bringing people food because I like to cook. And I love seeing them eat the food and I want to take care of them emotionally if they're upset or hurt or anything. So, that's just what I would want to do.

However, it should be mentioned that Eagly, et. al. (1995) conducted a study from which they concluded that while men and women are equally effective in the duties and responsibilities associated with leadership roles, leaders whose gender presentation is in conformity to popular stereotypes tend to elicit more positive interaction with subordinates. In other words, as discussed earlier, "social role expectations influence leader effectiveness" (Kawakami, et. al. 2000:50).

The survey respondents in the study occupying mid-level managerial positions in the administrative hierarchy are considered 'leaders' but many find themselves subordinated to relatively smaller domains within their own tertiary departments of a much larger organization. Generally, however, they did not express aspirational intentions toward higher executive levels in their institutions

which would undoubtedly take more time away from their families. In the discussions held, there was a sense that, in terms of career advancement, they had achieved about as much as could be expected, given their gender. Many suggested that, to climb any higher, one needs access to political connections and external support which most of the interviewees lacked. This is consistent with Boler's observation that social injustice is not "naturally" self-correcting. Instead, it is those in field networks who either control or at least benefit from socially unjust structures such as the 'old boys' network' who have the seemingly unchallenged power to change these structures (1999:183). The unfortunate consequence is that remediating social injustice becomes a "long, and ongoing...struggle" (1999:183).

Approximately 72% of the women surveyed located a congruence between their gender and the skills associated with their workplace roles. Moreover, 67% of the women believed they were doing the kind of job they were intended to do. This statistic uncovers the reality of the 'doxa' and 'illusio' explicated in Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* (1977). These ontological principles illuminate Bourdieu's theory of the reproduction of social inequality within given fields of play. The doxa are unwritten, unspoken and, owing to the natural characteristics of the habitus, often preconscious rules about how the game is played in the field. The 'illusio' is the unquestioning belief in the game being played within a field. The survey results and interview narratives underscore the salience of Bourdieu's theoretical precepts.

Elsewhere, the notion was introduced that, in a Weberian bureaucracy, individual interests and self-identities are necessarily subsumed by the inner homogeneity and primacy of the organization's structural protocols in furtherance of its goals. Female manager SW2 observed that "staff are cast into scripts, and they are expected to play their parts whether they like it or not". When asked to illustrate the point she said: "If I look at the facilities department, it's all men. If I look at front line support staff, it's all women [...] The I.T. department, mostly guys. human resources, mostly girls. That's the way the administration here wants it to be done and, yeah, that's the way it's gonna be". In such an environment, Adorno (1991) reminds us that, inevitably, the greater goal of



organizational sustainability often requires the subjugation of individual interests; as SW2 concluded: “People are still doing the jobs that society said they should be doing”.<sup>241</sup>

The survey text responses frequently focused on the idea that gender equality in leadership matters because it works against bureaucratic, neoliberal expansionism and control over administrative supervision (Bakonyi 2018) and one participant wrote:

Yes, it matters. At my organization, the top level is male-dominated and there tends to be more competition, more performance, and less collaboration. This has an impact on the organizational performance (T3).

And another survey participant’s open-ended comment introduced a toxic element:

Yes. Traditional toxic masculinity - and its performance by women and men - is rewarded at the highest level [...] Often projects and initiatives fail [...] because of male egos [...] These gendered expressions cannot be separated from the neoliberal capitalist dynamics in which the [college system] is operating (T3).

Despite the social obstacles suggested by the foregoing and, consistent with the ideas of Weber and others above, both men and women in some organizational capacities do successfully employ nurturing postures.<sup>242</sup> They do so to accrue gender capital leading to a measure of job security - if not necessarily career progress measured in terms of power and authority. They do it through field practices such as a male respondent’s attention to “organizing empathizing, consensus building, listening, facilitating, coordinating, [and] detail focusing” (T1), to bring about transformative

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<sup>241</sup> Foucault (1979), Mitchell (1991, 2002) and Taussig (1999), among many others, postulate that, in a Weberian bureaucracy, the structural architecture is routinely misrecognized because it is consensually understood as being the correct way of doing things; in other words, the structure is a knowledge-ignorance amalgam, the bureaucratic functionality of which is to ultimately subsume the social to the dominant managerial rationality (Bakonyi 2018). Sociologist Elin Diamond (1997) categorically resists the neoliberal adoption of male symbolic mimesis. A closer examination and critical analysis of the project interviews and survey responses reveals the post-Foucauldian conceptualization of “provocative resonance for resistant practice” (1997:126).

<sup>242</sup> Hubbard, et. al. (2016:136) conducted structural equation modelling research in which they found a “positive relationship between agentic prosocial benevolence such as ‘conscientiousness’ and nurturing behaviours in more predictable, less complex managerial workspaces”. However, Deniz Ones reports that in a Harvard University quantitative synthesis of managerial workplace research, ‘conscientiousness’, was invariably viewed as a valued personality trait. But, as a nurturing behaviour, it is less reliably linked to those individuals in management who occupy more complex, executive positions in which there are less conventional and more likely ambiguous performance indicators (see: Ones (2020:53-55)).

change and to achieve organizational and even personal goals such as “getting the salary that I want, [and] being able to ask for my worth” (T1). A female survey respondent wrote: “I fall into the role of caregiver, watching out for people’s emotions, being careful to ensure that people feel respected....by me and by others”. In her interview, a female manager in one of the colleges I visited summed-up the transformative element of nurturing with a note of optimism, mindful of the relative success of women whose gender presentations tend to incorporate the foregoing when she mentioned that:

I think we’re on the right path [...] I think women are filling more senior roles. Women are taking on more responsibilities than they have been in the past [...] the more that women have representation in those types of roles and the more they’re communicating with their female and male audiences, the more that will come over time (NE1).<sup>243</sup>

As Threadgold (2019) suggests, the hidden profit in an affective economy driven by the concomitants of nurturing appears to be directly attributable to highly relational nature of social networking. Just as it sustains and reproduces the ‘old boys’ network’, the same can work for women. “When you ask successful leaders what single habit helped them most in their career advancement, the response is overwhelmingly networking” (Berberick, et. al. 2017:94) and its politicization which can be understood in terms of a discourse of power and moreover a collective strategy of resistance. Power on a systemic level comes in numbers and that power can lead to social change. A female interviewee put it this way: “You need ambition, absolutely. You need hard work and tenacity. You need to be social, I think, and be out there and speaking to different departments, volunteering for committees, kind of being known within the college” (NE1). Nurturing behaviours, as demonstrated, can be a useful strategic tool but to engender system change one needs to go beyond the dyadic and to reach across to others in other structural holes in order to gain authority and the power to influence intra-organizationally. Nurturing is a culturally constructed social script more closely associated with the workplace practices of women occupying medial positions in college administrations than with men.

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<sup>243</sup> Marinakou (2014:8) conducted a qualitative study of female managers that supports this view: “... [F]emale managers [...] are trying to change today’s management culture and style. [...] they provide a more nurturing and accommodating environment [...] they listen to their staff, they respect their opinions, and they discuss any problems at work. In this way, they encourage a team-based management style that generates more mentoring opportunities for employees through the environment and the working climate.

Conceptualizations of nurturing behaviours are inextricably linked to gender performativity and robust external pressures to conform to societal expectations. But, as pointed out earlier, men sometimes do choose to depart from the androcentric, heteronormative framework of organizational power. They become aware of the multiplicities unique to their own masculinities. Accordingly, they may attempt to adopt agentive, chameleonic constructs comprising theoretically non-patriarchal (and arguably utopian) identities that result in managerial practices some might describe as ‘feminized’ or ‘nurturing’. The obvious difficulty with the foregoing, found in this study, is that the “predominance of men in positions of power enshrines the [traditional] masculine approach. Within this mindset, anyone with a more feminine approach would likely be disadvantaged whereby appraisals may be influenced by gender and not by facts” (Trinidad and Normore 2004:584). Therefore, it should not be surprising that what follows is the more likely portrait of symbolically dominant and androcentric practices of gender capital through the lived experiences of males.

#### **8.4 The Social Value of Homophilous Networks**

Many references were made by interviewees to shadow structures lurking beneath the surface of the college system in Ontario. Most frequently mentioned is the so-called ‘old boys’ network, a phenomenon discussed extensively throughout this dissertation. It is a prime example of Burt’s structural holes concealed in the core of the Province’s college administrative hierarchy and it is a place where, according to Allen (2000), women still hit the ceiling with a hard stop. Here, gender capital accrues to males (West and Zimmerman 1987). The persistent homologous reproduction of this traditional form of homophily (Lovett and Lowry 1994) speaks volubly to its enduring organizational value. Connell (1987) might refer to the phenomenon as a potent illustration of *hegemonic masculinity* which Jewkes and Morrell (2012:40) define as:

[A] set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men’s identity, men’s ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy.

Historically, access to and membership in these socially bonding homophilic networks significantly potentiated an agent's capital accumulation (Hogan et al., 2005) primarily because, traditionally, their unique structural equilibrium consistently offers a reliable source of social capital (Bilinovic and Sokolowska 2016, Boucher 2015). Value is measured in terms of organizational power and influence structurally aligned with inter and intra-network mobility. That ideologically pandered mobility enhances contact accrual and an expanded source of career opportunities with elevated job status. Finally, membership in the 'club' means entitled deference emanating from those excluded from the club (Lin, 2001) who find themselves locked into subordinated and intersectionally dominated networks.

Earlier Chapters were devoted to a comprehensive discussion of these structural holes or networks of exclusivity built upon gender privilege and driving systemic intersectionalities. A male interviewee observed that, at his college, until recent years, "(m)ales tended to [exclusively] populate the top positions primarily, I would say probably 75%. I wouldn't say 'old boys' club' but a traditional club" (NE11) and another male at a different college confirmed the same at his school when he suggested "there was some of that, definitely" (NE8). One female interviewee thought that, at least on the surface, "the 'old boys' club is out the door. But we still have our males in the wrong role". A male manager, from a different college, was of the same view:

There truly was an 'old boys' club - an 'old boys' club and their contacts and everything. I didn't know I was coming from outside when I started. And so, they were all at that same age they were all when I started six years ago, they were all 55 to 60 years old some of them were a little older and it was a slimy 'old boys' club (SE3).

However, the overwhelming majority of females who commented on the subject were convinced that the homophilic fraternity of the 'old boys' club persists even today and thrives unchallenged in their colleges. A female manager brought attention to the masculinity-validating privileges white males in leadership positions reserve for themselves. For example:

[T]hey all have front parking spots where all of us have trouble finding parking every day. So, there are small things like that that, from a leadership perspective, are thinking this is an “old school” way, and then a few of the ‘old boys’ that demanded these parking spots, and they wanted the ones closest to the door and ridiculous things like that at that level I think exists ... (NE3).

NW2 harboured no doubt about the existence of the ‘old boys’ club’ at her college:

NW2: Uh hmmm, there is an ‘old boys’ network. Despite the fact that there are many women running this place.

ROG: Can you talk about that?

NW2: There is a group of boys who are advancing, who are ambitious, and who keep moving around, gradually moving up the ladder even though we don’t know exactly what their abilities are, but they get by, I think, more on their supporting each other and their being men than anything else.

Nor did female manager, NE3, have any doubts about the stratified existence of these heteronormative, androcentric networks. She offered this description by suggesting that one might visualize wafts of smoke and

[...] stogies<sup>244</sup> in a boardroom and ‘We’re just going to make decisions here in our ivory tower and not talk about to anybody else out there what’s going on.’ That’s my vision of the old boys’ club. It doesn’t matter what you have to say [...] you’re not at the rank with us in that part of the club.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977:11) would say that people placed in incrementally authoritative and positions of stratification such as this “always tend to reproduce the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among those groups or classes, thereby contributing to the reproduction of the social structure” and the likely enhancement of class positions. Andes (1992:237) points out that the:

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<sup>244</sup> A ‘stogie’ is defined as “(a) slang term for any type of cigar, often used to describe cheap or roughly made cigars. The term comes from the long, thin cigars smoked by drivers of Conestoga wagons in the 1700s and 1800s.” See: *Cigar Aficionado* at <https://www.cigaraficionado.com/glossary/stogie>.

Incorporation of gender into stratification theories, in which gender is viewed as the social organization of relations between sexes, connects women's and men's positioning to sources and processes of stratification. Scott's definition of gender [...] one of the more precise and systematic explorations of the concept, views gender as a constitutive element of social relations and as a primary mode for relationships of power. Just as class relations are reflections of deeper processes of capital accumulation within capitalism, gender is used by feminists to refer to those visible signs of patriarchy [...].

Andes refers to feminist theorist Heidi Hartmann who suggests that two systems of stratification operate in a patriarchal bureaucracy like those investigated for this study. The first is based on gender and the second is the socially constructed architecture of class barriers based upon access to capital resources - influential social networks and hierarchal connections among them. As Hartmann (1979:13, Andes 1992:237) noted earlier in this dissertation, patriarchy is at the root of women who are dominated in the workplace.

This dominative phenomenon can be gleaned through the comments of several survey respondents. For example, one participant wrote that “although management is well represented by female, there is still a pervasive male/boys’ club attitude seen frequently in meetings and decisions” (T3). Another observed that “[t]here is an unspoken bias towards male leaders, their actions and the amount of respect they get [...] There is clear inequality” (T3). Another wrote that “managers, regardless of gender, are more successful if they exhibit those traits that would normally be associated with male culture” (T3). And still another wrote: “[a]s they say, ‘it’s a man’s world’. They have it all. We only have a place in it when we act like them” (T3). NW1 echoed the foregoing when she suggested that “there’s a perception or people can feel like there’s an old boy’s club. And so, I would say that it can be hard to break into that”. SW14 was asked what the ‘old boys’ network she identified at her college meant to her. She said,

It’s the power. It’s the power infrastructure. It’s the decision-makers and they’re closed group. They don’t – getting membership is not easy, and it’s not necessarily based on anything that outsiders understand.

Ryan and Mooney (2019:183) point to “the literature over the last two decades [problematizing] the enduring nature of internal promotion processes that sustain the historical pattern of vertical segregation: gendering upper-level management roles as masculine and male; while reaffirming the horizontal segregation of women in the less well-regarded operative positions, sex typed as roles allied to domesticity and feminine characteristics.” They argue that social class is almost invariably:

[...] conceptualized as reflecting privilege in ‘organizational hierarchies of power and reward’ (Acker, 2006b, p. 141). Thus, the relatively steep organizational hierarchy found in [bureaucratized organizations] is a visible occupational class hierarchy that over time has legitimated internal gendering processes and practices within organizations (Acker, 2006a,b). Occupational class (e.g. lower level managers, mid-level managers, senior-level managers) denotes different levels of power, resources and autonomy. For example [...] micro-level, cross-occupational class encounters (e.g. networking events), institutionalize and normalize individual and collective status characteristics in and through organizations as prevailing rules and practices (2019:186).

According to Foucault (1980:198), “[p]ower in the substantive sense, *the* power, doesn’t exist. What I mean is this. The idea that there is either located at — or emanating from — a given point something which is a ‘power’ seems to me to be based on a misguided analysis, one which at all events fails to account for a considerable number of phenomena. *In reality power means relations, a more-or-less organised, hierarchical, co-ordinated cluster of relations.*” Kimmel (2011:236) adds that “[o]ne must engage masculinity critically as ideology, as institutionally embedded within a field of power, as a set of practices engaged by groups of men.” And Bourdieu (2001 [1998]:53) has the last word about relational social structures such as the old boys’ club: “Manliness, it can be seen, is *an eminently relational concept*, constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity, is a kind of fear of the female, firstly in oneself.”

Most of the males interviewed were forthright about the existence of fraternal, collective alliances such as the ‘old boys’ club at their colleges. For example, SW7 pointed out that:

Historically there has always been a societal brotherhood of males [at his college]. There’s been a facility to be able to make misogynistic comments or to be able to feel

closer connection because you have something in common, namely a penis. And that brotherhood of males and that familiarity allows for a more comfortable conversation for others [...] I can feel that there's a connectivity from some of the male staff or some of the other male managers when they're talking to a man [...] versus a woman. And I don't know if that just pure language use or the brotherhood of males as I call it.

Male manager NE11 referred to the 'brotherhood' as "(m)en nurturing [...] men. Men mentoring men instead of mentoring [women] that have the [same] qualifications". And SW13 was categorical when he suggested that: "First and foremost is [...] an implicit, non-verbalized agreement that what we say within an all-male group is to stay or remain there, so nothing's to leave [...] Right? So that's the foundation of it".

Earlier, studies were offered to show that some women who are able to successfully penetrate the 'old boys' network to reach executive-level leadership positions in bureaucratic organizations but who fail to adopt the masculinized rules of the game tend to be regarded as mere tokens who may have achieved hierarchal positions superior to males but absent the credibility men take for granted in the same positions. "The club doesn't favor employees who simply work hard but keep their heads down. Rather, it divides those who are sponsored from those who are not" (Lang 2011:44). In that regard, a survey participant made this observation:

I see male privilege and female lack of privilege every day. We have male and female managers here, and the way that the men act and pursue advancement is very obvious. There is a gang of "boys" who do things their way [...] They clearly don't see nurturing behaviour as a credible form of leadership (T3).

It is not sufficient to conclude that women and other intersectional minorities socially located in the wrong networks but provided more liberal access to this white, class-barriered, boys' club will inure individuals to gendered benefits closely held by its members. Understanding the social processes involved is far more nuanced as is the flow of culturally embedded signals and information across



organizational networks. The research involved is beyond the scope of this dissertation and further, in depth, ethnographic study is required.<sup>245</sup>

## 8.5 Gendered Hegemonies

It is important to point out that, as a whole, and more than likely owing to the nature of their work environment, members of the sample population are well-educated. Slightly over one-half of the 284 respondents hold master's degrees or higher with annual household incomes of \$150,000.00 or more. In fact, none of the managerial participants earns less than \$100,000.00 annually and 90% of them have annual household incomes approximately twice to three times the provincial median according to the 2017 Ontario Census.

I raise the importance of these two variables, education, and income, at this juncture because the synergistic implication of both is the nascent incubation of neo-political awareness and engagement (Brady et al. 1995). The security and significant benefits of a collectivized, union-protected environment bolstered by higher levels of education and income tend to stimulate intellectual curiosity and proactive courage. Courage and stable determination are required to question and challenge the prevalence of masculinized gender scripts in the system (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004). What can emerge is committed feminist identities for whom the idea of collective resistance against gendered hierarchies is neither subversive nor anathema (Carter and Borch 2005). The notion is that patriarchies are inexorably reproduced when agents in the field accept the inevitability of traditional doxic orchestrations. In such an environment, no one questions the illusion of its naturalness. Connell (1987, 1995, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) offers the notion of 'gender order' to describe the indispensable (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848) complementarity between 'hegemonic masculinities' (discussed in Chapter 2) and what she describes as 'hegemonic femininities' (Connell 1987:183). The concept was later revised to '*emphasized femininities*' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848) in recognition of the deferential performances of women toward androcentric role models.

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<sup>245</sup> Such a follow-up project may be difficult because of the prevailing culture of secrecy prevalent in the Ontario college system and discussed at length in Chapter 7. But persistence undoubtedly will lead to the root causes involved and possibly systemic amelioration of the intersectional discrimination implicit in the 'old boys' network that demonstrates little sign of curtailment despite legislative and policy-driven initiatives.

Geraldine McCusker (2020:41) adds an arguably oppressive layer to the concept of 'hegemonic femininities' relevant to this dissertation. She observes that the " ... notion of a hegemonic feminism, privileging white, middle class and heterosexual women resonated with many women who [have] identified as feminist but not with [heterogeneous] categories" that include race and gender identities beyond mere binary classification (see also Harding et. al. 2012). For example, traditionally hegemonic femininity has never been in any way integrally associated with the alterity of the black lived experience. As Lorde [1984]2007:60] suggests: "Black Feminism is not white feminism in blackface. Black women have particular and legitimate issues which affect our lives as Black women and addressing those issues does not make us any less Black." The fact is that, where hegemonic femininity is practiced in the Ontario college system, it is often a strategically gendered performance by and for a very specific cohort that shares the common, disciplinary characteristics of race, sexuality, class and heteronormativity.

Ironically, as Collins (1990, 2004) suggested in Chapter 6, these performances, socially contextualized in the field, only serve to subordinate women along an axis of domination that is simply taken-for-granted as being natural or what Bourdieu would call the *illusio*. An example used frequently in this project is the demeaning persistence of the previously mentioned 'old boys' network' throughout the province's colleges. Undoubtedly, it is an expression of symbolic violence that perpetuates an asymmetrical gender script that unashamedly reproduces male hegemonic dominance (Duncan and Stewart 2007).

From a subordinate position along an axis of male domination, "some women perform deference to men embodying hegemonic masculinities while also engaging in the domination of everyone else" (Hamilton, et. al. 2019:316, Collins 2004:188). Elsewhere, there is reference to the so-called 'queen bee syndrome' including well-researched and documented examples of the phenomenon (Rajan 2002, Cooper 1997, Harvey 2018, Rogelberg 2017, Sobczak 2018). These studies show there is gender capital accrual in the conscious performance of identity subjectification: respect, protection, network membership and career advancement to name a few illustrations. There is also power in the domination of workers below. While it may only serve to sustain temporary individual needs, the obvious duality of hegemonic or emphasized femininity points to the long-term disadvantage

of the subordinate group being dominated by the dominatrix who, simultaneously accepts her own submissive position within a homophilic patriarchy as the price paid for capital accrual. Many survey respondents focussed on the idea that, generally, in leadership positions (which are political appointments and therefore *pro tem* the provincial government of the day), females routinely exhibit what is also referred to earlier in this Chapter as 'chameleonic' behaviour. From a perspective at the bottom but looking upward to capital accumulation through career advancement, a respondent wrote:

I often play into gender norms and stereotypes as a tactic [...] to move forward goals. Anything from clothing/accessories, to how I wear my hair to how assertive or demure I am being in personality. I have "played dumb" to get men to explain things to me while slowly coaxing them to believe my idea was their idea by asking strategically placed questions. [...] I have worn skirts and been very passive to appear non-threatening when negotiating [with males in] sensitive situations. Very few of my choices are not using my gender - because my gender is so often used against me - so it is always top of mind (T2).

Given the foregoing albeit viewed, instead from the top down, the gender performances of female managers overseeing subordinates, presents a resulting image that is lenticular. A female survey respondent said, "It is a masculine environment [...] and it pays to behave in masculine ways even if you are a women" (T3). And a male survey respondent added, "You gotta be masculine looking, sounding, acting. Even the women who get ahead have to act that way in order to get ahead"(T3). Another male survey respondent referred to the proliferation of the 'masculine' coiffure by females in the executive echelon which he called "Dyke Heaven"<sup>246</sup> (T3). A female survey respondent commented on the negative consequences of failing to adopt that gender posture:

I believe that the traditionally viewed 'feminine' traits of caring and service can enhance employee engagement and have positive effect on performance; however, in the traditional 'masculine' view of management, these traits are often interpreted as a weakness (T3).

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<sup>246</sup> An exploration of the concept of 'Dyke Heaven' (the word 'dyke' refers to a lesbian whose physical appearance in manner of dress, body ornamentation and preferred hairstyle, may sometimes, and to some people, assume traditional masculine characteristics) can be found in Grant, R. (1966). *Dyke Heaven*. New York: Imperial Publishers Ltd.

## 8.6 Toxic Masculinity

Several female interviewees opined about a peculiar brand of ‘toxic masculinity’ within the organization. It is exhibited by both men and women whereby they trade off ties with subordinated networks in return for individual benefits associated with greater access to vaunted power networks and indeterminate career advancement. The practice amounts to investment in femininity as a means of internalizing androcentric expectations for the purpose of achieving career goals even at the expense of gender subordination. But, as mentioned earlier regarding the ‘queen bee syndrome’, the same women who embrace this practice sometimes simultaneously engage in the intentional suppression of ‘nurturing behaviours’ in favour of masculinized and relatively unsympathetic gender presentations over their own subordinates. They mimic those above in their governance of those below. The bullied beget the bully. This inevitably produces minimal and temporary power-based capital accrual on an individual level while fully “accommodating the interests and desires of men” (1990:184).

In legal parlance, it is transactional: a contractual concession – a bought and sold “patriarchal bargain” (Kandyoti 1988) and the price paid is the marginalization of egocentric identity and an overarching sense of ‘false consciousness’ (Cowan 2000, Ringrose and Renold 2012). Its gendered performance is nothing more than mimetic iteration (Pyke and Johnson 2003) of an androcentric norm, the existential tool and dye of its own symbolic power over same-gendered peers and subordinates (Duerst-Lahti and Johnson 2016). Obviously, in such a highly educated milieu, the phenomenon is easily recognized for what it is by everyone, and, in the project investigations, it was not difficult to locate numerous detractors. A female survey respondent, apparently cognizant of what she described as the “schizophrenic” duality present in the gender postures women must navigate, wrote:

I think I'm expected to manage in a 'nicer' way. If I managed the way a male colleague did, I would be seen as too harsh, or direct. Having said that, we have males in positions of leadership who also manage similar to me, but they are viewed as just SO (*original emphasis*) easy to work with. Almost like it's a pleasant surprise (T3).

Interestingly enough, in the survey, male and female respondents were both evenly divided with regard to whether their career paths were 'gendered'. However, during their subsequent interviews several female participants suggested that the predominant gender presentation was overt, power acquisitive "masculinity", replete in the behaviours of females advancing to and in positions of authority. A female manager explained her response where she thought it "extremely" likely that power-driven gendered presentations of 'masculinity' prevailed in her work environment. In her follow-up interview, when asked about why she held that view, she replied that:

In order to progress in your career, you have to do many things [...] And masculinity - that bold approach - is certainly the most efficient way to get things done [...] From what I've noticed, high achieving females have a lot of masculine characteristics. It is that straight edge cutthroat "just get there" kind of approach. So, what I'm calling a more masculine approach [...] I think, is a main driver in the workplace ... (SW12).

Female manager, SW3 added that:

One of our most powerful people at this place is a woman who I think exhibits male leadership traits and she's a very hard person to work with. I don't know if it's because she's a woman and is very much with male, kind of stereotypically male leadership traits so I think that's the variation maybe.

That same variation translates into a power differential dependent upon gender presentation that was identified by male interviewee, SW11, in this discussion of masculine vs. nurturing leadership styles:

SW11: [...] the power differential is completely different.

ROG: So, there is a power differential?

SW11: Absolutely.

ROG: It's not egalitarian.

SW11: That's true.

Male interviewee, NE5, summed up the paradigm with this comment:

So, the women [...] gaining power behave in those classically masculine ways. They don't show vulnerability. They don't cry. They don't show weakness. They don't show that things bother them, and they have more power than those that do.

The idea that women mimic the androcentric norm in top-down governance for the deliberate purpose of power acquisition, capital accrual and career progression was repeated several times in the interviews. The practice recalls the discussion of mimesis in Chapter 5, the doxic orchestrations of Bourdieu and the concomitants of Burt's structural hole discussed in Chapter 6. A male manager echoed the sentiments of female manager SW 12, above, with his observation that, in his college, "one dean [...] consciously acts masculine. She tends to wear more suit type clothing [and] tends to be quite aggressive in the words she uses and the way she uses them. You would never see her do anything that would be considered soft".

Generally viewed by subordinate interviewees as an unsupportive approach, hegemonic or emphasized femininity, whilst capital accumulative, reflects obvious overtones of intersectional domination because it inevitably serves to "sustain, maintain and reproduce male power" (Crosby-Hillier 2012:96) albeit embodied in female agents. By mimicking the performance of the androcentric model in the service of patriarchy, women simply contribute to its sustenance. Figuratively, they throw female subordinates 'under-the-bus', leading one survey respondent to suggest that "[w]e would be stronger as a whole if we accepted the differences and also allowed people who don't fall within the typically gendered-roles to be themselves" (T3). In the capital-accumulating construction of social identities, hegemonic femininity only serves to reinforce the supremacy of heteronormativity.<sup>247</sup> The simulacrum of its false consciousness contributes to the symbolic and systematic annihilation of gender identity as we understand it (Poole 2012). In its pursuit "only the vertiginous seduction of a dying system remains, in which work buries work, in

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<sup>247</sup> There is a certain complementarity between masculine domination and hegemonic femininity. Schippers (2007:91) points out that "We can take this focus of relationality and identify other characteristics that define the relationship between women and men as complementary and hierarchical. As identified in the vast empirical literature on masculinities, hegemonic masculinity can include physical strength, the ability to use interpersonal violence in the face of conflict, and authority. These characteristics guarantee men's legitimate dominance over women only when they are symbolically paired with a complementary and inferior quality attached to femininity".

which value buries value—leaving a virgin, sacred space without pathways [...] where only the wind lifts the sand, where only the wind watches over the sand” (Baudrillard 1994:59).

There were numerous and consistent allusions to the theme of the capital accrual of gender power raised in the interviews and survey texts. The majority of references focus on the “many females [...] who act in masculine ways” or depending upon the social context, “feel they need to take on more masculine ways in order to show their power” (NW1) which then could be used as required for the accrual of gender capital, exchangeable in pursuit of individual goals. In the survey, 47% of the participants indicated that the display of gender-specific traits such as “masculinity” tend to enhance career progression compared to 31% who disagreed. Bourdieu reminds us that there is no such thing as a disinterested act and that everything one does is driven by self-interest, expressed agentively through the bodily hexis, often contextualized within the dynamic of a competitive structural field.

Peter Manning argues that, according to Goffman, working consensus about the meaning of self-interested behavioural inflections of an agent “is not guided or produced by individual motivations, values, norms or rules. It comes and goes as required, and it is not a stated purpose, end point or end of the interaction” (2008:680) and occasionally conflicts – overt or hidden – ensue which must be managed intersubjectively. As Goffman (1959) points out there are both front and back pages to interpersonal interactions.<sup>248</sup> These virtuosic, egocentric interactions contemplated by Bourdieu have been utilized by feminist scholars to develop the notion of gender capital in terms of capital accumulation strategies (see, e.g., Adkins, 2000). The two concepts are conflated in the following reflection offered by female manager NE4:

I don't want to say that the system is flawed, but when you are fighting from the bottom, you use whatever tactics you have, and my gender is a tactic because sometimes you play into what people expect of you to get your point across and

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<sup>248</sup> Morrill and Thomas (1992) refer to ‘backstage’ or covert organizational conflicts that tend to be non-rational and are best handled privately for successful resolution. Morrill’s research (1995:218) also found that where a staunch bureaucracy exists – such as, for example, in a patriarchal environment – conflict management tends to be “an affair set behind closed doors” and informally among peers. But where subordinates must voice their grievances with those at the executive level, there ensues a significant amount of ‘secret complaining’ and even ‘sabotage’. This suggests an interesting conflict paradigm where, as in the Ontario college system, those at the top tend to be men or women adopting an androcentric role model and those immediately below in middle management tend most of whom to be women. See, e.g., Kolb and Putnam 1992, Friedman 1995, Kolb and Bartunek 1992, Johnson 1992.

sometimes you do something unexpected to get attention and to get your point across. And I think that not just the way that I wear my – not just the way in which I present my person, but also the way in which I represent my personality [...] there are personality traits that I would say are more dormant that I only bring out on [male seductive] occasions, and there are others that I use more often, and you pick and choose. It's like you know your audience.

Here, the interviewee's obvious dramaturgical performances extirpate meaning in the name of capital acquisition. "And without a doubt this is a good thing: meaning is mortal. Appearances, they, are immortal, invulnerable to the nihilism. This is where seduction begins" (Baudrillard 1994:136). This is the anti-nihilistic power of resistance. Gender capital is a value-laden system of transposable dispositions, informed by the habitus, in the strife-ridden field of power relations (Bourdieu 1993). A female interviewee talked about "[o]ne of our most powerful people [...] is a woman who I think exhibits male leadership traits and she's a very hard person to work with" (SW3). And a male interviewee held the same view of his female college Dean:

So, this one Dean, to me, consciously acts masculine. She tends to wear more suit type clothing. She tends to be quite aggressive in the words she uses and the way she uses them. You would never see her do anything that would be considered soft.

At times the reflections upon their lived experiences by these and many other interviewees document one of the many complex challenges women continually face in trying to achieve career advancement in college administrations – the seemingly impossible task of presenting one's gender in a leadership role that inspires plenary respect along multiple axes without necessarily being influenced by the taken-for-granted rhythms of organizational allelomimesis or the strictures of Bourdieu's doxastic compliance.

The narratives reveal that women are obliged to acquire the *sens pratique* of the masculinist 'doxa' - the rules of the game which, attributable to their endless replicability and persistence, continue to appear as self-evident justifications of social value in a struggled, competitive and intersectional field of play. Bourdieu himself (2006:99-100) puts it this way:



The specific habitus, which is demanded of the new entrants [to the field] as a condition of entry, is nothing other than a specific mode of thought ... In reality what the new entrant must bring to the game is not the habitus that is tacitly or explicitly demanded there, but a habitus that is practically compatible or sufficiently close, and above all malleable and capable of being converted into the required habitus.

The implicit violence of phallogocentric symbolics within the managerial eco-system of college bureaucracies serve, reproduce, and perpetuate hetero-normative assumptions that systemically accord primacy to neoliberal conceptions of patriarchy. On the other hand, the subtle, potentially subversive characteristics of a social subject engaged in the creation of what Noble (2004) has identified as the 'cumulative being' signify a profoundly Foucauldian antidote to the doxic lens of institutional patriarchy. Gender capital has the potential to empower women, imbuing them with disruptive agency and the possibility of a challenging gauntlet thrown out to Billing's 'phantom' of the male norm.

## **8.7 Conclusion**

Does the practice of nurturing generate exchange value as gender capital in the Ontario college system? The answer seems to be, *'it depends'*. Data collected in this project shows that pervasive cultural ideologies surrounding the praxis of 'labour with feeling' (Hochschild 2012, Benesch 2018) are generally manifest in classic gendered performances structurally parametrized in workplace middle management. Likely more valued as social rather than gender capital among those in adjacent hierarchical levels, nurturing performances by any gender are certainly appreciated by many administrative colleagues. Yet they seem to be structurally consigned to a form of permanent stasis typified by modesty, cooperation, and a certain degree of virtuosic passivity from mid-level administrators inured to its practice (Marshall 1985, Slauenwhite and Skok 1991). These discursive identities (Cameron 2000) are appropriately tethered to isomorphic forms impression management (Goffman 1961, 1972). They are commonly associated with expressive caretaking and subordination, that are integral concomitants of nurturing. At intermediate managerial levels, these social harmonies remain valued by those aghast in the hierarchy even as more aggressive, neoliberal ideologies in public management churn through its institutional corridors.

The data shows that ascension up the hierarchal rungs of the Ontario college system remains most often led by masculine men<sup>249</sup> or masculinized women, the latter often disparagingly referred to as 'butch'. On the other hand, 'Fems'<sup>250</sup> of any gender need hardly bother expending the effort.<sup>251</sup> As mentioned earlier, the male practice of exhibiting the demonstrative signifiers of nurturing tends to be generally regarded as a limpid form of counter aggression likely to attract various shades of negativity in the workplace from both males and females. Males especially tend to construe any display of agentic resistance to masculinized, phallogocentric homophily as a threat. The doxic order that congeals vested group entrenchment typically implicates predominantly white and heteronormative 'old boys' social networks. The project participants repeatedly indicated that the 'old boys' are adept at resisting attrition within the system and their gendered, racialized networks are the medium through which the galvanic power of social capital flows as if it were electric current coursing through an interconnected supply grid (Peterson, et. al. 2000, Parks-Yancy 2010, Reingold 1999).

For the nurturers by nature, the attainment of an executive-level position in the system may involve stratagems at the cost to identity of eschewing prevalent socio-cultural perceptions of people-skills and all other characteristics typically associated with emotional capital. It seems that agents "... often have to dress and act "masculine" in order to be taken seriously as [being] competent and capable" (Kimmel, 2000:161). Sometimes, 'mother hens' osmotically transform themselves into the 'queen bees' in order to materialize their career aspirations. It follows that the pervasive resonance of patriarchal capitalism, with its concentration on roles and actions that esteem power, position, and corporate legitimacy, presents both individual and socio-cultural obstacles that tend to repel the deployment of emotional labour (Goleman 1996) as capital (Reay 2000) by any gender (Skeggs

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<sup>249</sup> Connell (1995:78) discusses the subordination of gay men in a heteronormative organizational environment. According to Connell, gay men embody what he refers to as 'subordinated masculinities': "Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole. Within that overall framework there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men. The most important case in contemporary European/ American society is the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men [...] Oppression positions homosexual masculinities at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men."

<sup>250</sup> The word "Fem" or "Femme" is a sexist slur that refers to males exhibiting stereotypical feminine behaviours from clothing to physical mannerisms that tend to be generally regarded as the opposite of masculine behaviour and prevailing heteronormativity (See, e.g., Bailey, et. al. 2013, Ellemers 2018, Bianchi 2014, Sterner and Telmlee 2017).

<sup>251</sup> Yang (2020:325) makes the point that "(h)egemonic masculinity dominates certain groups of men, notably gay men [...] These subordinate masculinities often have blurry boundaries with femininity. In addition, subordinate classes' and racial minorities' masculinities are marginalized. These marginalized masculinities provide exemplary images, such as black athletes, to be appropriated by the dominant group, as well as controlling images, such as "black men as rapists," which make white, middle-class masculinity appear more legitimate".

1997) at the executive levels of the organization. Helen Colley (2006:16) concludes and this Chapter demonstrates that women

[...] face much higher costs [...] than men: partly because the display of emotion is an integral expectation of gender stereotyped 'women's work' in caring and personal service [...], partly because of women's difficulty in escaping the socially constructed gendered role of nurturing others established early on in family life, and partly because women have to rely more on their emotional resources, lacking equity with men in economic, cultural, and social capital.

In some instances, we see the phenomenon of the interpersonal skills generally associated with nurturing practice retaining a positive micro-valence in terms of goal-conduciveness and exchange value. This is provided that goal-oriented behaviours are proscribed by the gendered doxa of mid-level college administration. Even that value diminishes significantly should one's career objectives ultimately include advancing to a seat in the executive boardroom (Bates 1994). Corporate, neoliberal trajectories have shifted power discourses in public management across the Province to a more assertive and potentially lucrative form of agentic managerialism with primary focus on whatever is determined as necessary to secure financial sustainability.

The consequence is that labour with feeling (Heller 1979, Hochschild 1983), the performative embodiment of nurturing, seems to be petrified in the structural hole of mid-management where male or female caring work and its ethics are tolerably less compliant with traditional gendered expectations both inside and outside the institution. At this level, nurturing is "more a matter of pernicious 'fit' with individuals' prior tendencies and individual agency than it is the product of social relations" (Price 2001:231, Hughes 2005) in the middle management workplace field. Existentially, nurturing at this level in the Ontario college system signifies and to some extent perpetuates historically constructed societal assumptions about the inherent capacities of men or women to draw upon their own gender identities from an expanded palette of expressive possibilities that are *relatively* undifferentiated by class or 'race' (Thompson, 1998). The word "relatively" is emphasized because, even in middle management, the data gathered for this study suggests that both class and race do make a difference and the following Chapter explores that dimension in some detail.

Meanwhile, we have seen how identity-malleable agents of any gender with ascendant career aspirations tend to covet membership in the structural networks they perceive to be most goal conducive. They grapple with the 'chameleonic effect' (see, e.g., Bourgeois and Hess 2008) to skirt exclusion as they enter into and engage with dominant interaction partners in an otherwise gender-foreign field of play. To achieve their goals, agents might volitionally employ gender capital as a behaviourally economic stratagem. For example, some career motivated gay men act straight; stereotypical straight men act tough even though it may not be in their nature as do some women whose goal is to break the glass ceiling. These individuals are willing to engage in a certain amount of sociocognitive and fear inspired loss-averse behaviours as the price paid for success in patriarchal domains in which backlash penalties are usually seen as allodoxic and attributable to "the perceived violation of gender-stereotypic prescriptions" (Heilman and Okimoto 2007:81). Finally, there are those non-conformal agents who, often on principled grounds, resist the gender specific rules of the structural networks from which they tend to be excluded. The data gathered for this Chapter shows that they tend to be inexorably suspended in communally oriented nurturing roles within middle management where, to coin Thoreau's words, they struggle in their workplace roles whilst living in 'quiet desperation'.

## CHAPTER 9: SYSTEMIC RACIAL INEQUALITY & INTERSECTIONALITY

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### 9.1 Introduction

French economist Thomas Piketty (2014) is well known for his book *Capital in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. At its core, Piketty's premise is that the voraciously acquisitive nature of capitalism creates, sustains, and contributes to the reproduction social inequality. It rewards those who inherit, possess, and successfully negotiate proprietary interests in the marketplace as capital to the exclusion of those who lack access to such resources. Bourdieu (1986:241) held a parallel sociological viewpoint embodied in his theory of habitus, capital, and field (Curran 2016). Piketty (2015:518) himself wrote that his "approach to capital, social classes, and the perpetuation of inequality is [...] complementary with Pierre Bourdieu's emphasis on the transmission of cultural and symbolic capital [and his] thinking on these issues was strongly influenced by this tradition". The overarching premises of both theorists strongly suggest that the phenomena they describe is virtually axiomatic wherever capitalism and neoliberal policies cross-fertilize and flourish. Accordingly, they offer a compelling framework within which to reflect upon the complex discursive terrain imbricating three important themes in this Chapter.

This Chapter begins by returning to the concept of patriarchy, a form of inherited social capital and the reproductive potential. It affords those who possess it the power of 'taken-for-granted' domination in the field. Gender capital is a strategic, survivalist form of diversity management enabling successful manipulators to navigate systemic patriarchy and the associated social inequities of masculine oppression and symbolic violence in the workplace. Both have been explored extensively in earlier Chapters. In the prior discussion of these two themes, we see that diversity legislation and institutional policies mandating gender equity are by themselves insufficient to disrupt the pervasive and profound imbalance of power created by profit-centered neoliberalism and the gendered, racialized exclusivity of white patriarchy. As Fleming (2014:19) points out, feminist theoretical approaches, whilst making some cracks the glass ceiling, have done little to "dislodge male dominated structures, practices, conditions and power relations that sustain gender inequities in organisations" (see: Acker, 2000; Ely & Meyerson, 2000). However, racial inequity, the third theme - and the focus of this Chapter - conceptually intersects with both the

inherited privilege of white patriarchy and gender capital. They comprise an adaptive suite of gendered dispositions accessed by agents in the field. They are individually proprietary forms of capital intersectionalized by racial marginalization. Patriarchy, gender capital, and white privilege are situated in a relational intermix of socio-cultural resources that make up the mutually constitutive relationship between field and habitus. As Collins (1998:62) suggests, rather than thinking of these resources in terms of “distinctive social hierarchies, intersectionality examines how they mutually construct one another” in an uneven playing field because of racial inequality and its corollary, symbolic domination in the Ontario college system.

An introduction to the theme of racial inequality, framed by its contextual background, is followed by a discussion of the culture of whiteness in Ontario’s college system. Black activist Kia Jarmon introduces the idea of “faux diversity”. Its systemic prevalence affects both student populations of and managerial employees in Ontario’s publicly funded colleges. Afterward, an examination of tokenism and misrecognized racial diversity is presented. For those privileged enough to take-for-granted their own whiteness, the study findings indicate that race itself is the ‘coin-of-the-realm’. It is cultural capital that flourishes and replicates itself in the predominantly white, neoliberal community college environments of the Province. Finally, “white privilege” and “white fragility” are shown to exist and to remain influential socio-cultural determinants in the Ontario college system despite institutional diversity initiatives and policies that suggest the opposite.

## **9.2 Symbolics of Racism in Ontario Colleges**

Returning to Piketty’s capitalist analogy as a touchstone, one could assume that the affected individuals who were interviewed for this study will neither inherit nor, with few exceptions, will they likely gain access to the panoply of accumulated resources necessary to achieve competitive advantage in their workplace field. According to Piketty’s analogy, they tend to offer diminished marketability. This is because the exclusionary habitus of androcentric whiteness is at the core of patriarchy as it is with the gendered dispositions required to successfully bypass its discriminatory, career inhibiting obstacles. These inherited resources are for the most part inaccessible to non-whites in the Ontario college bureaucracy because the bureaucracy is a protected, neoliberal

enclave for homonormativity and white supremacy where, at this pivotal intersection, “the imagery of race [...] is in play”(Dyer 2015:9).

Non-whites do not reflect what some whites intuitively accept as their proprietary socio-cultural interest (Dyer 2015). The ideology of white supremacy demands that to belong, one must possess the habitus of whiteness - an inalienable cultural artifact. Non-whites represent the ‘other’ (Frankenberg 1995:17) who are invited visitors, implicitly inferior in some vague and unspecified manner.<sup>252</sup> And, just as a living organism rejects and deploys pathogenic counter-aggression, the culture of whiteness remains dominant by enacting the micro-aggressions of symbolic violence that routinely subordinate co-existent non-whites whose phenotypical characteristics deny them access to power and resources assumed as given by whites (Yang 2020). In this Chapter, the findings reveal a culture of white, heteronormative patriarchy. They also demonstrate the inherent subjective malleability of gender capital that can be employed as a strategic countermeasure to manage, and even enhance careers. It is challenging because non-whites in this environment must contend and compete with but are endemic to both patriarchy and gender as career enhancing capitals.

The homologous demographics gathered in this study suggesting obviously point to a certain amount of racial dominance reflected in the socio-cultural identities of mid-level managerial employees in the college workplace. Subordinate, marginalized identities struggle with other dimensions of symbolic dominance that include androcentricity, heteronormativity and homosocial masculine domination, all of which are the primary concomitants of patriarchy. The unearned benefits and symbolic power of these socio-cultural artefacts became a dynamic topic in this dissertation even though the survey and interview themes did not originally contemplate the specific investigation of racial dominance in the college system. However, the data does reveal the presence of systemic racial prejudice and inequality against a backdrop of dominant white male privilege. Unexpectedly, in the open-ended survey texts and interview narratives, racial ‘whiteness’ was mentioned 439 times - an unsettling statistic inviting closer analysis. Given the significance to the portrait of middle management in the Ontario college system and the impact on research for

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<sup>252</sup> Frankenberg (1995:17-18) writes that “(w)ithin this framework for thinking about self and other, the white Western self as a racial being has for the most part remained unexamined and unnamed [...] whiteness has [...] been simultaneously ignored and universalized: studies of members of the dominant race or culture, unless focused on racism per se, bracket the issues of race and culture and presume by implication the racial neutrality of the subjects of study”.

this study, it necessitated an entire Chapter devoted to workplace racial marginalization and related analytics.

The approach was guided by Holliday's (2007:122, see also Alasuutari 1995, Silverman 2000, Weissberg and Buker 1990, Woolcott 1990) observation that, in one's qualitative dissertation, "writing becomes very much an unfolding story in which the writer gradually makes sense, not only of her data, but of the total experience of which it is an artefact". Through the experience of this research, it became possible to gain an acute awareness of the unfolding story of power that inures to the reproduction of white, neoliberal patriarchy. It remains a preserve that, while evidencing signs of erosion, remains panoptic and powerful in Ontario colleges. Findings in many other studies conclude that patriarchy is predominantly white. One of the hallmarks of white male privilege is an uncomfortable silence regarding racial topics (Erel, et. al. 2020, Klesse 2007). The resulting picture is that race and gender inequality are mutually constitutive mechanisms of unspoken discrimination whose intersections reproduce social inequality. The resulting portrait reflects an advantage of a qualitative investigation. According to Mason (2002:1), qualitative research "has an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts". For example, whilst focussing on racial inequality in the Ontario college system, this Chapter never loses sight of the fact that systemic white privilege is also white *male* privilege responsible for gender inequality. Therefore, what follows is the 'unfolding story' of 'how things work' in the racially bifurcated and masculinist dominated context of the Ontario College system.

### **9.3 The Demographics of the Ontario College System**

Often cultural geography and the demographics of local constituencies differentially inform and shape the social topography of given structural fields (Sauer 1925, Gregory and Urry 1985). This phenomenon has not escaped observation by other Canadian researchers (Angus 2013) who have identified the consistent, marked contrast between the student and the administrative sides of college hallways and corridors. College administrators are predominantly white, heterosexual, English-speaking, middle-aged, and highly educated. These are distinctive cultural and social capitals (Spurr and Bourdieu 1983). They are the lineal product of an androcentric heritage (Perkins-Gilman 1911) or what one interviewee thought "would have been seen as masculine in our



childhood” (NE1). In Bourdieusian theory (1977:80) the social mechanisms involved represent the “objective homogenizing of [the] habitus which results from the homogeneity of the conditions of existence [that] enables practices to be objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm and mutually adjusted in the absence of any direct interaction or, *a fortiori*, explicit coordination”. An entitled, structurally isomorphic enclave is thereby shaped and reproduced so as to ensure “a sort of pre-established harmony between positions and their occupants” safe and protected in what Bourdieu called “obscure security” (1993:124). It is a form of security which “(t)o a given volume of inherited capital there corresponds a band of more or less equally probable trajectories leading to more or less equivalent positions” (Bourdieu 1994:110).

In contrast, most of the student populations of Ontario’s colleges comprise a young, multi-racial minority, who must navigate the idiosyncratic mores of a localized culture and its symbolic artifacts. English, its semantics and its pragmatics must be adopted by these students who, in many cases, lack localized cultural sophistication, maturity and anything more than the approximate equivalent of a Canadian high-school diploma. Education, the sought-after commodity exclusively possessed by the white administrators in middle management, does not by itself embody cultural capital, yet it powerfully informs and is shaped by the habitus (Perry 2012:91).<sup>253</sup> In Bourdieu’s words:

(T)he education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture. (1977a: 494).

These dominant symbolics were observed and documented in the Ontario colleges investigated. White privilege and the neologistic meta-discourse imbuing it with semeiotical layers of meaning is

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<sup>253</sup> The result is an overdetermined expression of Bourdieu’s ‘distinction’ (1979) or what Loveman describes as “the ability to make appear as natural, inevitable, and thus apolitical that which is a product of historical struggle.” (2005:1655). Being white, educated and in control of the power to grant the certification for which students compete, galvanizes student struggles for cross-cultural competence. That struggle exposes unspoken contests between those governed and their governors whose semiotic and therefore linguistic superiority creates a tyranny of words (Chase 1938) reflecting a power differential over the communicative repertoire between students and the administration. Students compete for and most expect their diplomas to cloak them with the dominant semantics required to successfully achieve socio-linguistic recognition and Anglocentric cultural competence. But, especially for an internationalized student cohort, that is rarely possible.

a white apriority. White racial domination unselfconsciously reproduces itself throughout the system by those who, in a Marxist ideological sense, position themselves to control the power and resources specific to the field in which power relations take place (Parkin 1979). This Malthusian meta-discourse of whiteness, education and their class implications situates itself institutionally. Through epistemic transfer and institutional governance, the trappings of cultural competence are commodified, producing the perquisite in the form of certification. In the hands of international non-white students, it is devoid of 'white' cultural value and meaning but it is nevertheless pursued because the cache` of an Ontario college education is highly sought-after by non-white domestic and international student populations. Racialized international students compete to pay triple tuition for the dubious distinction of being sold a credential that masks underlying racial bias and the stigma of white racial superiority clung to assiduously by a postcolonial white administration. The effective "naturalization of the whiteness of the curriculum" (Joseph-Salisbury 2018:7) taught to non-white students sustains misrecognition and reproduces the very systemic intersectionalities by which they are disadvantaged. While they gain the credential, its ultimate value as domestic social capital is rarely, if ever, cross-culturally transposable.

In terms of the institutional relationship colleges have with their employee populations, Canada's federal *Charter of Rights*, closely aligned with Ontario's *Human Rights Code* have compelled vast changes in hiring practices over the past two decades (Agocs and Jain 2001). Public (and private) employers are bound by law (e.g., *Employment Equity Act*, S.O. 1993, c.35., *Employment Equity Act*, 1995, c.44), to be unbiased throughout hiring process. The Ontario *Human Rights Code*, for example, stipulates that "employers cannot discriminate on prohibited grounds" (OHRC:2020). This means an employer is prohibited (Lepovsky 1994) from any conduct that would discern against any present or prospective employee based (among other characteristics) on race or gender (Jain 1985). Enhanced rights accruing from employee collectivization (Weiner 1995) and the installation of panoptic diversity and inclusion policies at virtually every college in the Province have assured non-white applicants a fair chance at non-discriminatory entry through the institutional doors (Silberman 1984, Petrulis 1996). However, for the reasons discussed throughout this project, after gaining entry through the doors of the institution, it is not quite so easy for non-whites to climb the rungs of the administrative hierarchy to incrementally senior positions when compared to whites pursuing

promotion along the same trajectory.<sup>254</sup> A number of social challenges remain which are discussed below.

#### **9.4 Racism in a Culture of Masculine Whiteness**

Racial consciousness and discourse are not easily confronted in any organization immersed in neoliberal urbanism. Remi Joseph-Salisbury (2019:3), whose research is focussed on the resilience of racialization in higher education, points out that in those institutions, "... the web of whiteness has a profound ability to maintain, protect, and strengthen itself (Bell 1993; Gillborn 2017). One way it does so, is to operate in ways that are unseen, particularly for the wilfully ignorant (Hooks1996)". Stewart points out that:

(T)o live in Canada is to pretend that race is not a problem. Again, privilege is nothing if not the ability to take things for granted ... in Canada we live in a state of dishonesty that is at times offensive when it comes up against the reality, obvious to some who live here, that Canada has not transcended questions of race, nationalist proclamations notwithstanding (2004:37).

Seemingly 'collusive' (Biss 2015) silences are notorious when racism is the topic (Erel, et. al. 2020; see: helen 1993, Klesse 2007) even though "the influence of whites within the academy as administrators, faculty and students is widespread" (Douglas and Halas 2011:454). Douglas and Halas (2011:472) suggest that their research in Canadian higher education resulted in "findings [that] illustrate how racism is produced through silence, invisibility and exclusion, as well as through often covert, embedded and accumulative actions that can be difficult to identify". The lack of open, meaningful discussion about the existence of racial dynamics in the Ontario's college

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<sup>254</sup> However, a countervailing argument could be made that being non-white is arguably a dependable but diminished form of cultural capital because, at the very least, the systemic protections mentioned above virtually guarantee a minimum level of statistical equality in hiring practices (Statistics Canada 2003). Non-whites must be provided with jobs and equal pay (Pay Equity Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. P.7) as a matter of law. A non-white, therefore, possesses the most basic, inherent, and inalienable exchange value in legislatively mandated institutional hiring practices (Henry 1994). Wallace (2016), for example, conducted ethnographic research to demonstrate that Bourdieu's theory of practice applies in relation to 'race' and ethnicity among the black middle-class. Nevertheless, once hired and provided with a position in the administrative offices of Ontario's colleges, far more nuanced distinctions occur with consequences for career advancement, and these are discussed further in this Chapter.

system is an example. There is an ample amount of Canadian research in this area (see, e.g., Agular 2001, Drakich and Stewart 2007, Fleras 1996) which shows that “(a)lthough diversity is apparent in all educational settings, it is often undervalued, positioned as deficit or difficult, and rendered invisible” (Mills & Keddie, 2012). That invisibility is arguably a contributing factor in the “(t)he construction of a *de facto* white environment that inevitably supports and reproduces a racial hierarchy.<sup>255</sup> Overall, the hegemony of whiteness minimizes and discourages conversations about what (and who) is/are not present” (Douglas and Halas 2011:466). Whiteness is:

[...] like a private club that grants privileges to its members in return for their obedience to its rules. It should also be noted that its members are the ones who can make and break the rules, as well [and] the club is based on one major assumption — that all who look white, regardless of their complaints or reservations, are fundamentally loyal to it. [P]rivileged group members are able to rely on their privilege and avoid objecting to oppression, and that privilege is rarely seen by the holder. [O]ther forms of privilege mediate but do not eradicate white privilege; although whites may be poor, their poverty does not change the fact that in relation to poor people of color, they usually have an advantage (Putman 2014:46).

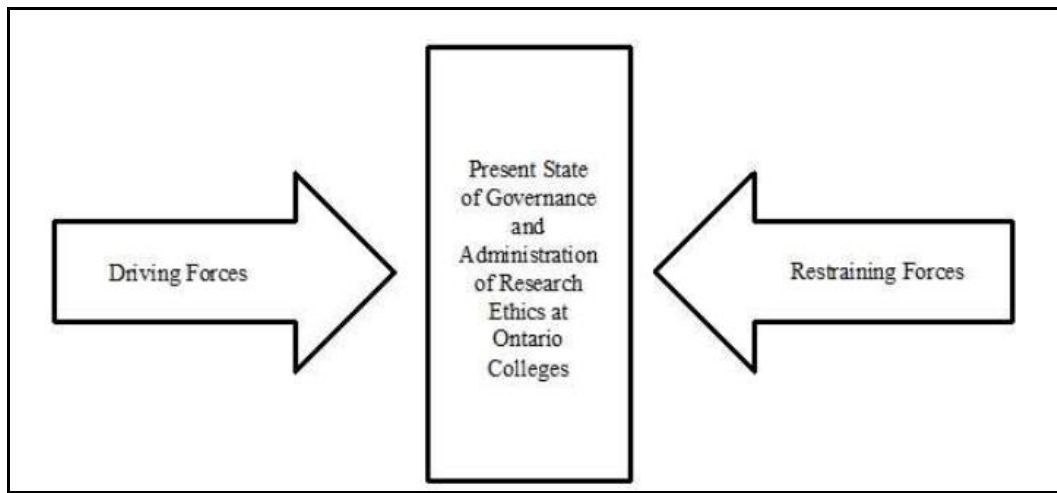
Arguably, this loyalty to a form of collusive silence about the privileges associated with being white is one of the reasons for the dearth of scholarly literature about this narrow, vigorously union-protected, yet sizeable cohort across the Province’s college system. Several hundred highly educated and well-remunerated, government funded employees go about their daily livelihoods engaged in college governance and internal administrative support largely beyond the purview of public scrutiny and protected by the invisible and inscrutable tapestry that characterizes institutional culture. As pointed out earlier, it is both a process and a product that according to Fitzpatrick, for the most is “shrouded in secrecy” (2017:4). Ontario sociologist, Kimberley Ellis-Hale, observes that “there is something desperately wrong with the public institutions that were intended for the public good to be able to fly under the radar ...” (2017:5). The driving forces propelling research and investigation into the Ontario college system are impeded by the restraining forces that facilitate the “secrecy” to which Fitzpatrick refers. Some suggest that the causal underpinnings are situated in the neoliberal practices of successive (ultra) Conservative government leaderships (Statler 2012) and the impact of heavily protested legislation ultimately pitting college unions

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<sup>255</sup> Sara Ahmed (2004b:423) writes that white racism “is only invisible for those who inhabit it. For those who don’t, it’s hard not to see whiteness; it even seems everywhere”.

against the government (Fitzgerald 1989).<sup>256</sup> One consequence is that the challenge to obtain data for this dissertation was lengthy, hard fought and only achieved in all four geographic sectors of the Province with great effort and extreme difficulty over an unnecessarily protracted time period. The logistical and bureaucratic labyrinths navigated by this author were not unique. Ontario sociologist Krista Holmes (2014:18) captures the structural dynamic in the conceptual model depicted below:

**Figure 4: Conceptual Model of the Research Dilemma in Ontario Colleges**



Source © Krista M. Holmes, Toronto, 2014

Fitzpatrick's portrait of a culture of 'secrecy' invites reflection on Bourdieu's 'thought partnership' (Bologna, et. al. 2020:3519) with Carl Jung who would likely describe the phenomenon to illustrate his notion of the 'collective unconscious' (Young-Eisendrath & Dawson 2008) from which it emanates. It is difficult to acknowledge - even to ourselves - that "(d)eep within our subconscious, all of us harbor biases that we consciously abhor. And the worst part is we act on them" (Carpenter 2008:26). Implicit bias, whose embedded unconscious, and archetypal influences (Bourdieu 1990a)

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<sup>256</sup> For example, there exists the destabilizing rise of determinate or 'precarious' contract employment throughout the entire college network (Metro 2017, Globe Newswire 2018, CNW Group 2018). Perhaps it is also simply because people are uncomfortable talking about social privileges that are a priori epistemic justifications for what appears self-evidently the natural order of things (Kohnert 2013, Rothberg 2008). Whatever the reason, a shroud of secrecy exists in the Ontario college system. It has been corroborated by the researchers earlier mentioned.

are ensconced securely in the cultural habitus, is existential and problematic to dislodge (Banaji and Greenwald 2013, Beattle 2013, Kitossa 2016, Kawakami et al. 2009) because it tends to be a “hidden or unintentional preference for a particular group based on social identity such as race, gender, class, ability, or sexual orientation ... originating in the unconscious mind” (Chaudhury 2015:49).<sup>257</sup>

The study findings suggest that these ‘hidden or unintentional preferences’ exist and even flourish in the Ontario college system. A combination of government and union-fostered, constitutive insularity from public focus infused by implicit biases, often unconsciously held by a hegemon of white, well-educated individuals mostly sharing the same cultural background, drapes an ostensibly colour-blind, non-committal silence from the Province’s college administrations. It is this silence about inequitable racial stratification (Kothari 2006) “which both masks and marks [its]centrality” (White 2002:407). As Fitzpatrick suggests, one is discomfited by the pervasive silence of ‘secrecy’.

## **9.5 Deconstructing Diversity & Inclusion**

American black activist, Kia Jarmon, speaks publicly about topics that make people uncomfortable. One such topic is “faux diversity” or “when you are unwilling to acknowledge your own individual privilege or power and how you hold it close, even if you don’t see it that way” (2019:np). Toni Morrison (1992) refers to it as the ‘sycophancy of white identity’. Bourdieu (2000) would likely construe the phenomenon as ‘misrecognition’, or “an everyday and dynamic social process where one thing [...] is not recognised for what it is because it was not previously ‘cognised’ within the range of dispositions and propensities of the habitus of the person(s) confronting it” (James 2015:100). The Ontario college system is fraught with faux diversity, white privilege, and its concomitant power. Yet, in its administrative offices, corridors, and cafeterias one might be led to

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<sup>257</sup> Sociologist Frances Henry (2017:265) points out that in the universities she researched: “Subtle biases accumulate over the course of a career, influencing movement both into and along the academic pipeline, especially at critical moments such as hiring, tenure, and promotion processes, as well as advancements to mid-level or senior administrative roles. Inequities persist both because of macro-level policies and decision making (or a lack thereof) and because of everyday decisions and practices at the micro and meso levels – programs, departments, and faculties – of the academy. Precisely because biases are not explicit, they can be difficult to detect without conscious efforts to make visible their impact on practice and unjust outcomes”.

believe that “white supremacy [...] is erased through configuring racism as an artefact of neoliberalism, emplacing racism in individual acts/actors, and exculpating academe through projects of diversity, equity, and inclusion” (Joseph, et. al. 2019:171). The vacuous intellectualism and marginalizing depersonalization replete in the institutional rhetoric of diversity policies falsely projects the comforting sentiment that something is being done about systemic racism when the opposite is the reality. The collectivizing and implicitly colonizing façade of diversity prompts Coates (2017:366) to suggest that:

What is needed now is resistance intolerant of self-exoneration, set against blinding itself to evil – even in the service of warring against other evils. One must be able to name the bad bargain that whiteness strikes with its disciples – and still be able to say that it is this bargain, not a mass hypnosis, that has held through boom and bust.

The quote above might well have been taken directly from a page out of Crenshaw’s seminal work (1989, 1991) referred to earlier. In the interviews held with non-white interviewees the resonance of her insights took shape. Her approach to intersectionality was informed through her critical analysis of three, landmark legal decisions in the United States dealing with issues surrounding systemic race and gender discrimination. Her voice, though innovative and powerful, is not alone by any measure. Public discourse and scholarly research are very much alive, vibrant, and burgeoning (see, e.g., Shields, 2008, Bowleg 2012, Walby and Armstrong 2012, Bilge 2013, Gopaldas 2013, Cho, et. al. 2013, Grzanka 2014, Else-Quest and Hyde 2015, Moradi and Grzanka 2017, Sauer 2018, Harris, and Patton 2019). For example, at ground level, Lazar (2018) takes the extreme position that intersectionality is a clarion call to political anarchism.

Pragmatically, this represents an unlikely prospect in Ontario college administrations where virtually all employees are broadly covered by the panoply of legislative and union protections, unassailable job security and, in comparison to national averages, relatively high wages. On the other hand, Collins (2015:3) understands conceptualizations of intersectionality “as a knowledge project whose *raison d’etre* lies in its attentiveness to power relations and social inequalities”. Viewing this project experientially, the fact that the topics of race and racial inequality were frequently raised by both survey and interview participants unquestionably suggests an awkward

pedestrian awareness of this issue. A white, female survey respondent offered a pauciloquent observation: “racial discrimination is a real problem here that won’t go away” (T1).

In Ontario, to the extent that it applies at the policy level, Hankivisky and Cormier (2011) have formulated a much-needed methodology that demonstrates a way to integrate intersectional issues into nascent policy processes in the public sphere. The difficulty, as has been frequently discussed, is a form of lassitude or perhaps outright unwillingness at the ground level to question and challenge adherence to systemic and intra-organizational diversity policy formulations at a more consciousness-raising level. As one white college Vice-President interviewed observed on condition of anonymity, “I don’t know that people give much attention to our diversity policy”.<sup>258</sup>

Studies of this nature are of vital importance; existing diversity policies and inclusion guidelines in Ontario colleges have a diluted impact on the workplace lives of those minorities who might otherwise benefit from its ideological goals. Diversity policies are supposed to be the ameliorative pivot of intersectional contact between the institution and minority employees but, as pointed out elsewhere, instead they are impotent formulaic, institutional correctives to perceived social injustices. Their rhetoric putatively extolling the neutrality of multi-cultural liberalism has been heavily criticized by Canadian critical race theorists (e.g., Aylward 1999, Butler 2015, Coleman 2006, James 2012, Satzewich and Liodakis 2010, Senthe and Xavier 2013). Beneath the reassuring words of diversity policies is the unwarranted presumption that multiple racially minoritized subjects face the same, basic set of workplace struggles and challenges as everyone else when that is not the case. These policies conceal a form of academic extractivism that effectively removes marginalized races from the discourse of intersectionality. It extols white virtue about a subject white authors of the policies have never experienced themselves yet presume to impose on everyone else whilst ignoring their own racial and ethnic socially hierarchal differentiation.

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<sup>258</sup> An anonymous, Humber College employee in Toronto, Ontario (who did not participate in my study) posted this comment to his / her internet blog: “There is an overbearing Christian culture and general lack of diversity. Though there may have been visible representation of different cultures, always present was a cult like perceived pressure to assimilate. As if to say, “be like us, or you’ll be shunned”. Not an environment conducive to good education or welcoming of independent thought and dialogue” ([https://ca.indeed.com/cmp/Humber-College/reviews?sort=rating\\_asc](https://ca.indeed.com/cmp/Humber-College/reviews?sort=rating_asc)).



A one-size-fits-all approach to diversity in Ontario public colleges does not acknowledge difference in the slightest; rather, it homogenizes difference through assimilation, and it leaves the impression that racial discordance has been resolved as if it were the joyous denouement played out to the musical *ne plus ultra* of a typical American movie. In effect, the current diversity initiatives produce the opposite of what was intended by the Provincial government. It is not surprising. Institutional racism is the never discussed, 'hidden curriculum' in Canada's education system (Ghosh 2008). If it is, the word itself is concealed within the ironic metonymy of 'diversity and inclusion'. The blight of racism extends well beyond the Country's educational structures; it replicates and reproduces itself in the form of unchecked white privilege and has done so for decades (see, e.g., Fridires 1976). Stanley Barrett (1987:307) suggests that "(n)o matter whether the dimension is time, place, or social class, racism has been endemic in Canada [...] the degree, scope, and persistence of the phenomenon leads to a single conclusion: racism in Canada has been institutionalized".<sup>259</sup> The quintessentially solipsistic mantras in the discourse of diversity not only legitimate but biologize the social reproduction of both white privilege and systemic discrimination as well as the miasma of intersectionality originally defined by Crenshaw (Davis and Guppy 1998, Gobel 2006). A direct consequence of neoliberalism in the Ontario college system is the relegation of non-white ethnicities and racialized groups to workplaces and roles that are subordinate, demeaning, discouraging and oppressive (Braedley and Luxton (2010:17).

Faux diversity is not a concept easily discussed; its very existence is held closely by predominantly white administrative personnel serving multi-racial student populations in every one of the fifteen colleges investigated for this study. As one, white, male manager (on condition of anonymity) joked in his office: "If it's between criticizing the college's [racist] history [...] and keeping my job ..." without finishing the sentence. SE7 recognized that his own whiteness constituted "a privileged position [...] as the people who are accustomed to being in charge and accustomed to going ... having things go our way". He added: "I'm aware that that's a privilege and so I consider myself very fortunate". A manager at another college wrote on Facebook, about the lack of diversity in his

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<sup>259</sup> Chua (2010:46) notes that "(g)ender and ethnicity are [...] 'exterior categories' that constitute independent bases for discrimination practices. 'Almost everywhere on earth... exterior categories such as male versus female, white versus black or citizen versus foreigner provide scripts so pervasive that they modify interactions within all sorts of organizations...'" (Tilly, 1998:79) These scripts refer to the common understandings, meanings, practices, relations, and memories that are tied to categories. Durable inequalities occur when exterior categories such as 'male' and 'female' are imported and unquestioningly conjoined with interior categories such as 'boss' and 'secretary' by powerful organizational gatekeepers. Over time, the 'male boss' and 'female secretary' combination get adopted as an organizational template and repeated from office to office".

administration - especially when compared to its predominantly multi-racial student population and, according to SE7, he was ordered by the administration to either remove his posting or his employment at the college would be terminated. The manager confided his frustration over his college's push for an internationalized student population because of the revenue it garnered but without providing institutional support for the students themselves once they paid for and arrived from other countries to begin their chosen programs. He opined that, while the point was never made to him directly, he nevertheless understood from private discussions that the main goal was to attract international students with virtually no dialogue about possible multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-lingual intersectionalities affecting incoming students. He suggested that, at such meetings, "things are said a certain way that shows the undertone of how [i.e., those at the executive levels of the college] were feeling".

Both domestic (Harris 2020)<sup>260</sup> and international (Rutherford 2019) non-white students, see themselves as victims of racial discrimination driven by neoliberal business model gaining a powerful and unassailable foothold in the Province. Rutherford (2019:np) found that, with their increasingly diverse student populations, Ontario colleges are having to "contend with reports of discrimination among [international] students, staff and faculty". For example, one college student who was not part of the study research but who was interviewed in 2016 by the *Ontario Human Rights Commission* in preparation for its annual status report to the Provincial Government, commented that "It's the nature of the game." (OHRC 2016: 2016: n.p).

## 9.6 We Are All 'White': Structural Homologies

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<sup>260</sup> Harris (2020:np) suggests that racial slurs – even against Ontario born multi-racial students – are quite common and one of many "microaggressions — an "everyday slight" that marginalized people experience". A black student told her about a "time he explained to a teacher why white people can't say the "N word"; the time he and the only other two Black students in the International Baccalaureate (IB) program argued with another teacher who asked why the Black community can't "bring themselves up" like the Asian community. He also experienced Islamophobia, and had students and teachers act insensitively toward his religious beliefs."

The homologous race and gender profile of the interviewees<sup>261</sup> (a demographic subset of the survey population) exceeds the project survey results. Of those survey participants who volunteered for a follow-up interview, 94% are white, 56% identified as female and 44% as male. Like most other white interviewees in this study, SW1, a male manager acknowledged his own racial privilege and power. He is the manager of international student services at his college where most of the multi-racial inductees are compelled to use English as a newly acquired second language. As mentioned earlier, he saw himself as an “outlier” of sorts owing to the discomfort he felt in light of the “incongruence” between the role he occupied and the racial complexities of his constituency. It was discomfiting for him because of his awareness that many of his fellow white employees were either insensitive to the intersectional incongruences surrounding them or they chose to deliberately ignore the phenomenon. In that latter regard, Bourdieu and Passeron suggest that “the supreme privilege” of being privileged is “not seeing themselves as privileged,” (1990:210).<sup>262</sup>

SW1 was not alone in acknowledging the social impact of this dissimulative ethos permeating his workplace environment. SE7, a white, female manager at a different college expressed deep concern for “the amount of people here [at her college] that I would consider to be intelligent, educated individuals that can’t see beyond because their whole life has been in somewhat of a white bubble, I’ve seen it time and time again”.<sup>263</sup> SW8, a native Quebecois<sup>264</sup>, white, male Vice-President

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<sup>261</sup> Racially, 84% of the survey respondents identify as white, 3% as black or African American and the rest indicated they were members of other races, ethnicities, or backgrounds (Catalyst 2019b: np). As one female college manager observed: “Looking at it purely from the point of view of demographics, I think that it’s a fairly still a white bred kind of pool people in the mid-range” (SW14). Another female manager at a different south-western college shared a similar opinion: “I think it’s very obvious that we are dominated by very white middle-class kind of workforce” (SW4).

<sup>262</sup> This attitude invites consideration of the reflexive habitus which is arguably a particular iteration of Bourdieusian reflexivity bridging the intersection of “horizontal disjunctures (between field positions) and vertical disjunctures (across temporal sedimentation)” (Decoteau 2015:303). In other words, reflexive habitus has the potential to reify symbolic power in the complex, interwoven tapestry of social order. It does so by ensuring “the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes and perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time” (Bourdieu 1990b:54). The dispositions reproduced by the reflexive habitus are the very “conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence” (Bourdieu 1990b:53). The structural concomitants thereby created inexorably reproduce the structural ontologies from which they were originally constituted. The result is that practices in the field non-discursively engage and reengage with the dispositional architecture of privileged structures constituted as a priori outcomes.

<sup>263</sup> Cooper (2019:205) points out that “Historically, traditional white femininity tends to ignore or overlook the role of white privilege”.

<sup>264</sup> For many decades, the neighbouring Province of Quebec has been criticized worldwide for its outspoken and occasionally hostile white racism. The reaction in Quebec to George Floyd’s death at the hands of white police officers in Minnesota is very recent example. See: Murengerantwali, S. and Chaachouh, S. (2020). “Slavery in Quebec embedded racial inequality into its institutions for centuries. Ignoring this history keeps us from addressing systemic racism”. (*Policy Options:np*) [Accessed at:<https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/july-2020/systemic-racism-endures-as-quebec-fails-to-reckon-with-slavery-history/> on December 3, 2020].

suggested that most white employees at his college essentially were in a state of denial: “Plenty of white people say, ‘Oh no. I don’t see colour. There’s no problem.’ But I’m sure folks of different ethnicities who are not necessarily feeling the love or the equality will say, ‘Nah. You don’t see it’”. NW2, a white female manager at a college, provided a similar insight regarding her college:

Well, we can talk about it at the student level and the fact that all of our managers are white. It’s about the fact that if we advertise for, say, a job position, there’s a certain kind of person that we’re seeing as suitable who fits and it’s without saying that there’s a racial difference, it’s still there. It’s this sense of, “okay, this is a person like me.” As a white person, you can walk around expecting to see people who look like you everywhere. You see yourself. You see your culture reflected back at you everywhere you go. You’re affirmed in who you are.

NW1, a white female manager at a college in northern Ontario held a similar view:

We know that our makeup is predominantly white [...] and yet our student population is not and that we need to be more reflective of that. [...] And a third of our students are also international, and yet we only have a few international appearances, race on our faculty, and I’d say you’re really not seeing any [non-whites] on our – are very, very limited on our management team.

One morning, in a large, college cafeteria in southwestern Ontario populated almost exclusively by non-white students, lively conversations could be overheard spoken in a cacophony of languages. A brief but engaging dialogue was held between the author and a nearby white employee (on strict condition of anonymity) as to his institution’s diversity and inclusion policies. His response was that “Oh, yeah, we have them but its more about, y’ know, making sure the ladies get hired”. Clearly, the “*more about*” to which the interviewee referred, implied ‘*more about*’ gender by the numbers than either engrained gender or racial equality.<sup>265</sup> A white female manager in south-eastern Ontario put it this way:

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<sup>265</sup> This casual comment aligns with a recent observation made by Bhopal (2020:np) in the U.K. who suggests that administrators in higher education often “take the easy route by addressing gender inequality while sidestepping awkward issue of race”. Furthermore, it is her view that “(b)y investing time, money and resources on gender policies and initiatives, [higher education institutions] could be seen to be addressing structural inequalities but do so without focusing on race”.

And so, the policy, it's all good and well but it felt to me that you're sort of saying to the world, "yeah, we're diverse," but person having come in and speak, she talks about authentic diversity versus, "oh, we have a policy," or "we have this," so that means we're diverse, but are you? Are you walking in the walk? Is it engrained? Are you being thoughtful about it in everything that you do? (SE7)

Diversity by number count, fuelled by racial capitalism, is inauthentic diversity; it is inauthentic because it is actually a form of 'doing racism' (Goltz 2015:266). Ideological racial equality has been ignominiously diluted to mere descriptive statistics for the purpose of commoditizing inclusion. It is a major theme of this Chapter. Earlier, it was suggested that, couched in legislative prescriptions, diversity policies proliferate across the entire provincial College system. However, research was cited demonstrating that modalities of intersectional bias lurk beneath the 'veneer' of equity and inclusion in this public sector. Notably, Professor Soyang Park at the Ontario College of Art and Design, has publicly excoriated "the two-facedness of the institution", ascribing its espousal of policy-driven diversity initiatives to mere "tokenism".<sup>266</sup> She argues that "(t)okenism is about diversity without equity, which you only can experience once you're hired. It's not visible, because all that's visible is that there are more people with non-Caucasian faces hired." (Redden 2020:np).<sup>267</sup>

Professor Park's insights about 'tokenism' found expression in many of the project interviews.<sup>268</sup>

For example, NE5 offered the following about his college:

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<sup>266</sup> Teresa Boughey (2021:46) refers to a phenomenon she identifies as 'diversity fatigue' that occurs "when initiatives are viewed as public relations exercises rather than as meaningful attempts to transform and organization and its culture. Employees become disheartened, and already sceptical leaders continue to become entrenched in the belief that diversity and inclusion is a fad and tick-box exercise. This fatigue stops real change occurring. It's only when leaders really start to understand and recognise that they too are part of the diversity discussion about everyone's uniqueness that we can really start to see a difference".

<sup>267</sup> Momin Rahman, the Co-Chair of the Canadian Association of University Teachers Equity Committee suggests that "we need to acknowledge that actively adopting equity policies and rhetoric without naming systemic racism is a form of 'institutional blackface' - the parodying of concern for racism through various means such as tokenistic visual representations in marketing, tokenistic use of racialized students and faculty to 'educate' others or demonstrate that the workplace cannot be racist, and endorsing policy linking to outcomes" (2021:28).

<sup>268</sup> In earlier Chapters, I raise the notion of 'gender tokenism' in appointments and hiring practices in neoliberal patriarchies (Bishop 2005). However, Kanter's (1977) theory of gender tokenism, inclusive of the extent to which it influences the workplace experience of women, has been extended to include 'token difference' defined with exclusive focus on race (Yoder, et. al. 1996). In fact, Neimann (2012) specifically refers to experiences of racial tokenism, overt and covert racism, and blatant stigmatization in the academic environment. The narratives in this Chapter suggest that, in the Ontario college system, racial minorities tend to be regarded as racial tokens. In theory, racial tokens are 'those who

I think that's what I see here is that there are core behaviours and core values that are very often hidden from view, and that there can be a veneer. And I don't mean that in a conventional way of where you just have corporate or institutional behaviours where there's just lip service, that sort of stuff. At first blush, at first glance, an outsider might come in here and think values are a certain thing. And so, the biases and prejudices are behaviours that are being driven I'm talking about are very, very deep, and hard to uncover.

He added his certainty that the college system in Ontario aggressively “favours white, and it favours Anglo, and that's just how it is”.<sup>269</sup> SW5, a white male manager in Toronto, talked about the non-white, managerial employees at his college:

No matter how well they learn the language, no matter how much education they get - all the trappings of success - but they'll never really be part of the establishment. They'll never really be integrated into the establishment. They'll never really belong, right? There's always the – you're kind of a temporary member of the club. You're the second tier.

A non-participant employee who requested and was assured of strict anonymity spoke candidly whilst walking slowly down the hallway of his school. As the exit doors were reached, which he held open for me, he said in stage whisper as a small group of young, black students entered nearby, “Y'know what I mean? They're not like us”.<sup>270</sup>

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comprise less than 15% of a group's total' (Stroshine and Brandl 2011). Racial tokenism includes the notion that human bodily differences can also be exploited to falsely prove the existence of diversity and inclusion when, in fact, those same differences attract white derision and prejudice.

<sup>269</sup> In 2017, James and Chapman-Nyaho conducted qualitative research to inquire whether touted racial diversity at the university level is a reality or a myth. Their findings are consistent with the comments made by NE5: “The general consensus of our research participants is that with the ascendance of neoliberalism and audit culture, [the] commitment to equity and diversity [in Canadian] universities has decreased and diversity hiring has, at best, stalled. We heard from respondents that [their employers] are becoming “less progressive” and less inclusive, despite the rhetoric of job advertisements and the glossy pictures on [...] websites and in recruitment brochures. The institutional impetus to have a more diverse [employee profile] with experiences and scholarship that are responsive to the diverse needs, interests, and aspirations of the growing ethnically and racially diverse student body and community has waned to the point where respondents were feeling that it is unlikely that they would be hired today”. The researchers might well have been writing about the Ontario college system; the similarities described are unsettling.

<sup>270</sup> Joseph-Salisbury (2019:5) observes that “[a]lthough diverse in their forms, racial microaggressions are everyday racial slights and degradations that racially minoritised people experience. Under ‘post-racial’ conditions, microaggressions emerge as the predominant articulation of racism (Sue 2010). Whilst they can seem innocuous in isolation, it cumulative experiences of racial microaggressions can impact the well-being and life chances of racially minoritised people (Sue 2010)”.

'Faux diversity' is a consumer-centric, neoliberal capitalist simulacrum that portrays diversity and inclusion as a representation of the truth but with scant basis in reality according to the project data obtained. A white male manager at a college in southeastern Ontario provides an illustration:

I had an employee actually and she was great, and she was a black female, very smart [...] but she has her hair which isn't like a white person's hair and straight and whatever; it's sort of kinky, I guess – I don't know how you would describe it, and someone was talking about her [...] and was saying how she always looks so unprofessional. And I asked. I said, 'what do you mean she looks unprofessional?' 'Oh, well her hair'. (SE5)

In the transcribed observation above, one senses a certain detached, almost spectatorial tone, rather unaffected by sign of emotion. The live, digital recording of the interviewee's recollection corroborates that sensibility. Holland (2012:3) suggests that "racism is almost always articulated as an everyday occurrence, as pedestrian rather than spectacular".<sup>271</sup>

Goffman (1963:9) might well characterize the interviewee's remarks as suggestive of the "stigma of race".<sup>272</sup> It is the unstated upshift or rhemization (Parmentier 1994) from the specific instance to the general bias based on melanated skin and ulotrichous hair. Banks and McKittrick (2000:254) point out that '[h]air is one of the first attributes to catch our eye, not only because it reflects perceptions of attractiveness or unattractiveness, but also because it telegraphs important political, cultural, and social meanings, particularly in relation to group identity" (see, e.g., Johnson 2016, Kuumba and Ajanaku 1998, DaCosta and DeSouza 2017, Geissler 2016). The semiotic generalizations above, primarily based on phenotypical identity markers, are commonplace and the

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<sup>271</sup> The interviewee's remarks prompted reflection on a comment by Nicole Vitellone (2011:591). Albeit in a somewhat different context, she mentions that "(t)he affective dimension of speech coordinates the spectator in the direction of a collective political commitment to action." Generally, I do not disagree. In that regard, my field notes document a more passive voice heard from SE5. I might add that this interviewee and several other white managers interviewed for the project, left me unable to discern any hint that such a commitment to end the systemic prevalence of white racial hegemony in Ontario colleges had ever been incentivized.

<sup>272</sup> Snow and Anderson (1987) describe this sort of narrative as positive "identity talk", the deflective purpose of which is to obliquely convey to the listener the idea that the speaker does not harbour negative stereotypes. It is a classic stigma management strategy (Yang 2020, Goffman 1963).

structural microdynamics are at the core of racial conceptualization and prejudice (Morning 2009:1167, Timmermans and Tavory 2020, Natanson 1986, Schutz and Luckman 1973, Goffman 1963). In terms of bodily capital, kinky, coiled or braided African hair is a hallmark of beauty in some cultures. But the comment from SE5 above implies that this sort of coiffure attracts what might be understood as negative exchange value in the hallways and offices of Ontario college administrations. In white collective consciousness, these hairstyles are commonly regarded by and shape the mindset of white interpretants who instinctively fear the corporeal language and powerful symbol of black identity and collective resistance.<sup>273</sup>

Therefore, it comes a faint surprise that the habitus of white hegemony necessarily incorporates the abject disqualification of melanated skin and African hair (DaCosta and DeSouza 2017). Foucault (1977 / 1975, 1988, Goffman 1959, Davis 2006) reminds us that, in a system of cultural dictates predicated upon the existence of white privilege, the body and its physicality must be disciplined; African hair, among its other potential disadvantages in white culture, is often perceived to be lacking in that discipline. Undoubtedly, tightly coiled hair is indeed a distinctive characteristic of black identity however, in situations where an organization is surfeit with white hegemonic influences, that distinction often represents a significant obstacle to an affected employee from access to power networks that could facilitate career advancement. SW6, a black female employee, observed that “[p]eople who look like us [...] influence the way that you are perceived within your organization [...] when you don’t look like the people making the decisions about who’s going to receive opportunity”. Discussing the significant racial imbalance in his college, SW5 further confided that “they’ll [i.e., black employees] never really be part of the establishment”.

SW6 is in her mid-forties. She is married with children, possesses a College Certificate (normally requiring 1 year of full-time college attendance after high school) and she has been a manager in various roles at her college for the past 13 years. The conversation with her evolved very much like those with most of the preceding interviewees until she introduced the topic of race approximately halfway through the interview:

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<sup>273</sup> Dyer (1997:45) points out that “(w)hites must be seen to be white, yet whiteness as race resides in invisible properties and whiteness as power is maintained by being unseen. To be seen as white is to have one’s corporeality registered, yet true whiteness resides in the non-corporeal”.



SW6: [...] I think whatever limitations there are were factors of who I am because I'm not just female.

ROG: And what do you mean by that?

SW6: I believe the fact of being a black female played more of a part than just being female or just being black would have.

She described how it felt to be a black female in a male dominated, predominantly white hegemonic organization:

*I make people uncomfortable, not just because I'm female, not just because I'm black, but I'm an animal that they don't know how to categorize. And so, rather than even try to, you know, consider how to do it, it's just easier left out. You just make a little circle around that and everyone that's not in that little circle we know how to deal with, we know how to handle them, we know how to talk to them and what they're likely to think about the certain subject but that one we're not quite sure about and so it goes back to the survival of the fittest. I don't know what that is so I'm going to stay away from it. I'm going to be open, accepting to everyone else and, you know, I can see them there and I'll wave and say hi but I'm not going to bring them into my circle. (author emphasis added)*

Emphasis was added because it directly points not only to intersectionality but in addition the highlighted text recalls Chapter 6 and the work of Ronald S. Burt (1995,1998, 2004) focussing on his concept of structural holes - the idea that a social structure in an organization is generally characterized by homogenous 'holes' or networks that are variably reinforced and vitalized by adjacent, value-laden structural dynamics.<sup>274</sup> For example, in Chapter 2, reference was made to Hannah, et. al. (2002:39) whose qualitative study documented a university president who "became

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<sup>274</sup> Consider a metaphorical walled fortress, with enhanced reinforcements (i.e., discrete networks of inculcated members who have accepted its consensually doxic orchestrations) implies less individual autonomy within the network paradigm but also greater difficulty for an outsider to assail its collective *umwelt*. However, bridging, or relational access to the fortress, once permitted, rewards the successful agent with heretofore inaccessible social capital (knowledge, respect, or contacts for example) that can be valuable to that individual in various ways and in different contexts, career progression being among them.

dependent on a select group of individuals who he had come to believe were keeping him aware, defended and protected”.<sup>275</sup> A survey respondent summarized it best:

It's this way - if you are white, male, straight and you have a master's degree every door is opened for you, and you are welcomed into the club. If you are black, female of any sexual preference with something less than a university education, you wind up ordering textbooks in a back room somewhere in the basement (T1).

SW15, a white male manager, agreed with the foregoing and acknowledged his own solipsism when he conceded that “I still know that I am male which still has great privilege to it, and my race being white I know there's still great privilege to it”. A similar view was expressed by a white, female manager in southwestern Ontario:

I think staff are more concerned less about whether they can get a job because they're a female but more because they're a person of colour, for example. And that's what I think. But I think gender is a layer as well because you're not just a person of colour, you're a woman of colour” (SW4).

And “colour”, in this study, means non-white; a survey respondent wrote: “I am currently in a role that is mostly dominated by older white men. As a young South Asian woman in a position of authority, I feel respected but also face challenges as I don't fit the norm (T1).

Dyer (1997:52) points out that “(g)iven the overwhelming advantage of being white, in terms of power, privilege, and material well-being, who counts as white and who doesn't is worth fighting over – fighting to keep people out, to let strategic groups in, fighting to get in”. Undoubtedly, whiteness and white racial power are physical embodiments of ideologically conservative cultural capital (Wallace 2016:466) which, at least in the socio-relational geography of this study, is both a necessary and sufficient condition of whiteness (Nayak 2007). Cultural capital has “the capacity to

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<sup>275</sup> Granovetter (1973:1360-1362) contends that strong ties among those within the network will render transferability of durable and enduring social capital to an outsider virtually impossible so that the structuring capacity of the individual habitus becomes immobilized and impotent. Absent the structuring capacity of the habitus, symbolic power and its reproduction cannot be achieved and certainly it is incapable of sustainability. SW6, like the university president, is the “outsider within” (Yoder and Berendsen 2001:27) and, in her interview, she spoke of that isolation, devoid of power as did SW5 earlier when he described racially minoritized employees as being “temporary members of the club”.

reproduce itself, produce profits, expand and contains the tendency to persist” (Bourdieu 1986:241).<sup>276</sup> Therefore, whiteness is not only about colour nor is it simply constrained to physiognomic variation; rather, it is about difference and the persistence and repetition of that difference over time (Deleuze 1968)<sup>277</sup>. According to Wallace (2016:467), these differences are entwined with an “historical system of thought and action that affords undue structural, material and political privileges that often remains unmarked and unquestioned [...] in contemporary [...] society (Nayak 2007) despite the significant impact it has on the structure of social relations” (Weiss 2010:28). Gillborn (2005:10) understands the state of ‘whiteness’ in terms of silent normativity - never spoken of but invariably taken-for-granted and a “category of positional superiority that exists in juxtaposition to ‘non-whiteness’ (Bablak, Raby, and Pomerantz 2016, 57)”.

Whiteness is an inestimable capital resource in the historically contingent surge of white career advancement throughout the Ontario college system that leaves racially minoritized people in its wake (Mills 1997) without the benefit of an effective counter-narrative. However, for the purposes of this Chapter, the utility of whiteness and white power as a capital resource invites a more nuanced exploration of systemic racial inequality.

## 9.7 White Careers in a White Bubble & White Fragility

Visits to each of the fifteen colleges were made for this study (Sch. ‘J’, Sec. ‘V’). Intensive interviews were held with the study participants, and an observation was made that the most noticeable intersectionalities referred to earlier by Professor Park are found as one moves up the career

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<sup>276</sup> Bourdieu’s preoccupation with economic metaphors (‘capital’, ‘distinction’, etc.) was never intended by him to be “guided by rational calculation of maximum profit” (Bourdieu 1993:18). That being said, “...those seeking cultural capital are, in the end, just as mercenary as seekers of craven cash profits, but cultural strivers are able to (mis)recognize what they’re doing as a disinterested pursuit of aesthetic experience” (Nealon 2018:101).

<sup>277</sup> Janssen (2010:83) notes that “[g]ender, to the later Baudrillard, partakes in a principle of duality more profound, more ironic, than that of banal complementarity or commensurability: a radical asymmetry that does not leave room for “difference” nor for a politics based on, and thus having to insist on, difference. Such non-commutability therefore acts as a counterpoint to gender theories that see gender as the production of difference, a scene of differential construction or performance amounting to an ethics of balance rather than an antidote to balanced in-difference”. Janssen is, of course referring to Baudrillard’s (1979) *De la séduction*. Paris: Galilée, translated as *Seduction* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990). Despite the fact that they were colleagues, Baudrillard, in his seminal work on masculinity, never refers to Bourdieu who, in 1990, contemporaneously wrote a well-known essay (and later, in 1998, a book) on *Masculine Domination* that became a touchstone for prominent feminist / queer theory.

ladder. For example, SW12, a white female manager, said: “I think I should acknowledge that my administrative position is lower administrative position. It is the lowest there is. So, I think we are more culturally diverse at the lower level and then as you climb up the ladder it becomes more singular – white, heterosexual – yeah”. She added that:

(T)ypically, as you go up the ladder in terms of status, the percentage of white people who are administrators is increasingly high and so – and we tend to – I personally try to be very conscious of this but we tend to surround ourselves with people who we think are similar to us or like-minded or who we perceive to understand, and I very much see that that’s kind of the case. So, I mean, you could talk about white privilege and white power, I guess.

SW4, another white female manager at a different college was of the view that “it’s very obvious [...] we are dominated by very white middle-class kind of workforce, and what I have been thinking about a lot lately, reading about a lot lately and listening to my female friends who are women of colour, are the structures that we have in place that don’t allow them to ascend into positions of power”.

Higher education across the Country, and certainly in the human geography of Ontario, suffers from under-representation of racial minorities at the upper-tiered managerial levels. There is not a single, non-white President of any Ontario college – a fact which, at the very least, suggests whiteness, as cultural capital in the context of the Ontario college system, is a transcendent model of symbolic power (Garner 2006:264, 275). Relationally, it is also “a contingent social hierarchy granting differential access to economic, cultural and social capital and intersecting with different social categories that go beyond hegemonic white/non-white paradigms” (Samaluk 2014:3). The pervasive sense of whiteness and the lack of diversity at the top belies college website pretensions of inclusiveness and that sedimentation trickles down the rungs of managerial hierarchy so that inequity is felt by intersectionally challenged students and mid-level managerial employees alike.<sup>278</sup> Systemic racial bias in higher education throughout the Country, including Ontario, is ever-

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<sup>278</sup> For example, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, whose legislated mandate is to hear and adjudicate upon issues of systemic racism in the Province, quotes a black student who appeared before the tribunal, giving sworn evidence about the prevalence of racism at an Ontario college I investigated and where he attended: “(a) typical day at this campus is

present and largely ignored beyond polite forums exuding the rhetoric of diversity in part because the individuals who possess the power to address this systemic issue happen to be the direct beneficiaries of its non-performativity (Ahmed 2004, Drakich and Stewart 1995, Dua 2000, Dua and Lawrence 2000, Mahtani 2006).<sup>279</sup> American sociologist, Robin DiAngelo (2018:95), offers a more dismal (and direct) assessment of whites as cultural beneficiaries in a broader sense:

To put it bluntly, I believe that the white collective fundamentally hates blackness for what it reminds us of: that we are capable and guilty of perpetrating immeasurable harm and that our gains come through the subjugation of others.

What was observed in this project is consistent with many studies in the United States drawing attention to the historical construction of whiteness at work (Allen 1994, 1997). However, Samaluk (2014:373) points out that Bourdieu's relational theory of field, habitus and capital has been used and can be useful to explore the complexities of racism and whiteness (see e.g., Weiss 2010). Viewing race through Bourdieu's relational lens permits an appreciation of how agents in the field "occupy different gender [and] 'racial' positions within different places at the same time and also that these can change through time (Levitt and Schiller, 2004, pp. 1015)". These social fields are anisomorphically differentiated through discrete hierarchal boundaries that serve to delineate various social dimensions and interrelated positions historically configured by the habitus. This includes "taken-for-granted principles of [any given] hierarchical structure that most often stem from the influence of certain core fields" (Meisenhelder 2000:76) in which gender and race are accumulated cultural artifacts. Bourdieu understood the metaphor of accumulated (Skeggs 1996:8) social capital as ontologically communitarian (Smith 2001) but individually proprietary and

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literally being stared at ... like you're an animal at a zoo." (OHRC 2016: n.p). The comment is reminiscent of Puwar's (2004) observation that black individuals in this environment are the inhabitants of "bodies out of place". Simmons (2017:6) writes of the same impressions at his college: "I think of the human zoos that were used in Europe and even in America to display the "exotic" bodies of Black people. I am not comparing education scholarship to human zoos but rather I am expressing how scholarship is not so productive if it doesn't also include an embodied viewpoint — either from personal experience or from listening closely to the stories of marginalized people".

<sup>279</sup> The Chief Commissioner of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Renu Mandhane, recently noted that "(o)ver the past two years, racial slurs have been scrawled on club posters for the Muslim and Arab associations and references to ISIS have defaced campaign posters of people running in student elections" (OHRC 2016: n.p). He further observed that on both college and university campuses in Canada, including Ontario, "(m)any racialized students are further marginalized because they can't see their own identity reflected in the people who are teaching them or overseeing their institution" (OHRC 2016.: n.p). As I mentioned earlier, Sirag Syed, Vice-President of the student association at Durham College in Oshawa Ontario confirms that this phenomenon is everywhere on his campus. And, as I mentioned, his view is that "(i)t's the nature of the game." (OHRC 2016: 2016: n.p).

objectively enabling competitive status-claiming in the field.<sup>280</sup> He argued that the habitus of gender differentiated social capital imbues a person with the ability to ‘negotiate reputational positionality’ (Holt 1997:101) and mobilize resources and to exert unequal power over the collectivity. An illustration is best provided through excerpts from the narrative of SW11 who was interviewed for this study.

SW11 identifies as a straight, married, black male in his fifties. He is a tall, large, and physically imposing. At the time of his interview, he occupied a senior position in the managerial hierarchy. It is a role that commands respect and a certain amount of unpretentious *noblesse oblige* from all those lower in the pecking order. His annual salary is publicly posted and released annually by the Government of Ontario to show the salaries of senior level public sector employees. In other words, everyone on his staff knows how much he earns and, partially as a result, the role is generally considered to hold a considerable amount of legitimate symbolic power. SW11 was dressed formally for the interview in a manner that felt appropriate to his role. In Simmons’ (2017:6) words, “he dressed white”. Guring, et. al. (2019) conducted a study of the effect clothing has on black male stereotyping. Researchers found that when black men wear more formal attire to work (e.g., suits, formal shirts, and ties), they benefitted from higher general impressions of their intelligence, trustworthiness, and warmth.<sup>281</sup>

SW11’s tall, imposing physical stature complimented his authoritative position in the hierarchy<sup>282</sup>. His initial caution and slightly reserved demeanour eventually gave way to a much more relaxed candour. Framed with frequent use of circumlocutions, he alluded to unspoken racial prejudice. His

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<sup>280</sup> Goffman (1961:78) uses a particularly vivid trope to describe these intersubjective encounters. He refers to them as a “status bloodbath”, curiously likening the various labyrinths of structurally networked alliances to traditional Balinese cockfights.

<sup>281</sup> In my earlier discussions of ‘mimesis’ I introduce the notion of following the path of the power structure in the organization by imitating those who have been successful in negotiating the signposts along the way (Hassard and Cox 2007). Both Goffman (1967) and Bourdieu (1977) observed that power inheres to those who imitate the practices, interactions and bodily hexis of people who possess the greatest amount of exchangeable social capital.

<sup>282</sup> Goffman (1976:28) points out that “(o)ne way in which social weight – power, authority, rank, office, renown – is echoed expressively in social situations is through relative size, especially height [...] biology itself assures that social weight will be indexed by the physical kind”.

highly nuanced choice of words illustrated the existence of diversity without equity in the college environment where he worked:

So, for example, in our school there are about 8 to 10 of us and there are 4 people, male and female, who identify as black. And you tend to have 3 sitting together most of the time, and 1 of those is a male. I tend to traditionally have just sat opposite them but still close but opposite them, and then all around the other side of the table are all female white and at that end they're all female white. And it just tends to fall into that pattern (SW11).<sup>283</sup>

Later, he alluded to a vague feeling of alienation in his own workplace setting which he accepted without complaint. The semiography of the peculiar distribution of bodies *in situs* around the boardroom table and SW11's hierarchal position in relation to the others present suggests the presence of an "invidious duality, where forms of invisibility are socially distributed with opposite effects" (Yang 2020:301) that appear incongruent with the prestige and authority one might expect in the interviewee's senior managerial role.<sup>284</sup> Bourdieu (1999) might describe the interviewee's credentials in terms of the cultural embodiment of male dominance. However, by extending Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and further drawing on Gramsci's (1971a) concept of organic intellectuals, Rios looks at this form of resilient identity and intersubjectivity in terms of "organic capital" which he describes as a form of social and cultural capital that developed in response to structural inequalities ..." (2011:98), obvious from SW11's narrative.

His story lends support to the earlier suggestion that white men both wield and, when deemed necessary, strategically defend symbolic power in the field; that women and minorities - including black males - "must play by the rules and within the boundaries established by white men" (Corson

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<sup>283</sup> Goffman (1976:3) comments on just this sort of physical arrangement of bodies: "People, unlike other animals, can be quite conscious of the displays they employ and are able to perform many of them by design in contexts of their own choosing. This, instead of merely 'displacing' an act (in the sense described by ethologists), the human actor may wait until he is out of the direct line of sight of a putative recipient, and then engage in a portrayal of attitude to him that is only then safe to perform, the performance done for the benefit of the performer himself or third parties. In turn, the recipient of such a display (or rather the target of it) may actively collaborate, fostering the impression that the act has escaped him even though it hasn't – and sometimes evidently so."

<sup>284</sup> In her book, *Whites on Race and Other Falsehoods*, Otegha Uwagba (2020:39) offers a vivid description of such an atmosphere: "Everywhere white shame looms large, sucking the oxygen out of the room, threatening to obscure the issue at hand. Even at their most penitent, white people have a way of making it hard to breathe".

and Costen 2001:18).<sup>285</sup> As Joseph-Sailsbury (2018:17) points out, these are institutionalized white spaces unthinkingly taken for granted as places for white bodies and these spaces are inextricably linked to the structure of white supremacy. In some bureaucracies including the Ontario college system, there are permitted male forms of cultural embodiment and symbolic power (Witz 1998:58) and, as illustrated in the case of SW11 above, black male cultural embodiment simply does not convert to the same exchange value. Sandra Smith (2005) points to the diminished value of black social capital in such a setting and the occasionally self-induced paralysis that ensues from an apparent inability by black individuals to put into motion the social capital they do possess. Esters (2011) suggests that white people, especially some white males tend to read this paralysis incorrectly so that they conjure-up fear or at least guarded suspicion of some African Americans, especially black males who are then compelled to fit themselves into a white field of play to dissipate negativity and stereotypes.

The fact is that SW11, by his dress, manner, attitude and ingrained bodily hexis, has effectively coopted and thereby naturalizes a historical suite of inequitable dispositions in a system of white privilege at his college. Moreover, setting aside any internalized psycho-analytic implications, through his unchallenged conformity he is unwittingly complicitous in the reproduction of white privilege. In Bourdieusian terms, this amounts submission to a form of violence and symbolic “domination [which] usually involves at least some sense of largely below-conscious, psycho-existential complicity on the part of those subjugated” (James 2015:101). Processual misrecognitions make this possible.<sup>286</sup> Symbolic violence only has an effect on agents with their complicity (Poupeau 2000:71). The bully is invariably empowered by the bullied. We see this in

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<sup>285</sup> Although Holt (1997:106) points out that the work of “Goffman, Cicourel, Bourdieu, and Willis demonstrates that knowledge of and strategic defense of boundaries is not a necessary precondition for their successful enactment. In fact, this sort of explicit ideological struggle to defend boundaries is actually a sign that boundaries are under siege, or, in Bourdieu's terminology, they have moved from the common-sense acceptance of doxa to orthodoxy and heterodoxy (see also Berger, 1995)”.

<sup>286</sup> White interviewees invariably conceded the masculinist prerogatives of ‘white privilege’ in most managerial echelons of their colleges. Peggy McIntosh (1988 [1997]:291), among several others (see, e.g., Defrantz 2018, Leonardo 2004, Case 2012, Lowery et. al. 2007, Liu 2017), reminds us that: “(W)hites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege [...] white privilege [is] an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was “meant” to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks.”



situational fields where the doxa of objective structures are consciously organised around constrictive agency by and excluded from networks of power and authority.<sup>287</sup>

Unsurprisingly, one interviewee suggested that “... male, specifically white male, has a much easier sort of stepping-stone to a further career ...” and that “... as a white female, I know that I have opportunity beyond maybe even a black male would. Definitely more than a black female would and other visible minorities” (SE7). NE5, a white male in a very senior position at his college made this observation:

[I] can play this sort of classic strong white male leader that has the calming influence, that takes charge of a situation, and gathers power and respect to me through that because that’s all seen as positive, and I have done that many times and very effectively, and I know that has definitely helped my own situation either by gaining the respect and trust of subordinates or external influences like a lot of my work has been with organizations external to college (NE5).

Another white interviewee talked about the collective self-consciousness of racial privilege when she used the expression “white fragility”:

There is also a ton of white fragility which also is a kind of privilege that we are battling against every day here because we’re trying to have conversations about race, but people are very nervous about it. They’re very hesitant. They’re afraid they’re going to be called a racist and they don’t want to engage in the – it’s white fragility. It’s a privilege (NW2).

Arguably, “fragility” (or what Gail Griffin [1998:3] calls “white innocence”) to which the interviewee alludes is really a performance of defensiveness or perhaps even apprehension and intolerance. Robin DiAngelo (2018:54) defines the phenomenon as an “insulated environment of racial

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<sup>287</sup> There are several criticisms of Bourdieu’s approach which many regard as a “sociology of domination” inasmuch as its ultimate foci are the structural architecture and mechanics of power. As I have discussed in previous Chapters, there is always some room in a Bourdieusian field of play for voluntaristic agency but, to some, the broad canvas of Bourdieusian sociology tends to present a bleak and claustrophobic portrait of pessimism. For example, Paul Willis suggests that Bourdieu “presents, finally, a gloomy, enclosed Weberian world of no-escape. There is no theoretical basis for a politics of change, for the production of alternatives or radical consciousness” (Willis, 1983:121). The sense of quiet resignation I felt in the voices of many interviewees I encountered in my study tends to support Willis’ borderline quasi-dystopic portrait of social reality observed through a Bourdieusian lens.

protection [that] builds white expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress”. Some theorists see white fragility “not in terms of vulnerability but an active performance of invulnerability that masks fear” (Applebaum 2017:862, Gilson 2011, 2014).

Racial privilege, and its invisible corollary of white ‘taken-for-grantedness’ are potent themes explored in the canonical works of Frankenburg (1993,1997), Dyer (1997, 1998) and many others. Some individuals may fear having to step outside their white racial frame or even having to share any semblance of the privileges associated with being white. They may unwittingly conceal to themselves and perhaps others ‘fear’. It is the fear of the evolution of an administrative milieu that, in compliance with mandated diversity hiring policies, appears to be slowly but inexorably encroached upon by multi-racial aspirants who might deign to step out-of-line to an institution’s managerial or at least administrative position ahead of a white candidate. In that regard, the seminal psychoanalytic interrogation of concealed white racism can be found in the contributions of West Indian psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon (1967[1952]).

Thinking about the racial disparity between management and the student population it is supposed to serve and support, the shadow of fear may be attributable to the dawning recognition that the only remaining metaphorical barrier is the student ‘Help Desk’ in an institutional environment filled with non-white students – many from foreign countries with different ethnicities, languages and skin colours who, through the payment of very high tuition, are responsible for financially sustaining white jobs. Bourdieu (1990:56) would contend that legitimated systems of inequality can be objectified in things such as the opposite side of the metaphorical (and physical) help counter in the international students’ reception area. But inequality can also be measured in terms of bodies. Whiteness is an element of the habitus, the unconscious representation of which includes “embodied history, internalized as a second nature that is conveniently forgotten as history” (1990:57). It brings to mind a comment made by one of the white interviewees who might as well have been referring to the ideas of Bourdieu when she pointed to the ‘white bubble’ she regularly observes at her college: “I’ve seen it time and time again. Whether it’s a bias that they’re aware of or not, no, but it’s very apparent here” (SW7).

The structural turbulence of gendered leadership in college bureaucracies has been brought about by external economic pressures added to cultural and political restructuring in the public labour sector; the turbulence is unsettling to many. For some, an uneasy sense of white guilt and its antecedents (Swim and Miller 1999:500-503) may have triggered feelings of insecurity. For example, this white female manager made the following observation:

NE7: We're in a huge upstate of flux, lots of change in leadership.

ROG: Can you talk about that?

NE7: Everybody has changed.

ROG: What has been the impact of that?

NE7: A little tiny bit of chaos.

ROG: Why do you think ... (*interrupted*) ... ?

NE7: Insecurity.

In her opinion, 'security' means being a "male, specifically [a] white male, [who] has a much easier sort of stepping-stone to a further career, and with a better job comes more money; with more money comes more opportunity" (NE7). NE5, a white male college Vice President, revealed that in his institutional play of the game, he presents himself as "this sort of classic strong white male leader that has the calming influence, that takes charge of a situation, and gathers power and respect [...] because that's all seen as positive, and I have done that many times and very effectively." NW2, a white female manager, who holds a PhD and is also a lawyer, thinks "it's not a right. It's a – I'm thinking in terms of racial privilege. Because you're born with white skin, you have privilege. Because you're born male, you have privilege. You can't not be male. You can't not have white skin. So, you will always – until society changes profoundly, you will continue to have those privileges". She pointed out the ...

[...] fact that all of our managers are white. It's about the fact that if we advertise for, say, a job position, there's a certain kind of person that we're seeing as suitable who fits and it's without saying that there's a racial difference, it's still there. It's this sense of, "okay, this is a person like me." As a white person, you can walk around expecting to see people who look like you everywhere. You see yourself. You see your culture reflected back at you everywhere you go. You're affirmed in

who you are. When I walk down a street in a city, I feel safe in a way that other people cannot feel.

After reading the foregoing narratives and sensing the poignant *erlebnisse* of the interviewees whose profound insights offered an intimate view of systemic inequality in the Ontario College system, it should be of little surprise that the culture of secrecy exists. In part, it may be fostered by the fact that Ontario colleges enjoy a statutorily privileged exemption under section 2(1) of the Province's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*. Under cover of that legislative protection, the vast majority of public institutions of higher education in Ontario have a long history of being uncooperative when asked to voluntarily disclose information about hiring practices, promotion policies and other details about the race and gender configurations in their institutions (Thomas 2004:np). There is not a single college in Ontario that publishes the racial composition of its administrative staff. As mentioned earlier, every college in Ontario promotes diversity, inclusion, openness, and accountability on its website as evidence of its voluntary commitment to non-discriminatory, transparent diversity and inclusion guidelines. Closer scrutiny through research as was the case for this dissertation suggests another reality beneath the surface of college website.<sup>288</sup>

In Bourdieusian terms, the observed phenomenon is a misrecognized instrument of control. Unique dimensions of class, race, gender, and ethnicity dissolve into a 'silent black hole' in which meaningless clouds of words are unthinkingly legitimated through lip service provided by an increasingly undifferentiated mass that has lost its political, economic, and social legitimacy (Alijevova 2006). As shown above, the lived experiences recounted by those minorities who must endure the quotidian struggle of intersectional discrimination, is quite another story from what is portrayed in college website diversity policies. As discussed in Chapter 4, at the very minimum, mandated workplace heterogeneity - even with the force of legislation - generates institutional operational responses that are generally weak, feckless and, as has been shown, they are maintained and enforced in secrecy.

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<sup>288</sup> Baudrillard (1981) would likely envisage these plenary diversity policies disseminated on college websites as signalling the death knell of the social. Arguably, the very existence of diversity policies in the Ontario college system, to which only lip-service is paid, effectively negates human difference by homogenizing it. The architecture of mandated diversity and inclusion is not shaped by racial minorities. Instead, they speak to the way white people see racial minorities without ever having lived in their bodies, seen white people through the eyes of intersectionalized racial minorities nor experienced prejudice through their eyes. Diversity policies do not honour minorities; in fact, they erase them through assimilation.

## 9.8 Conclusion

There seems to be general agreement from numerous sources (including the research data gathered for this study) that ‘white privilege’ exists - or, as Deleuze and Guattari succinctly suggest, “race is real” (2013:8) - and that it reproduces itself within the Provincial college system; but what is the ontology of ‘white privilege’? How is it nurtured? By whom? Legislation and policy in the Province’s public college system would attempt to persuade that systemic discrimination is a postcolonial, capitalist sediment of the past. But that is not the case. As mentioned in the preceding section, the sufflated rhetoric of inclusion can be found on the diversity pages of every Ontario college website, all of which boldly affirm the existence of “a diverse student body, faculty, administrative and support staff that is reflective of society” (e.g., Seneca College 2020:np). However, as Kia Jarmon has argued and, as has been demonstrated above, diversity in the college system is nothing more than a pretence that symbolically defines, legitimizes, and reproduces the supremacy of white privilege together with its mimetic - and to that extent complicit - allegiances.

The social ecosystem can be decolonized and deconstructed to reveal the layers systemic discrimination as well as racial and gender inequality in this environment. The approach is a modern, feminist ideological strategy (Elam 1994). It is in keeping with the materialist views of Deleuze (Saldanah and Adams 2013) and Spivak (1987), and it is increasingly used to uncover and discursively explore the ontological territory beyond the hegemonic binaries of whiteness and non-whiteness, male, and female. It achieves its purpose through analysis in more relational terms (Chen 2012). Most importantly, this particular epistemological method aligns with a further interpolation of Bourdieu’s theories (1993, 2000b, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1990).

When its institutional and depersonalized layers are peeled away, the “natural hierarchy of whiteness” (Paul 2013:919) and its attendant privileges reveal themselves for what they are in the

Ontario college system. What they are is a form of symbolic violence which, relationally, demonstrates a “tendency toward the monopolization of social power and honor, a tendency which . . . happens to be linked to ‘race’ (Weber [1921] 1978:386). However, those who are victimized by the hegemony of white privilege - or, more appropriately, the colonization of racial and gender supremacies implicit in ‘white *male* privilege’ - include more than non-white individuals who manage and manipulate the field of play in the daily struggle to contend with intersectional eliminativism. Gender inequality is an equally potent negative force that fuels systemic intersectional discrimination. The key findings discussed in following Chapter - the dissertation conclusion - reaffirm the contention that gender capital is not so much a way of promoting one’s social capital but rather it is a unique instance of gendered victimology, strategically utilized as a survivalist mechanism against the ravages of white, neoliberal, capitalist patriarchy in the Ontario college system.

### 10.1 Introduction

My thesis set out to explore gender and racial intersectionality in the medial management sector of the Province's public, community college system. Its primary purpose was to contribute to the existing body of Canadian scholarship in social research by addressing a notable epistemological gap in the field, namely research, theory and methodology focussing on the existence of gendered and racialized inequity in the Ontario college system. Historically, any notion or even nascent awareness of discrimination in college management was practically non-existent. However, my key findings show how these powerful forms of symbolic domination continue to exist in an occluded, bureaucratic subterrain that successfully reproduces oppressive structures. These symbolically dominant interactions in the field marginalize certain gendered practices and racialized minorities in the socio-spatial environments of Ontario's community colleges.

A secondary purpose of this study was to demonstrate that diversity policies in the Province's college bureaucracies aggressively promote the curtailment of race and gender-based discriminatory ascription in their administrative offices and hallways. But this obfuscates daily interpersonal injustice driven by the reproduction of an historically racialized and androcentric career habitus. Individuals with diverse attributes compensate as best they can by resourcing Bourdieu's capitals and feminist articulations of those capitals to halt or perhaps resist the oppression of persistent masculine domination. My findings suggest that, especially as they rise to higher levels within the administration, agents often compromise the subjectivity of their own gender identities.

A concluding Chapter of this nature would be remiss without bringing together Bourdieusian and significant other theoretical and methodological frameworks supporting the key themes of this study: race, gender, class distinction and intersectionality. I offer a holistic analysis of these themes. I present them through an eclectic array of epistemological and methodological lenses punctuated by appropriate references to my findings Chapters. This approach underscores the

encompassing capacity of philosophically divergent epistemologies and methodologies. In one way or another, they all support empirical and pragmatically-driven research that addresses the existential reality of multiple social structures that produce social injustice, class barriers, intersectional oppression and both racial and gender discrimination in the workplace.

What follows is a personal summary of my study results. I present a number of policy, methodological, and theoretical implications for future research in the field of Ontario's college system. First, I present a brief, albeit stark, summary of the key study findings. Following a discussion of the findings and what I believe to be the general contributions I have made to the field, I thread together and interpolate selected theoretical perspectives on gender capital, the themes of which are infiltrated throughout my work. In that regard, I discuss a number of critical, feminist insights that feature unique, relational perspectives of social phenomena – a potent, multi-focal lens through which to view and gain a comprehensive understanding of how to interpret the objective structure and performative characteristics of the middle management sector in Ontario's public colleges. Third, I present a comprehensive and detailed review of my main arguments. I also include a discussion of my empirical study of intersectionality which I link to the adverse outcomes of the inherent and reinforced power differential implicit in white supremacy.

The pervasive absence of critical consciousness about gender and race discrimination exists throughout the province's college administrations despite the institutional rhetoric of diversity and inclusion. I refer to diversity fatigue as another expression of white fragility – a form of conscious or unconscious interactional aversion toward micro-politically sensitive topics such as race and gender injustice. As I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the apparent tendency toward this myopia when it comes to these intersectional issues almost necessarily leads to the strategic engagement of gendered social capital as a resistive and compensatory intersubjective mechanism utilized by those oppressed to either secure or advance institutional positionality. Next, I proceed to discuss the originality of my methodological approach which includes an expanded discussion of 'gender capital' and the specific contribution I have made to the literature exploring this topic. Particular focus is on critical feminist scholarship with respect to gender issues in the study of intersectionality.



After the foregoing, I broach the subject of this study's limitations and the efforts I made to ameliorate research bias. Finally, I formulate what I consider to be the main research implications of my project with specific focus on policy, methodology, and theory, concluding with a number of recommendations for future research in the field.

## 10.2 DISCUSSION: Key Findings

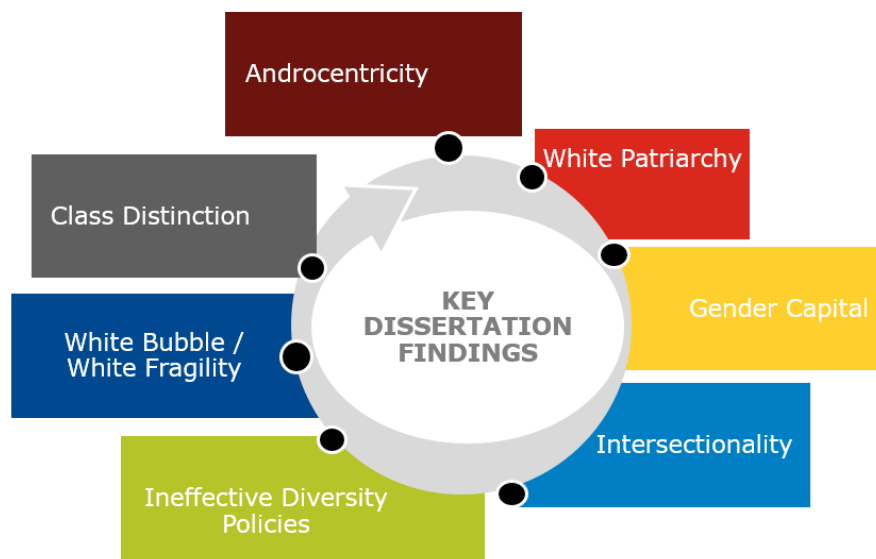


Figure 5: Panoptic Summary of Key Findings

Source: Author

I believe it is a fair and reasonable conclusion that at its core, the Ontario college system operates in a cloistered, neoliberal culture. The data certainly points to a site of class location characterized by a secretive culture of gender and racial bias. In an institutional setting that should be the public standard for hierarchies of competence there are, instead, subjectivized hierarchies of power characterized by the persistent concomitants of white male privilege. Aspirational agents in this social structure trade in, strategize with and ultimately deploy social capital whilst trading across intersectional fields to achieve career ascendancy in the system's medial management sector. This autonomous coworking terrain is competitive and contested. It is animated by agents, some of

whom engage in stratagems of self-commodification amid internal struggles for legitimate recognition in a predominantly white, patrifocal workplace bureaucracy that is a breeding ground for class distinction, the perquisites of inclusion and organizational victimizations brought about by exclusion.

The sanitized, hollow dualities of published 'diversity' and 'inclusion' policies are legislated, mandated, and even institutionally promoted across public college administrations. But individual inculcation of diversity postulates tends to default to no more than a purely administrative matter of ticking the boxes - H.R. protocols that must be observed, demonstrating at least superficial compliance. Meanwhile, the victims of workplace intersectionality often struggle with structural and micro-aggressive forces of socio-cultural deracination and subjective gender identity ablation. Ed Stetzer from *Life Way Research* observes that, homologously white, heterosexual "(p)eople like the idea of diversity. They just don't like being around different people" (2015:np). It is a form of narcissism, resistant to what Adorno (1991:145) calls discursive *zersetzend*, or "that which debunks their own stubbornly maintained values, and it also explains the hostility of prejudiced persons against any kind of introspection". In that regard, it became clear, from the interviews, that most middle management employees of Ontario's colleges are discomfited by any hint of interrogating their own whiteness or with introspective discussions about the variegated subjectivity of gender identity. The fact is that the preponderant white, heterosexual majority found in many large, bureaucratic organizations like the provincial college system do not actually say they want diversity. Their unspoken, yet ever-present, reality is that "they're saying they won't go out of their way to prevent it, as long as they don't have to actually do anything" (Thomas 2016:np).

My findings suggest very little top-down action or evidence of concrete targets by way of follow-up toward the decolonization of the status quo. Leaders as middle managers in the objective structures of the workplace fields and symbolically dominant social networks remain persistently white, male, heterosexist, traditionally masculinist and, in a resistant number of cases, cling to the habitus of androcentricity. Jason Stanley (2018:94) points to:

[...] a long history of social psychological research about the fact that increased representation of members of traditional minority groups is experienced by dominant groups as threatening in various ways. More recently, a growing body of social psychological evidence substantiates the phenomenon of dominant group feelings of victimization at the prospect of sharing power equally with members of minority groups.

Even at the very highest organizational levels, where aspirational women are slowly cracking the glass ceiling, virtually everyone is as white as they have always been. In institutions where white women are ensconced in executive positions (because there are virtually no racial minorities in such positions), it translates into a gender issue. Women are often described by those they govern with typical demotic pejoratives such as “butch”. Men who nurture their employees are sometimes referred to as ‘pansies’ and rarely make it to the executive boardroom. Outward signs of male effeminacy translate into dashed aspirations of ‘leadership’ at the topmost levels of the administration. The resultant socio-cultural portrait of the province’s college system represents a patent, incarnate reflection of Bourdieu’s notion that habitus is a “set of enduring transferable dispositions [and] a set of virtualities, potentialities and eventualities” (1980:88-89). Ironically, these apparently inalienable ‘eventualities’ also serve to reflect the omnipresence of Billing’s ‘phantom’ of the male norm, a spectre mentioned throughout this dissertation.

These may appear to some to be stark and dramatic conclusions. However, the excerpts from the interview transcripts and from the survey text questions selected for this dissertation, as well as the rest of the data set analyzed and presented as shown, are corroborative. In this final Chapter I demonstrate how the conclusions I have drawn above are linked to the main project research questions. My conclusions were influenced by a number of feminist scholars and their various theorizations and methodologies but especially by Bourdieu’s intriguing, novel, complex and often ambiguous oscillation between inter-individual subjectivity and objective social relationality. Most importantly, my contribution to knowledge has been inspired by a host of preeminent feminist scholars, discussed below, whose outstanding theoretical and methodological insights have profoundly contributed to sociological literature.

I have discussed and highlighted their many contributions to knowledge throughout this dissertation. They have forged powerful theories and methodologies about symbolically dominant social systems into theoretically cohesive and powerful social indictments of intersectionality in the workplace and beyond. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, I was influenced by the many feminist articulations of practice theory as a means of offering the reader a number of alternative ethnomethodological formulations. Several focus on various aspects of contemporary neoinstitutionalism.

Accordingly, in the following discussion, I demonstrate how my research has contributed to this literature and how my research addresses my primary dissertation inquiries. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this study and I offer suggestions that might be considered for future research. In so doing, I link my findings to the antecedent and broader contextual factors relevant to my research. To summarize and encapsulate the key findings of this project, I briefly highlight them below.

### **10.3 Summary of Key Findings**

- The Ontario college system is a domain of gender (Lovett and Lowry 1994, Kanter 1977, Sagaria 2002:697, Smith, et. al. 2004, Stangl and Kane 1991:49-50) and racial (Parkin 1979, Applebaum 2015, Joseph-Salisbury 2018, Hartman 1979) discrimination dominated by a neoliberal culture of white patriarchy that shows little evidence of attenuation.
- Depending upon individual positionality and the availability of virtuosic opportunity, the administrative occupants of the medial management sector of this system navigate, negotiate, mimic, resist and deploy the institutional doxa (Bourdieu 1977, Tatli, et. al. 2015, Roos and Rotkirch 2003, Daenekindt 2017, Algazi 2003) through the strategically adroit utilization of gender capital to achieve egoistic and team-centered objectives.
- These gender performances are replete with attendant masculinized or femininized impressionistic dramaturgies (Goffman 1951, 1954, 1956, 1961, 1977, Butler 1996,

1999, Mavin and Gandy 2016, Duehr and Bono 2006, Dematteo 1994, Koenig, et. al. 2011). They are overlaid by intersectional oppression and long-standing, systemic social injustice. These injustices must be managed intersubjectively to preserve or enhance one's exchange value in the various structural networks of power. I found these networks within each institution comprising the provincial system built in part on slowly changing but long-standing power structures. Traditional patriarchy is nothing less than a form of persistent, anti-feminist, cultural fascism. It continues to influence (if not dominate) the workplace structural hierarchy and the interpersonal relationships within that paradigm.

Cultural fascism effectively reproduces the heteronomous rule of the habitus "through the perpetuation of dependence instead of the realization of potential freedom, through expropriation of the unconscious by social control instead of making the subjects conscious of their unconscious" (Adorno 1991:151). "Given the gendered assumptions underpinning [...] many early theories of fascism, it is not surprising that fascism [is] a recurring term in feminist discourse. Countering the notion that women are drawn to subjugation, post-war feminism developed an analogy that posed fascism as a correlative of patriarchy: an exaggerated but related form of male domination" (Frost 2000:38 and see: Bartky 1990, Carlston 1998). As Jason Stanley (2018:4) reminds us, "[...] in the fascist imagination, the past invariably involves traditional, patriarchal gender roles. The fascist mythic past has a particular structure, which supports its authoritarian, hierarchal ideology".

- Diversity policies extolling the eradication or at least amelioration of organizational racism and gender bias are found throughout the Ontario college system, but they are largely ineffective, and their lofty anthems sound a hollow knell in the everyday field of struggle with which mid-managers must contend (Dennissen et. al. 2018, Connell 2011, Cherit 2008, Dyer 1997, Thompson and Zablotsky 2016, Pullen, et. al. 2019, Mikkelsen and Wåhlin 2020, Pryor and Hoffman 2021, Mianda 2020). The general use by privileged white employees of the curiously oxymoronic phrase, 'diversity and inclusion', in fact signals an erosion of the logical and semantic sense

of those words. The residual detritus is nothing more than a collective and unrealistic 'feel good' emotion that has little relevance in the oppressive social reality of workplace intersectionality.

- White employees in this sector work and fulfil their responsibilities in a privileged, fragile 'white bubble' (Applebaum 2015) that effectively insulates them (or at least allows them to hide) from the spotlight of critical race theory, but that racial insularity does not necessarily protect them from systemic gender discrimination including the continued existence of the 'glass ceiling'. Non-white employees must contend with the intersectional reality of both gender *and* racial inequalities *and* their implications in terms of social class which show no sign of abatement.
- The divisive nature of social class distinction is particularly noticeable in the contrast between the student and administrative populations of every institution visited (Frankenberg 1997, Ahmed 2012, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010, Fellows and Razack 1998, Kincheloe and Steinberg 1998, DiAngelo 2012). The student cohorts are largely non-white and multi-racial; the administrative staffs are almost exclusively white. The Information / Help Desks [Chapter 7.4(a)] in each college are the metaphorical socio-geographic boundaries.

They are the physical expression of a containment strategy that exudes both power and class distinction in equal measure. It results in multi-racial students being psychologically isolated. Especially with respect to temporarily resident, internationalized students, they regard themselves as victimized. But gender-based, labour hierarchical class barriers are also found everywhere within the dominant white community of medial managers in the system. These barriers ensure career-enhancing access to sought-after power networks for some and the workplace disappointments of exclusion for others.

- Finally, the decadent, frequently mediatized presentations of traditional superordinate, hegemonic male and subordinate female stereotypes in North

America (Cuklanz and Erol 2021, Levant and Richmond 2007, Scharrer and Blackburn 2018, Chirica 2018) and the United Kingdom (Albrecht 2015), typify the enduring habitus of a patrifocal ideology concealed by the rhetoric of diversity and inclusion. In the institutions I visited, colourful diversity and inclusion banners are pinned to corked, hallway billboards and broadcast on college websites, often underscoring pictures above of smiling, interactive, multi-racial students and employees who might easily have been borrowed from a Benetton advertisement. The image is an ablation; a 'semantic satiation' (Jakobovits 1962), devoid of meaning but for a surreal mythology it creates that benefits white people wishing to demonstrate their personal distance from race and/or gender discriminatory mindsets. But, of course, the narcissistic gain from this sort of distancing without any semblance of discursive justification itself is discriminatory.

Baudrillard's simulacra of a mediatized alterity - for the most part - exemplifies the social phenomenon. It is in that sense: "[t]he pleasure of an excess of meaning when the bar of the sign falls below the usual waterline of meaning: the nonsignifier is exalted by the camera angle [...] without the distance that gives us perspectival space and depth vision" (Baudrillard: 1994:28). In the larger picture, women have stowed their aprons and docked their family's children in daycare to come to work in an increasingly neoliberalized provincial college system. However, with some primarily egocentric, gender-reformulative exceptions, they remain preoccupied in subordinate roles. Close-up, the carpeted offices on higher, windowed floors remain the exclusive preserve and androcentric purview of a white, patriarchal world. That reality is reproduced with organizational impunity under the anthem of 'diversity and inclusion' which, in the result, belies the concept's very existence.

## 10.4 General Contribution to the Sociological Field

A scholarly dissertation should reasonably contribute to bodies of both applied and theoretical knowledge in the field (Mearns 2008). Simply stated, applied knowledge involves using theoretical notions or typological frameworks in one context to understand and to inspire critical thinking about ameliorating the problematics of and constructing possible solutions to another. The epistemic centrality of theoretical knowledge represents the other side of the metaphorical coin. In most cases, the essential intangibility of theoretical knowledge, in isolation, neatly eschews mundane practicality. However, the problematics themselves cannot be understood or even viewed in a meaningful context in absent robust theoretical knowledge. It is the latter that forges pathways to tangible solutions based upon experience. Theoretical knowledge is, therefore, the universal ‘why’ behind the problem searching for ‘how’ - a specific solution.

The scholarly feminist appropriation of Bourdieu’s theoretical knowledge has been applied in theory-dependent methodologies as an ineliminable epistemic resource in many workplace contexts (e.g., Huppatz 2012, Arun 2012, 2018, Colley 2006, Bartlett 2010) including higher education (e.g., Baker and Brown 2009, Dumais 2002, Thomas 2002, Walkerdine 2003) but it has never been specifically extended to the specific study of middle management in the Ontario college system. My work is the first of its kind in this Province. My study began in October 2017 when most of my attention was concentrated on gaining the necessary theoretical foundation to foster my own insight into the “systematic nature of discursive institutional settings” (Verloo 2018:20) I would soon explore. As of this date, I am not aware of any researcher who has published<sup>289</sup> scholarly accounts of the subject-matter situated in the narrow domicile that is the focus of my dissertation.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> In October, 2021, Melissa Gallo of the University of Liverpool, published, in *Academia*, her doctoral thesis (Ed.D.) in which she qualitatively researched the professional development of academic advisors in the Ontario college system. Her focus is completely unrelated however it is another and welcomed current lens through which to observe this rarely investigated bureaucracy and social system.

<sup>290</sup> By mid-2018, I had prepared myself to contend with the challenging logistics of a qualitatively dominant, mixed methods research design that contemplated survey deployment to and field work in colleges covering every geographic corner of Ontario, a Province that is vast in size (See Schedule ‘K’, Fig. 1). Although there were inklings from the survey results, it was not until the interviews commenced in January 2019 that I realized the conflicted presuppositions I had erroneously drawn from earlier research completed for my master’s degree. I entered this project thinking about both



Dissertations such as this invite novel approaches to theory. Distinct from the applied contribution to knowledge presented in this study, I have added innovation to scholarly literature situated in the theory of methodology. Glaser and Strauss first used the expression, 'grounded theory' in 1967 (see also: Glaser 1978, Strauss 1987). In effect, it means "[...] a qualitative research method that seeks to develop theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed" (Urquhart et al. 2010:357). Its fundamental legitimacy is situated in doctrinal pragmatism (Dewey 1925, Mead 1934) and some would argue symbolic interactionism (Park and Burgess 1921, Blumer 1931); neither is necessarily excluded in the implementation of a qualitatively dominant, mixed methods paradigm as in this dissertation.

As I discussed earlier in Chapter 3, grounded theory ("GT") is emergent, immanent, methodologically diverse and dynamic. With its foundation based on the theoretical principles of symbolic interactionism, nevertheless it is shaped from insightful interpretations of real-world data and has less to do with prior personal or reported experiences or hypotheses constructed from extant scholarly literature. GT formed the backbone of my extensive, qualitative research and, emerging from that exercise, I have presented a non-canonical and existentialist theoretical perspective matched by an equally unique approach to methodology. My work involved investigations approached through the bifocal lenses of Bourdieusian sociology and critical feminist scholarship to reveal the relational semiotics of social reality never studied in the college institutional milieu across the Province of Ontario. My dissertation demonstrates expanded insights about Bourdieusian relational and other epistemocentric yet methodologically diverse perspectives through which to view and interpret the objective structure and structuring performances and interactions characteristic of organizational management in higher education. With an obligatory acknowledgment of Bourdieu's staunch and well-known 'anti-positivist' views, I submit that qualitative research of the type employed in my study suitably frames grounded theory and other congruent and even oppositional methodological frameworks as "complementary to traditional normal science research, [...] particularly suited for generating novel theory in under-explored

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diversity and gender in binary terms - not an uncommon mindset (Giammattei 2015, El-Malik 2014, Bivens 2017 Schiwy 2007, McPhail 2004). But my research wanted its own way, and the data took me down a much different path. The preceding three Chapters provide real-life clarity and concreteness to the abstruse theories and scholarly abstractions that are necessarily a component of doctoral study. The powerful narratives recounting the lived experiences of the project participants reify the 'struggles in the field' theorized by Bourdieu and a feminist scholarly appreciation of the intersectional oppressions (Galupo, et. al. 2018, Zambrana and Dill 2009, Smith and Shin 2015, Pope-Davis, et. al. 2001) that are the detritus of historically engrained gender and racial inequality.

research areas” (Presthus and Munkvold 2016:3) such as the province’s public, community college system.

To add depth to my research, I interpolated feminist perspectives of embodied cultural and social capital (McCall 1992) to problematize social class stratification and intersectionality in the province’s medial managerial substrate. Aligned with my research questions, my interest has been the social processual metrics through which gender and racial identities are strategized and manipulated in exchange for individual career survival and enhancement possibilities. In some cases, the result may be the opportunity to escalate one’s career in a college bureaucracy but occasionally at the expense of one’s own subjectivity. Exchange value is integral because of its relational significance. I have shown that gender capital is a multi-dimensional iteration of social capital that is, in a Marxian sense, a phantom-like, malleable, and exchangeable form of micro-political currency. It commodifies and replicates itself in many other institutional contexts around the world. Moreover, gender capital, as a distinctive habitus, offers us the challenging opportunity to engage gender and race intersectionality panoptically through a typology of conceptual and methodological frameworks presented in this thesis, the further examination of which follows.

#### **10.4.1 Gender Capital & Contribution to the Sociological Field**

Gender capital is a feminist derivation of Bourdieu’s “embodied” cultural capital. In this dissertation, I demonstrated how gender capital is utilized in the medial sector of the Ontario college system. It is, fundamentally, a heuristic tool routinely deployed by both men and women for the purpose of acquitting the doxic orchestrations of a struggled field in which an enduring regime of androcentricity lords over and effectively governs the rules of the game (Huppatz and Goodwin 2013, McAdam et al. 2018). The institutional doxa, wielded by those in dominant positions, represent “symbolic structures [in relation to] both cognitive structures of individuals as well as broader social structures” (Ross-Smith and Huppatz, 2010:548). However, my dissertation shows how the structured determinisms of the habitus - even given Bourdieu’s limited acknowledgment of the structuring capacity of volitional agency - can be made amenable to somewhat more malleable presentations of subjective gender identity (McCall, 1992).

For example, whilst Skeggs (1997) and other theorists mentioned in this project impliedly consign 'femininity' to a concomitant of the gendered self and contrived workplace strategies of limited if not ephemeral value, I have shown in this dissertation that, in fact, if managed adroitly, the antithesis can be the result. It depends entirely upon a keen sense of contextual and epistemological awareness driving the optimization of one's human capital: at the right time and in the appropriate context, using the obvious psychological tools available to learn and therefore know how to play the game rather than abjectly falling back on recourse to historically gendered forms of identity stasis.

Earlier, I mentioned the inspiring work of Ronald Burt. He argues that it is a relatively straightforward matter of strategic agency involving access to the right structural networks controlling the most efficacious power relations that can produce runway edge-lit avenues toward career ascendancy. Some of the participants interviewed enhanced their capital value by resorting to masculinized gender presentations. In other instances, sexually explicit clothing, high heel shoes or even at times the calculated appearance of cognitive opaqueness in specific intersubjective situations was deployed in order to achieve either permanent egoistic or policy-driven, team project-related goals. Still others talked about soft-skills such as serving coffee and bringing cookies from home. In so doing, they confessed to the psychological tendency of undervaluing the power potential of their own nurturing abilities ineffectively imported to field of struggle from their traditional family habitus. They contended that the assumption of that role in the workplace relegated them to positional security because of compliance with the top and admiration from the bottom rungs of the institution's social hierarchy.

My findings revealed that in effect, their lack of confidence in their own gender capital created a self-imposed occupational segregation. In so doing, their gender presentations served to define the boundaries of their own unique social class distinction. It shaped a self-constructed subset within the dominant, cultural hegemony even without the occupants of the subset necessarily being aware of the various interpersonal axes of power and influence available to them. For various reasons, they did not apprehend the capital value of the relationship-building centrality of their administrative roles. My findings show that men do the same. They assume chameleonic postures,

depending upon the context, to maximize the personal and organizational effectiveness of their gender capital.

In Chapter 8, I profiled one male facilities manager otherwise prone to a more nurturing personality, who talked about the tough, aggressive, masculinist role he adopted in the workplace to avoid being called a “pansy” by his colleagues. Regardless of his own sexual orientation, this manager learned the capitalized exchange value of knowing how to ‘think straight’ (Ingraham 2006:311) in order to effectively navigate the social boundaries of his workplace role. Thinking straight:

[...] conceals the operation of heterosexuality in structuring gender [capital] and closes off any critical analysis of heterosexuality as an organizing institution. The effect of this depiction of reality is that heterosexuality circulates as taken for granted, naturally occurring, and unquestioned, while gender is understood as socially constructed and central to the organization of everyday life (Ingraham 2006:311)

Therefore, from within the objective structural realities characterizing the Ontario college system, my findings show yet another example of the ineffably malleable, multi-dimensional, ever-shifting nature of gender capital. In that sense, my findings offer another contribution to this field of sociological enterprise. In research done in Australia, O’Dwyer and Richards (2021:4, also see: Ross-Smith and Huppertz 2010, Huppertz and Goodwin 2013, Applebaum 2003) located corroborative evidence supportive of the apparently global reliability of my own findings. This section appropriately concludes with their evaluation with which I concur:

Feminine capital is associated with femaleness and masculine capital with maleness, but both men and women may be able to utilize femininity and masculinity as gender capital. [...] [M]en successfully mobilize different femininities as well as masculinities in [...] female-dominated occupation[s] [...]. By adopting both feminine and masculine capital, male[s] [...] experienced faster career progression. Likewise, women in management positions may attempt to mobilize masculine capital by adopting “male” management or leadership styles [...].

The project data discussed in Chapters 7 - 9 clearly demonstrates this phenomenon and therefore I suggest that my findings in the investigation of the middle management sector of the Ontario

college system replicate and thereby support the theoretical positions adopted by the above-mentioned feminist scholars.

### **10.5 Further Perspectives on Gender Capital and Social Class**

Anne Ross-Smith and Kate Huppatz (2010:547) propose that gender capital “as articulated in contemporary feminist theory, [is a way of providing] an unexplored but potentially powerful explanatory mechanism for furthering our understanding of the complex and different ways the presence of women in [...] managerial roles may shape contemporary management discourses and practices.” However, gender capital is not necessarily a concept specific to females. McAdam, et. al. (2019:463) reminds us that:

[...] embodied cultural capital takes the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body possessed through, for example, processes of self-improvement or socialisation, [so] that gendered dispositions may also act as capital. If gender is cultural capital, then femininity is culturally learned. Consequently, gender capital is a capital that is available to men and women [...]. It comprises the ‘knowledge, resources and aspects of identity available—within a given context—that permit access to regime-specific gendered identities’ (citing Bridges 2009:92).

Bridges (2009:92) underscores this viewpoint by suggesting that, in fact, “[h]egemonic masculinity takes different shapes in different fields of interaction, acting as a form of cultural capital: gender capital.”. In my dissertation I have tried to illustrate the quintessential fluidity of this concept with attention given to its broad applicability across the myriad forms of gender presentation in the workplace field. The conceptual elusiveness of ‘gender capital’ (Calkin 2018) is reflected in the several academic interpretations accorded to it by prominent scholars including feminist scholars, whose insights focussing on its theoretical linkages to intersectionality, are reflected throughout the entire thematic structure of this dissertation. In this concluding Chapter, I suggest that I have brought together and reconciled the major theoretical arguments made in support of my project goals. I underscore this task with grounded verisimilitude through the powerful voices of the many participants who volunteered their time, effort and insights. Given the theoretical and methodological foundation of my project, any such attempt at intellectual reconciliation must

necessarily begin with the acknowledgment and pervasive influence of Bourdieu's core ideas discussed further below.

### **(a) Bourdieu, Connell & Social Class**

In Chapter 6, I refer to American feminist scholar, Leslie McCall (1992) who argues that the pre-reflexive architecture of gender identity is functionally related to a Bourdieusian secondary reconversion process. This interconvertible mechanism, in effect, reconfigures initially structured conceptualizations of neo-Marxist economic capital and its concomitant: hierarchization through the various stratifications of social class (i.e., education, taste, race and ethnicity). Yüsek (2018:1090) explains the process this way:

Bourdieu developed the interconvertibility principle, which asserts the interchangeability among economic, cultural, and social capital alike. For Bourdieu, this interconvertibility principle ensures a better understanding of the ongoing competition among individuals for valued resources and positions in societies via capital.

Bourdieu himself theorizes that “the convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in social space) by means of the conversions least costly in terms of the conversion work and of the losses inherent in the conversion itself” (1986:253). The concept embraces the central idea of ‘fluidity’ which applies to all social capitals, including gender capital. The free-flowing dynamical characteristics of social capital construction (see: Mural 2008:97-113) is existential and cohesive across stratified networks of power. However, in socio-economic terms, it is also accumulative.<sup>291</sup> It possesses historicized exchange value, to varying degrees, in the social field. In this way recourse

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<sup>291</sup> Glaser, et. al. (2000:5) observes that: “In theory, aggregate social capital incorporates all of the cross-person externalities generated by different types of individual social capital. Hence, aggregate social capital measures social characteristics that yield market and non-market returns to a society. [U]nfortunately the path from individual to aggregate social capital is difficult, because of the extraordinary importance of social capital externalities. The complexity of aggregation means that the determinants of social capital at the individual level may not always determine social capital [in the broader context]. [F]or example, consider a stereotypical used car salesman who has lots of individual social capital [...], but who generates little net social capital because of his negative social capital externalities”. Precisely the same paradigm applies in the medial sector of the Ontario college system, using ‘race’ or ‘gender’ as the primary evaluative criteria for membership in influential, power-based social networks within the administrative hierarchy.

to the egocentric deployment of power<sup>292</sup> is differentiated among those who have either contemporaneously strategized fraternal attachments to sought-after power networks or those whose histories provide them with taken-for-granted inclusion. I suggest that my findings explicate this point across gendered, racial and social class paradigms.

The result is an awareness of a form of embodied cultural capital, the exchange value of which connotes an intersubjective, transactional dimension arguably measurable in economic terms. Bourdieu (1984:125) writes:

By obliging one to formulate the principle of the convertibility of the different kinds of capital, which is the precondition for reducing the space to one dimension, the construction of a two-dimensional space makes it clear that the exchange rate of the different kinds of capital is one of the fundamental stakes in the struggles between class fractions whose power and privileges are linked to one or the other of these types. In particular, this exchange rate is a stake in the struggle over the dominant principle of domination (economic capital, cultural capital or social capital), which goes on at all times between the different fractions of the dominant class.

It is transparent that Marxist ideology influenced Bourdieu's views (Fowler 2011, DiMaggio 1979, Desan 2013, Jenkins 2014, Cronin 1996, Loyal and Quilley 2017, Garnham and Williams 1980). They are distinct from the contemporaneous research on stratification done in Australia by Raewyn Connell (1977, 1983). While it is not her exclusive methodological oeuvre, Connell's focus, at times, shifts to the socialist left and a broader, politically inspired quantitative analysis of "hegemonic social power" (Woodward and Emmison 2009:3, see: De 2020, Wedgwood 2009, Reed 2013) that would later be refined and translated into her conceptualizations of hegemonic masculinity against which the Bourdieusian methodological approach to the study of the habitus and class construction were viewed as asymmetrical and even attracted a certain amount of sardonicism (Broom, et. al. 1980, Featherman and Hauser 1978, Jones and Davis 1986). That being said:

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<sup>292</sup> Sedikides, et. al. (2021:247) explains the concept: "Such thought refers to the social world and those who inhabit it (i.e., characterizing or construing another's actions, predicting others' preferences or behaviors, evaluating what is normative or right). The model posits that the influence of the self on social thought is contingent on both the content of the self-concept and the motives that work to maintain or increase the positivity of the self-concept. Two primary motives are self-enhancement and self-protection. The model further asserts that during social thought these motives affect, and are affected by, various cognitive processes and structures."

Connell does acknowledge the utility of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and his theory of practice elsewhere. In their important work on schooling and the reproduction of inequality, *Making the Difference*, Connell and her colleagues [1982] see cultural capital as contributing to an explanation of pupil success or failure at school, yet [collectively] they critique [Bourdieu's] model of the school and home relationship as 'drastically impoverished and static' [ibidem, 188] (Woodward and Emmison:2009:4).

Yet, my study findings do acknowledge the empirical basis for Connell's broad, political theory of the androcentric social order, system-wide across the Ontario college system and most likely expandable to the nation's higher education institutions. The patriarchal legitimization of the old boys' networks was found in every institution I investigated. These exclusionary regimes are examples of powerful collectivities whose traditional hegemonic dominance continues to erect class barriers and to marginalize and subordinate alternate gendered identities in the workplace. In this sense, I submit that there is a theoretical alignment between Bourdieu and Connell: both focus on dominance and power which can be readily understood in terms of symbolic violence reproduced and deployed on a hegemonic scale. In fact, Yang (2020:323) cites "Bridges (2009:87,91) [who suggests] that 'both cultural capital and [Connell's] hegemonic masculinity rely on a Gramscian conceptualization of hegemony,' and the 'regime - [i.e., the] specificity of hegemonic masculinity - might be more productively framed [in terms of social capital] with the help of Pierre Bourdieu'."

Clearly, both Connell and Bourdieu, theorize power and dominance as inextricably correlated to social class. But Connell's work tended to focus on broad linkages to the family and to mediatized distinctions between the Australian 'working' class and the 'ruling' class empirically articulated in terms of differential access to corporatized power structures and class mobilization. The fact is that:

Connell's work had its agenda set by an a priori concern with specific political – socialist – objectives. Significant or heroic moments in working class struggle, problems in the attainment of the appropriate forms of class consciousness, above all the conception of class analysis as the study of hegemonic social power figure prominently [...] (Woodward and Emmison 2009:3).



In an even larger context Connell's intellectual agenda aligns itself directly with the disciplinary protocols of the Australian sociological academic community which, at least historically, has expressed disinterest in Bourdieusian ideology. As Bennett, et. al. (1999:13-14) puts it:

In Anglophone countries [...] questions concerning the relations of culture, class, gender and ethnicity have been equally to the fore in debates within cultural studies – debates which, supposing we had an inclination to do so, have been too influential to be ignore. We have, however, had no such inclination.

Indeed, Bourdieu's field theory attributes the ontology of social class as inevitably linked to individual, ethnographic, historical predispositions reflected in specific, field-related, socio-cultural manifestations or intersubjective practices. In turn, this social phenomenon can be heuristically aligned to pre-reflexive, embodied dispositions forming one's gender identity thereby shaping (and being shaped by) its ultimate objective value as a class barrier in the field of struggle. The investigative parameters of my study, especially the demographic characteristics of the study sample, naturally lent themselves commensurably to Bourdieu's ideas about social class. According to McCall, a feminist extrapolation of Bourdieu's work might well suggest that:

Sexual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon is from its acidity: a class is defined in an essential respect by the place and value it gives to the two sexes and to their socially constituted dispositions. This is why there are so many ways of realizing femininity as there are classes and class fractions, and the division of labor between the sexes takes quite different forms, both in practices and in representations, in the different social classes (McCall 1992:843).

Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010:549) share that idea with McCall (1992:842). The premise is that gender, to the extent it conveys material value to 'socially constituted dispositions' is and should be regarded as a proprietary form of embodied cultural capital. Through its discursive and hexical presentations of subconscious bodily knowledge it is expressed through manner "of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu 1990:70). This, of course, suggests that gender capital possesses its own, distinctive habitus. In other words:

The habitus, as a system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances (Bourdieu, 1990:77).

At this juncture, I wish to turn the reader's attention away from Connell's autochthonous, historicized (and, to that extent, arguably self-limiting) studies in class formation by offering the suggestion that that her work focuses primarily on a politically motivated, stratificational analysis of the male dominant ruling class hegemony in the Australian social structure (contrasted on numerous levels with the plight of the proletariat). Instead, my dissertation offers a similar micro-political analysis of the dominant racial class but inverted within itself. I further suggest that Bourdieu's theoretical typology greatly assists in that exegesis. The project findings support the conclusion that the distinctive habitus of gender capital, behaviourally manifested in processual, workplace environments, can be utilized relationally including access to class stratification within the vary narrow structural substrate that is medial management in the Ontario college system.

Thus, in contrast to R.W. Connell's theory of social stratification (i.e., gender order) Bourdieu's conceptual schema moves beyond gender hierarchy [...]. [T]he result of introducing such a notion of differentiation into an understanding of the social construction of gender identities is that 'masculinity and femininity can be seen as imbricated in complex ways rather than as opposed and separate categories' [...] (Thorpe 2009:499).

The complex and multi-layered theoretical mechanisms involved comprise a highly malleable and interconvertible suite of psychical dispositions. My findings support Bourdieu's idea of the reconversion process to which I have alluded above. Throughout this dissertation I have stressed the fundamental idea of the virtuosic deliquescence and malleability of gender capital. Its exchange value depends upon the relational strategies employed by an agent. Generally, however, it is aimed at ensuring the reproduction of that capital for the purpose of career sustenance or advancement amid the class-contingent stratification of the social order. My findings demonstrate this transmissible interconvertibility through the various intersubjective mimetic and chameleonic practices in the field consciously that are adopted by agents in pursuance egoistic workplace agendas or ultimate career goals. Yüksek (2018:1096) suggests:

[...] the most important point to see is that there is dependency among the different forms of capital not only within an Ego, but also within the Ego's social network [...] for example, Ego's [symbolic] capital is not only dependent on his/her social and cultural capital, but also on all of his/her alters' forms of capital within his/her local network.

The participants in my study who talked about, for example, their tendency toward interconvertible and chameleonic gender presentations are understood to engage in a form of “[s]ymbolic practices [that] deflect attention from the interested character of practices and thereby contribute to their enactment as disinterested pursuits. Activities and resources gain in symbolic power, or legitimacy, to the extent that they become separated from underlying material interests and hence go unrecognized as representing disinterested forms of activities and resources” (Bourdieu, cited in Swartz 1997:43 and Yüksek 2018:1093). In reality, however, they serve as hexic and discursive expressions of symbolic domination - ascendant markers of gender and racial conditioned class distinction.

My findings confirm that the habitus of gender capital has the inherent capacity to both *structure and be structured* in relation to the objective circumstances of the field. This facility enables and empowers it in a manner to counter or, at least, mitigate the objective effects of white patriarchy and its implied structural class barriers. The product of white patriarchy is organizational racial and gender social class location and intersectionality in the Ontario college system.<sup>293</sup> Collectively, Ontario colleges tend to be closeted, semi-autonomous social structures where patrilocality, and the everyday banality of its heteronormativity legitimates and reproduces misaligned hierarchical and discriminatory class, race and gender relations (Martinsson and Reimers 2010, Croteau 2005).

The ontological underpinnings of the heteronormative habitus can be found nestled firmly “in the disparity of relations and is composed of the indistinguishable particulars of everyday life” (Shelikoglu and Karioris 2020:110). This relational disparity potentiates a profoundly negative

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<sup>293</sup> Janssen (2010:83) precisely captures the very essence and core of my argument through the profound influence of Jean Baudrillard when he writes that “(f)emininity [...] figures forth a capacity to radically revert, undo, or unwind masculinity as a totalizing order of production, subjectivity, functionality, law, certainty, and reality, and “reverse” it through discretion, ritual, charm—not invert it and reiterate structure, nor subvert it and presuppose structure, but revert so as to blur the very structuralist stamp of approval on itself as instantiation of law, nature, truth.” According to Janssen, it is a veritable invitation to create “a ‘parallel universe’ properly understood in terms of ‘play, challenges, duels, the strategy of appearances’ (Baudrillard 1979 [1990, p. 7]): ‘an ironic alternative form, one that breaks the referentiality of sex, and provides a place [...] of play and defiance’ (pp. 21, 38)”.

impact on agents' subjective identity construction in middle management (Scheil 1973, Hearn 1994, Morrison and VonGlinow 1990). This is so especially for those socio-culturally victimized by organizational inequality, class barriers and intersectionality. It is the struggle in the matrix of this multi-dimensional field, perhaps even more dynamically than the reproductive capacity of its socio-genesis, which, according to Wacquant (2008:264) "is the master metaphor at the core of [Bourdieu's] thought". The struggle takes place in the field but "[i]n order for a field to function, there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the habitus that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes and so on" (Bourdieu 1993:72).

Slotman (2018:13) suggests that "Bourdieu[sian] concepts (such as habitus, field, and symbolic capital) enable us to describe the relation between agency and structure, the negotiated mechanics of belonging, and the contextual and temporal aspects of individuals' experiences" with respect to the intersection of race and gender inequality and oppression. Additionally, Horvat (2003:4) observes that "Bourdieu's epistemological stance calls for an integration of theory formulation, data collection, and measurement." It suggests a novel methodological approach to empirical research I have tried to systematically incorporate into all the preceding Chapters.

In that regard, I am reminded of an earlier mentioned allochthonous observation made by a white employee about several non-white students passing by us as we exited and they entered the college where he worked: "*They're not like us*", he confided. This rather overt differentiation between self-ascription and externalized identification underscores an "internally homogenous [albeit] externally bounded" (Brubaker 2002:165) groupist categorization based on racialized class location that is not only 'taken-for-granted' by whites but also at the core of deindividualized, white dominated power relations. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this interrelated and powerful influence of structure on individual agency is a form of symbolic violence. Discussing the applicability of Bourdieu's foundational concepts to any interrogation of organizational intersectionality, Slotman (2018:14) notes that "[h]abitus shapes — primarily unconsciously — how one thinks [...] what one aspires to and estimates as attainable 'for people like us' ...".

Undoubtedly, Bourdieu's work assists in demonstrating how subjective identities contend with and, in the field, are negatively affected by an internalized, pre-reflexive 'class habitus' (Bourdieu 1977:85). According to Bourdieu (1984:372), "[s]ocial class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus which is 'normally' (i.e., with a high statistical probability) associated with that position" that potentiates the reproduction of racial and gender inequalities. The dissertation findings, discussed in Chapters 7 through 9, support this premise. Moreover, the project findings show that interpersonal communication in a multi-dimensional field is affected by the dynamic assumption of multiple identities engaged to strategize access to symbolically dominant networks of power in the pursuance of career and other egoistic or team-related objectives. Whilst a Bourdieusian analysis of these encounters has been the methodological touchstone throughout this dissertation, his is not the only approach that has been utilized to investigate intersectional oppression. For example, in Chapter 3, symbolic interactionism is discussed as a viable operational model through which to examine the social worlds of individual agents from their point of view. The emphasis, demonstrated in Chapters 7 through 9, is on their own unique narratives about their lived experiences of gender and racial intersectionality. This approach is not necessarily inconsistent with Bourdieusian methodological precepts. The shared, overarching concern is how interaction is shaped by individual "representations of reality" (Bourdieu 1980). Goffman's work, highlighted throughout this study, assists in this regard.

### **(b) Racial Inequality, Foucault & Social Class**

While Bourdieu's original writings do not explicitly deal with the question of racial or gender discrimination, other theorists and researchers have utilized his theoretical framework to interrogate these phenomena, thereby constructing a more accurate rendering of the various forms of symbolic violence in the lived experiences of victimized minorities occupying organizational social space (e.g., Farkas, 1996, McDonough, et. al. 1997, Horvat 2003). For example, Foucault has made significant contributions to this study. Bhandaru (2013) points out that:

Although Foucault is not celebrated as a theorist of race and racism, his concept of power contributes to a fresh perspective on racism [...] Foucault's concept of power and his account of racism emphasize the workings of power and violence [and] suggests that [...]

racism today operates largely through white normativity, which expands the category of whiteness while abandoning non-whites to a state [...] that liberal democratic societies, via the social contract, are purportedly organized to prevent.

My entire dissertation (especially Chapters 7 and 9) is ultimately directed toward the pernicious and racist permutations of white normativity. Its subtle 'taken-for-granted' machinations of power and symbolic violence filter through what, in the final analysis, amounts to a stable and inexorably reproducible Eurocentric social construct that evokes historical connections to white supremacy wherever it exists throughout the world. Disturbing participant narratives in this study have highlighted the oppressive nature of the old boys' network of (mostly) white, heteronormative males who represent an institutional cult of patriarchy that is steadfastly resistant to the mandates of legislated and policy-driven diversity and inclusion initiatives.

Foucault and feminists have their differences, but they are most certainly allied in their discussions of power and symbolic violence of which neoliberal patriarchy is emblematic. Foucault understands power as a force far more subtle and potentially dangerous than direct physical force. He points out that "what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions." The relationship between the dominant agent and the subordinate "other' (the one over whom power is exercised) [must] be thoroughly recognized and maintained to the very end as a person who acts" (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:220) in response to the exercise of power. It is fuelled by "guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:221) which is at the root of both mimetic and chameleonic postures. Those presentations were adopted by several of the study participants cited in Chapters 7 - 9: a female manager was found to have reconstructed her subjective gender identity in conformity with a masculinized, androcentric role model to gain access to the structural networks that potentiate her career aspirations. Elsewhere, a black, male manager dresses in conservative suits typically worn by white boardroom executives in order to draw attention away from his colour - this is not only a Foucauldian relationship of power. It is the masked articulation of gender and racial intersectionality.

As I noted earlier, Chambers-Letson (2013:139) draws on the work of Frantz Fanon (1967) to capture the essence of the performances mentioned above:

Describing 'consciousness of the body' and 'solely a negating activity' Fanon gestures to the ways in which self-presentation, or the performance of everyday life, subjects the racialized body to the spectatorship of 'the white man's eyes'. This gaze defines and negates the racialized subject's will to exist beyond a bodily schema. The self is locked within a series of coordinates produced by social, spatial, and racial knowledge that shape the racialized body as he or she performs a self for the world, effectively becoming a subject through this performance.

It is difficult to ignore or side-step the relevance of the dominant white social structure located in the Ontario college system to the inevitable subjective construction of class hierarchies in which both gender and racialized performances are implicated. Class itself, as a structural variable in relation to multiple axes of intersectionality, becomes discursive, hexical, and performative in its own right. Class, in this objective structure, becomes the habitus that supports and reproduces cultural identity. The following section explores this point further.

### **(c) The Concept of Class Hierarchies**

Consistent with the foregoing, my findings show that Bourdieu's overarching conceptual edifice brings us to an understanding of how the internal logic of intersectionality not merely reproduces itself but evidently thrives in this objective structure, contextualized situationally as it is, and influenced by the imbricated multi-lateral stratification of class hierarchy. Bourdieu was arguably non-empirical, tautological and some (e.g., Riley 2017:np) would argue self-undermining, about the meaning of social class. As Riley (2017:np) suggests, "[b]y being compatible with all conceivable evidence, Bourdieu's account undermines its explanatory status". Riley's point is illustrated in *Distinction* (1979:105). Bourdieu wrote:

Social class is not defined by a property (not even the most determinant one, such as the volume and composition of capital) nor by a collection of properties (of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin — proportion of blacks and whites, for example, or natives and immigrants — income, education level, etc.), nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (position in the relations of production) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices.

Nevertheless, Rollock (2014:449) rallies support for Bourdieu by insisting that “[w]hile [he] does not make explicit mention or acknowledgement of the way in which race intersects with class in the formation and reproduction of class capitals [...] race – in the form of white identity and whiteness is, in fact, quietly present in his work”, just as it is discretely layered throughout this dissertation.

There are, indeed, layers to this homogenous, heteronormative paradigm of white identity which Bourdieu understands as being encompassed by the naturalized privileges and capital value of class membership. Moreover, there are differentially refracted lenses through which to investigate the relational oppression of intersectionality by employing Bourdieu’s heuristic tools. Chapters 7 through 9 document the existence of an overwhelmingly white and privileged field of struggle wherein its medial administrative sector has colonized the Ontario college system in a way that ensconces and necessarily legitimates symbolic violence. And “[l]egitimation is the key mechanism in the conversion [of capital] to power [...]. Capital has to be regarded as legitimate [...] before its value is realizable” (Skeggs 2004:17).

I have pointed out the tendency toward an insular environment that sustains and protects white identity whilst racial bias flourishes [and] “builds expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress” (DiAngelo 2011:54). In Chapter 9, interviewee NW2 talked about her own sense of “white fragility” where she worked. DiAngelo (2011:55) defines the term as “a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of [...] silence [which in turn functions] to reinstate white racial equilibrium” and the symbolic domination it reproduces. As Cone (2004:141) suggests,“(w)hites do not say much about racial justice because they are not prepared for a radical redistribution of wealth and power”.

In this homologous, racially dominant, semi-cloistered and protected social construct, white people rarely question the “inherited advantages [...] to be[ing] born white” (Sohat and Stam 2012:298). The narratives of the many participants who commented on their heavily racialized working environment poignantly reveal this cultural reality. The inalienability of the habitus is comprised of the pre-reflexive suite of cultural entitlements physically entangled with the bodily hexis of white



melanation are effortlessly convertible into racial capital. Indeed, this is the “theoretical *deus ex machina* by means of which Bourdieu relates objective structure and individual activity” (DiMaggio, 1979:1464). The habitus both structures and is structured by a form of capital that is “inherited and passed on from generation to generation” (Shohat and Stam 2012:298). As Devine-Eller (2005:1) suggests, it is nothing less than the “cultural reproduction, or the intergenerational transmission of class privilege”. In Chapter 7, I suggested that the perquisites of social class enjoyed by white managers in the college system may not be acknowledged or even recognized as such but that does not mean it is non-existent. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) frequently “argued that schools, like all other social structures, contribute to ensuring the reproduction of inequitable social systems, allowing the dominant group to maintain and reproduce their privilege for future generations. Through claims to neutrality and meritocracy [...] education systems maintain and reproduce the powers and privileges of the dominant group” (Benwell 2020:18). Elsewhere, I comment on the relative improbability of ‘merit-based’ career aspirations however here I wish to explain why merit alone is subordinated to the overwhelming influence of dominant structural networks having little to do with principled meritocracy.

My findings show that the social structures in the Ontario college system subsume and reproduce a ‘relation of dominance’ (Apple 2012:xxiv) by whites over non-whites in the medial administrative sector that dictates who is and is not included in influential (or ‘legitimate’) structural networks of power and class distinction. I return to Bourdieu (1997:29) who makes the point both problematic and explicit:

Any legitimate work tends in fact to impose the norms of its own perception and tacitly defines as the only legitimate mode of perception the one which brings into play a certain disposition and a certain competence ... (a)ll agents, whether they like it or not, whether or not they have the means of conforming to them, find themselves objectively measured by those norms.

Tichavakunda (2019: 651) argues for the commensurable alignment of critical race theory (“CRT”) with Bourdieusian concepts because they “have the potential to inform each other, resulting in a more nuanced engagement of the interplay between structure, agency, and racial realities in education.” Applying Bourdieu’s concepts to an empirical examination of CRT, my findings suggest

the language of colour-blindness, inclusion, and gender-neutrality is clothed in the ritualized (and therefore largely ignored) rubric of diversity. In fact it conceals the embedded habitus of white racist privilege and symbolic violence. This assault on gender subjectivity is played out daily in the field of struggle and it is socially reproduced with little oversight and virtually no consequence in the Ontario college system. As Sara Ahmed (2012:71) points out:

[...] the very talk of diversity allows individuals to 'feel good' creating the impression that we have "solved it". Diversity thus participates in the creation of an illusion of equality, fitting in with the [institution's] social mission: the idea that the [institution] has of itself as doing good ... it gives permission to those working within institutions to turn away from ongoing realities of institutional inequality.

Undoubtedly, social class has a multi-dimensional relationship with the diverse populations comprising higher education in Ontario's colleges (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979:16). On one level, as I pointed out in Chapter 9, the asymmetrical dialectic of racial exclusion extends beyond middle management to the 'other' side of the Information Help Desk at virtually every institution I visited. There, a cohort of predominantly domestic and international non-white students are routinely attended by predominantly white personnel following a capitalist and, arguably neo-Marxist set of practices which form the 'laws of motion' (Postone 1993:135), in other words a set of quasi-objective relations conceptually aligned with Bourdieu's alienating notion of doxa that are fundamentally naturalized and, to that extent, largely unchallenged by the agents submitting to them (Bourdieu 1977). It is a legitimated form of "durable training" through which individuals in the system come to accept (perhaps without cognate appreciation) the "internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990:31). Many non-white students, lack the social capital of their white peers. They are socially differentiated from and symbolically dominated by white managers who are in a position to control and dispense sought-after credentials. Moreover, they are haplessly complicit in the perpetuation of class distinction and educational inequality. As Bourdieu (1974:39) suggests:

The culture of the [white] elite is so near to that of the school [that non-whites] can only acquire with great effort something which is given to [...] the [white] cultivated classes [namely] those attitudes and aptitudes which seem natural in members of the cultivated

classes and naturally expected of them precisely because (in an ethnological sense) they are the culture of that class.

The underlying misrecognition of credentialism in tandem with the neoliberalized commodification of education itself imbues the college system with the commercialized patina of upward social mobility and vociferously vaunted equal opportunity<sup>294</sup>. Hard work is all that is necessary. But it is nothing of the kind for many non-white students, especially those residing in Ontario only for the purpose of an education and planning to return to their native countries afterward. Instead, they are seen to engage in the “discourse of deficit: (Bowers-Brown 2018:26). It is an unyielding dialectic that ‘reproduces the condition of its own perpetuation’ (Bourdieu 1990:67). This reproduction occurs primarily because this larger field in which the game is organized to include students is slanted toward those possessing the discursive and pre-reflexive cultural artifacts that make up the habitus required to acquit oneself in compliance with the field’s doxic orchestrations. It is the very structure of inequality that goes unaddressed by policy-makers spewing the catachrestic, feel-good rhetoric of diversity and inclusion (Spohrer et. al. 2017).

Bourdieu (1995 [1985]:53, see also Anthias 2013:7) theorizes that agents routinely engage in self-categorization, gauged in relation to each other including relative positionality in social space. The administrative side of the Help Desk is such a phenomenological social space of complex provisionality - a socio-geographic locale of white symbolic power played out in the form of micro-aggressions intuited as such by all those lacking its concomitants but assumptively naturalized to the rest. For example, critical race scholarship focuses on the fact that, “while the majority of students might be satisfied with student services and feel a great sense of engagement with the campus (Harper & Hurtado, 2007), a CRT lens [illustrates] how racialized minorities experience the campus and just how race informs their experience. In this way, CRT scholars [...] use the individual experiences of marginalized persons to analyze and critique institutional policies and initiatives” (Tichavakunda 2019:651), precisely as I have shown in this dissertation. Consistent with both

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<sup>294</sup> Allahar (2011:1) comments about widespread ‘credentialism’ in Canadian higher education: “In today’s highly competitive market economies, where academic credentials are widely used as job search currency and short cuts to guide employers in hiring decisions, more credentials mean a better chance at good employment. So, as student demand increases, colleges and universities increase their range of offerings, and credentialism (a form of a paper chase), which links education and access to education with the wider system of social inequality, is born. Because ascribed status, inherited privilege and aristocratic breeding are no longer viewed as legitimate bases for claiming entitlement, considerations of merit and achievement are given over to the (higher) educational system, where the pursuit and accumulation of educational credentials (degrees, diplomas, certificates), are almost ends in themselves. Increases in the numbers of credentialed persons in a society will inflate the qualifications required for any given position”.

Tichavakunda (2019) and Soloranzo (1997), I have pointed out how race, in the institutional containments of the Ontario college system, is an intangible form of carceral oppression obscured by diversity policies that do not work and by open doors that, at a more symbolic level, are locked to racial minorities. Moreover, I have exposed a dominant racial ideology that continues to exist despite legislative and institutional diversity policies that are ostensibly driven by an espoused commitment to equality, inclusion, and social justice.

Therefore, it should not be surprising that any meaningful interrogation of intersectionality in this context must necessarily include socio-geography of the Help Desk: the spatio-temporal metaphor for class barriers and the diurnal oppressions routinely faced by multi-racial, non-white students and many others as agents in this structured administrative milieu. Harker, et. al. (1990:191) notes that “for Bourdieu, structural properties are always embedded in everyday events.” It is in the bromidics of this institutional environment wherein one begins to recognize the non-essentialized, constructivist differentiation that is critical to an appreciation of their fundamental marginalization within the cultural geography of white power. Here, “symbolic violence accomplishes itself through an act of cognition and of misrecognition that lies beyond - or beneath – the controls of consciousness and will” (Bourdieu 1992:171-172). Or, as Horvat (2003:6) suggests, it is the constitutive social space in which we find “the habituated notions that lie beneath the consciousness of dominated individuals and groups of individuals that allow them to accept without question the “natural order.” It is the social mechanism of class elitism and privilege - distinct and physically colonized on the other side of the two-foot Rubicon of counter-space in the administrative offices of each of the Province’s college institutions. Moreover, issues of race and class have proved to have profound negative effects on student success in higher education and life chances following graduation (Hearn, 1984, 1991, Karen and Hearn, 1998).

Coaston (2019:np) points out that there is a vector where “race, class, gender, and other individual characteristics “intersect” with one another and overlap”. In doing so, they form an interlocked, yet mutually constituted “conspiracy of victimization”. It is a form of victimization that exists and is reproduced across the Ontario college system despite the apparently inept invocation of diversity / inclusion legislated mandates and institutional policies across the system. It is this victimization that is asserted against those affected by those occupying dominant positions in the cultural hegemony evident in the system.

Thus the sociology of [higher] education is a Chapter, and not a minor one at that, in the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of power [...] . [Clearly] the structure of social space as observed in advanced societies is the product of two fundamental principles of differentiation – economic capital and cultural capital – the educational institution, which plays a critical role in the reproduction of the distribution of cultural capital and thus in the reproduction of the structure of social space, has become a central stake in the struggle for the monopoly on dominant positions (Bourdieu 1996:5).

The patriarchal heteronormative tradition revealed in this study, when intersected with the overwhelming presence of white privilege, represent structural axes of inequality. The result is that "the multidimensionality and interconnected nature of race, class, and gender hierarchies [are] especially visible to those who [have] faced oppression along more than one dimension of inequality" (Weber 2007:xii). We observe this phenomenon through a Bourdieusian lens in the section that follows.

#### **(d) The Imbrication of Race, Class and Gender**

My findings show that the medial management sector of the Ontario college system is overwhelmingly populated by white, well-educated, middle-aged, well-paid employees who, among other various administrative responsibilities, attend to the service requirements of an overwhelmingly non-white student population. This disparate racial configuration was identified in every provincial college investigated. In Bourdieusian terms, it is a "social world [that is] represented in the form of a (multi-dimensional) space constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active in the social universe under consideration, that is, able to confer force or power on their possessor in that universe" (Bourdieu 1984:229). Those in control of a set of objective power relations are homologously white and are in a position to the structural forces in play with the concomitant ability to impose themselves according to the doxic orchestrations of the field upon on overwhelmingly non-white student population. On this footing, it seems obvious that class consciousness exists within this social structure because,

[...] one can carve out classes in the logical sense of the word, i.e. sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar types of conditioning, have every chance of having similar dispositions and

interests, and thus of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances (Bourdieu 1984:231).

The middle managers occupying positions of power relative to the student populations of each institution are not class markers simply because of their relatively dominant roles in the structural reality of the institutional hierarchy. Rather, as Bourdieu suggests above, consciousness of class distinction arises because of the above-mentioned homogeneous conditions under which symbolic power is deployed. In this regard, Skeggs (2002:7) reminds us that 'class' should not be:

[...] dismissed as a structural dinosaur. A great deal of postmodernist theorizing dismisses class as a structural concept, a relic from modernism which has no applicability to the supposed ability to travel through differences unencumbered by structure or inequality. [Some] make retreats from class by using empirical evidence to suggest that the significance of class has declined [however] the same empirical data can be used to show class is still significant as a major means of social differentiation [and] the 'decline of class' thesis is usually a matter of speculation with little substantive evidence.

Following Bourdieu's definition, my findings also demonstrate yet another level of class consciousness within the white homology of middle management that is based not exclusively upon race, but also based upon gender. The majority of this medial sector is not only white but self-identified as female many of whom are either comfortable in or resigned to their relative hierarchal, gender-socialized subordination, self-admittedly implicit in the 'nurturing' roles assumed by several agents. Cobuild (2010:1559) suggests that 'subordination' refers to "something else [that] is less important than the other thing" or "having less power or authority than somebody else in a group or an organization"(Hornby 2003:1296). This, of course, is the structural corollary to the systemic institutionalization of patriarchy revealed in my findings. As Walby (1990:20) puts it "patriarchy [is] a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". The broader implication is that wherever patriarchy is found, "men hold power in all the important institutions of society" and that "women are deprived of access to such power" (Lerner 1989:239). My findings show existential evidence of this obvious power imbalance in the Ontario college system. In both the survey results and the interview narratives, we observe the continuing influence of the 'old boys' club' - the very phraseology of which suggests a certain ideological patina of biological determinism. In that regard, I have demonstrated that the majority of those individuals occupying executive positions in the hierarchy are white and identify as male

gendered. Even more potently, Chapters 7 and 8 show that it is not simply a matter of 'male' in the physiognomic sense, but 'male' in the traditional, androcentric, pre-reflexive disposition which therefore returns us to Bourdieu's definition of class consciousness above.

For Bourdieu (1994:167), this distinction is the constitutive essence of power or what Bourdieu would define as 'capital' that possesses the intrinsic exchange value I discussed extensively in earlier Chapters. My findings show that the white, androcentric, masculinized culture evident throughout the Ontario college system is, in fact, "the dominant culture [that] contributes to the legitimation of the established order by establishing distinctions (hierarchies) and legitimating these distinctions". In this bureaucratic environment "cultural differences serve as markers of class differences ... [and] class differences find expression in status distinctions that rank individuals and groups." (Swartz 1997:51). The contemporary saliency of the social literacy involved in comprehending the multi-levelled structural implications is nothing at all if not blunt and direct. The glaring inference is that "all other cultures (designated as subcultures) [are necessarily compelled to] define themselves by their distances from the dominant culture" (Bourdieu 1994:167).

However, what if a middle manager oppressed by the dominant culture in this system not only identifies as female but also as a stigmatized member of a non-white minority? The unfortunate answer is that this is the very essence of intersectionality. As T1 put it in Chapter 9, at her college "[i]f you are [a] black female [...] you wind up ordering textbooks in a back room...". Crenshaw (1991) brought our attention to the oppressive intersection of gender, race and class in American social enterprise, but the phenomenon can be found in the offices and hallways, in the boardrooms and cafeterias and in the libraries and commons of the provincial colleges I investigated for this project. However in the Bourdieusian typology of social construction the emphasis inevitably must be focussed on symbolic power. Those who possess it have the privilege of defining the rules of the game and how it should be played and who should be admitted as members in good standing (Bourdieu 1995). Clearly men (or women, chameleonic or otherwise), who have chosen to mimic the phallogocentric doxa of androcentricity notionally fulfil the relational, heteronormative qualifications for admittance to the most influential power networks sustained by the accumulation of symbolic capital and that signification is at the core of power and domination. But, if you are a non-white female in this milieu, then, as SW5 put it in Chapter 9, "you're kind of a temporary

member of the club. You're the second tier". Individuals finding themselves in this dual predicament must contend with a power deficit. In Bourdieusian terms, this deficit translates into a lack of social capital. The lack of social capital inexorably leads to intersectional marginalization, the result of which, according to SW5, is that "they'll never really be part of the establishment". Hall (2016:202) explains the phenomenon this way:

According to Bourdieu, positions of power within the field are determined by the amount of accumulated symbolic capital [...]. Perceived and recognized by individuals within the field, those in possession of symbolic capital exert its power at the micro level by responding in accordance with the social constructions of collective expectations and beliefs embodied in the habitus. This results in an invisible, unexamined obedient behavior or submissive act on the part of individuals. Those who respond accordingly to the ingrained collective expectations of the habitus, for example, with microaggressions toward an out-group, are automatically entitled to [its] benefits [...]. In a racial context, these individuals and groups are operating from privilege, white privilege, based on an ideology of white supremacy [...]. Symbolic capital, the basis of privilege, belongs to all members of a particular group.

Finally, one might legitimately question whether hard work and merit, standing by themselves, provide sufficient weight and cultural capital to mitigate the intersectional disadvantages accrued to race and gender in a predominantly white patriarchy. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that merit is both abstract and intangible, yet it nevertheless possesses inherent exchange value as capital. However, it is ultimately derived from the family habitus, and, in the final analysis, the reality is that it has nothing to do with either hard work or innate ability. Moreover, individual ascription on purely meritorious grounds "may not adhere to individuals when social identity in the form of gender [or] race fails to fit the definition and perceived characteristics of the job" (Simpson and Kumra 2016). I have shown how, as a consequence, agents strategize subversive expressions of gender capital (Lago, et. al. 2018, Banerjee 2019, Arrow and Woollacott 2019) or in some cases the undoing of it as practice strategies for rationalizing socially networked systems of exchange valuation that vary between and among interpersonal relationships, group sentience and social context (Bourdieu, 1984; Connell, 1987, 1995).

These performative strategies (or what Marx (1867 [1990] 206, 47, 164) may well have described as "high tragedy" or "low farce") enable and imbue exchange value with a form of non-monetary, non-material social wealth. Agents successfully resist gender and/or racial inequality through



calculated accommodation (i.e., 'nurturing'). However, the replication of "exemplary mimetic processes" by imagining the "dominance of the symbolic other" (Hermann and Magee 2017:227) (e.g., 'hegemonic femininity'), effectively reproduces and reconstitutes the legitimacy of white, masculinized structural imbalances despite the existence of institutional diversity policies. Chambers-Letson (2013:18) points out that:

In acts of coercive mimeticism, the minoritarian subject believes that by responding to the hail of minority status through self-referential performances, she is 'liberating' herself from subordination. But while she may achieve some modicum of recognition and relief, she is inadvertently contributing to the maintenance of the dominant structures of ideology, interpellation and racialization.

In practice, the diversity policies in place in Ontario's colleges demonstrate nothing greater than abject failure to satisfactorily address these more subtle intersectional oppressions and implicitly biased resource practices. Castilla (2008:1479) found that "contemporary employers [...] adopt merit-based practices and policies [...] in the hope of motivating employees and ensuring meritocracy [however, it was found that] policies with limited transparency and accountability can actually increase ascriptive bias and reduce equity in the workplace" (see also, Pangiotis and Flores 2020, Zunmu and Kodama 2021). Jung (1957:57) reminds us that "[a]s experience unfortunately shows, the inner man remains unchanged however much community he has. His environment cannot give him as a gift that which he can win for himself only with effort and suffering". As a result, minoritized agents are left to their own, strategic *dramatis personae* that becomes commodified. Gender capital is a part played for white male spectatorship in the daily drama of life and workplace struggle on the intersectional stage. "In the same way that patriarchy existed long before the advent of capitalism and so structured its development, so gender capital informs the accumulation of social, cultural and economic capitals" (Ashall 2004:32) that are used performatively in strategic ways to assist in fulfilling personal or systemic agendas while attempting to avoid the social injustices that fuel and reproduce intersectionality.

To some extent, the exploitation of gender capital is arguably subject to the same systemic challenges as those based upon meritocratic ideologies. It could be, as Ross-Smith and Huppertz

(2008:13) argue, that “women’s gender capital may only manipulate constraints rather than overturn power” with the result that an allocative form of career discrimination through selective (i.e., non-meritorious) promotion may amount to an existential and, to that extent, an insurmountable workplace oppression (Castilla 2008; see also Rosenfeld 1992, Peterson and Saporta 2004). It is sufficient to suggest that creeping neoliberalism (Shimanoff, et. al. 2012) in public institutions such as the Province’s colleges and the implied androcentric doxa of a monetarized, fiscally neoliberal agenda are often met with the coping strategies discussed in my findings Chapters in order to contend with asymmetrical workplace gender power. Few of these strategies appear to actually enhance career progression save alone those practices in the field which emulate the historic corporeal predispositions and structuring propensities of white patriarchy in a neoliberalized bureaucratic environment characterized by a certain amount of insularity from external purview.<sup>295</sup> Even here, to conclude this segment, Bourdieu offers the last word, applicable as it is to the Ontario college system:

It is only by breaking with the arbitrary absolutization produced by ordinary intuition and semi-learned description that one is able to see the different schools for what they truly are, miniature closed societies that, like insular universes so dear to ethnologists, share a single lifestyle, visible not only in coherent and distinctive systems of cultural references and ethical or political values, but also in bodily hexis, clothing, ways of speaking, and even sexual habits [...] (1996:180).

## **10.6 Goffman, Queer Theory & Black Feminism**

The micro-sociological explorations of Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman were considered several times in this dissertation. My study introduced Goffman’s idea of ‘impression management’

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<sup>295</sup> While socially constructed gender inequality and contemporary feminist gender theory represent a significant aspect of my dissertation it is unequivocal that postcolonial racial discrimination provided unplanned yet fertile ground for practical discovery and theoretical exploration during my investigations. I have explicated the secretive and largely silent backdrop of racism and systemic marginalisation throughout the province’s college administrations. Patriarchy, white racial privilege and racialised subjectivities skulk inaudibly in the dark corners of each institution I investigated. The beneficiaries of the social networking practices that sustain and reproduce this oppression discretely avoid confrontations with the status quo, or the “white bubble” referred to by interviewee, SE7, in Chapter 9. And, obviously, it makes perfect sense from the perspective of those white employees whose livelihoods could be jeopardized by speaking out against discrimination even as commodified, gender-perfect diversity and inclusion policies are being advertised as attention-grabbing drawing cards for both multi-cultural and multi-racial students and similar potential employees. To paraphrase Robin DiAngelo (2011:54), white people working in the Ontario college system want to believe this does the job. Alas, they “live in a social environment that protects and insulates them from race-based stress”.

as an important strategic tool in the workplace: dressing in an overtly feminine way to attract attention from members of the right social network; dressing another way to project the image of masculine authoritativeness and to deflect attention away from the colour of one's skin in order to avoid spatial ostracization in the social geography of a boardroom. I discussed Goffman's (1956: 208-237) characterization of these presentations as the intersubjective dramaturgy of "impression management" which Bourdieu relegated to virtuosic agency (see: Kemp, 2010: 4-7). Goffman (1997:224) was of the view that:

What the human nature of males and females really consists of, then, is a capacity to learn to provide and to read depictions of masculinity and femininity and a willingness to adhere to a schedule for presenting these pictures, and this capacity they have by virtue of being persons, not females or males. One might just as well say there is no gender identity. There is only a schedule for the portrayal of gender.

Earlier, I discussed Bourdieu and Connell regarding their separate theorizations about the ontology of class differentiation. However, it should be mentioned here that Goffman (1951:300) might well have considered the foregoing 'depictions' to which he refers as primary indicia of social class. Early on he formulated the idea that impression management was linked to class and status:

An important symbol of membership in a given class is displayed during informal interaction. It consists of the kind of acts which impress others with the suitability and likeableness of one's general manner. In the minds of those present, such a person is thought to be 'one of our kind'. Impressions of this sort seem to be built upon a response to many particles of behaviour. These behaviours involve matters of etiquette, dress, deportment, gesture, intonation, dialect, vocabulary, small bodily movements and automatically expressed evaluations concerning both the substance and the details of life.

The relevance to this study of Goffman's phenomenological intersubjectivity as a concomitant of class stratification is that his conceptualization is also inextricably linked to feminist scholarship and "playing the game of management" (Ross-Smith and Huppertz 2010:554). The micro-political behaviours 'concerning both the substance and details of life' (Goffman 1951) invoke both conscious mimesis and the chameleonic forms of impression management acknowledged by some of the interview participants. Heraclitus (c.475 BC) is reputed to have claimed that everything has

an opposite of what it appears to be, and, as if with that hortatory in mind, Goffman once cautioned a student “not to take the world at face value”. The exhortation recalls Giddens’ (1991:75) observation that “we are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves”. Beck (1992:135) concludes that, through social interaction, the “[i]ndividualisation of life situations and processes thus means [...] biographies become self-reflexive; [a] socially-prescribed biography is transformed into [a] biography that is self-produced and continues to be produced’ (1992:135).

Canadian sociologist Gerry Veenstra (2013:16) suggests that “informed by intersectionality theory” there is a sociological tradition in Canada that theorizes “intersecting power relations of racism, patriarchy, classism and heterosexism.” At the core of these ‘power relations’ there is a form of ideological congruency between gender – specifically male gender – and social standing, the ontology of which can be traced historically to “the overarching status-ordering of gender whereby men are generally recognized as being of higher status” (Abraham and Burbano 2019:7 and see: Berger et al. 1977). It follows that in an otherwise patriarchal system that has become increasingly populated in middle management by women, men tend to be the beneficiaries of the ensuing gender incongruence by attracting the perception from women of a greater level of competence and easier access to career ascension in the field of play (Kmec 2008, Williams 1992, Bode, et. al. 2015). Butler (1996) might refer to the same bromidics of this cultural artifact as an example of ‘performative tokenism’ executed in the ‘power’ game of the field, particularly when it is focussed on strategizing career enhancement by one or more of players of the game. Goffman (1956: 208-237) undoubtedly would characterize such performances as a matter of calculated “impression management”. On the other hand, Bourdieu might explicate its phenomenality as a function of regulated improvisations or virtuosic agency nevertheless tied to the pre-reflexive determinisms of the habitus (see: Kemp, 2010: 4-7) - in other words, a kind of script that needs to be followed, more-or-less, in order to achieve egoistic, power-related goals within the workplace hierarchy.

I contend that what I have demonstrated through the compelling narratives elicited from the participants engaged for this dissertation is this: Bourdieu, Goffman and Butler, in one way or another, are similarly concerned with gendered ‘performances’. Each theorist ascribes his or her own interpretive slant on the dramaturgy staged daily in the field of play. Every fluid gender presentation of each virtuosic agent is directed toward securing, maintaining or accruing power. The accrual of power is achieved through social performances that exhibit what appears to be

naturalized characteristics. These characteristics routinely conform to a preordained workplace script reflecting the doxic rules of the game. Those rules are drawn from societal expectations and workplace standards. Misrecognized compliance with the script is expected by everyone - including the actors - if one is to find any measure of security along a career trajectory. In short, I suggest that, for all three theorists, power resides in the performance, and, in that sense, their unique conceptualizations are rationalized and reconciled. As Gregson and Rose (2000:434) suggest:

Performance, in short, seems to offer intriguing possibilities for thinking about the constructedness of identity, subjectivity, and agency. And the starting point for this paper is our assumption that a notion of performance is indeed crucial for a critical human geography concerned to understand the construction of social identity, social difference, and social power relations, and the way space might articulate all of these.

Chris Brickell (2005:25) observes that several authors have argued in favour of what they perceive to be the unmistakable resemblances between Butler and Goffman (e.g., Bordo 1993, 289; Campbell 2000, 565; McIlvenny 2002, 118). I suggest that, what needs to be taken into account is Goffman's more microscopic analytical lens which, to my thinking, remains both compatible and in a highly focussed viewpoint, consistent with the fulsome panoply of doctrinal insights albeit narrowly extracted from Butler's grand theorization of performativity, "while in some respects it offers a more sociologically coherent perspective for considering the performance of masculinities."<sup>296</sup> For example, Hugh Campbell (2000:565) persuasively reconciles the ideological conceptualizations of Goffman and Butler when he suggests that:

These ideas of performance seem particularly apt for the kinds of public behavior [that] implies more than merely an understanding of Goffman's (1959) theorization of the social implications of theatricality in social interaction. Rather, the performance of masculinity [...] repeatedly represents a historically embedded notion of masculinity, integrated [with] personal biographies and [...] competing notions of what constitutes legitimate gender behavior. As Butler (1993:13) puts it, '[Performative practice] is not primarily theatrical; indeed, its apparent theatricality is produced to the extent that its historicity remains dissimulated.' Consequently, public (or theatrical) performance provides only one aspect of performative understandings of gender. The important point

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<sup>296</sup> Hancock and Garner (2011:316) would add Foucault to the reconciliation of Goffman and Butler by suggesting that: Goffman's analysis becomes an opening into engagements with the work of Judith Butler and Michel Foucault around the notion of the normative order and the issues of containment and transgression. Thinking through Goffman's philosophy of containment as the framework for an analysis of socialization, normalization, and social ordering affords an approach to thinking macro-micro linkages of order and instability that confront both our contemporary society and the discipline of sociology."

is to recognize public performance as a particular [localized] site of performative enactment, and not to conflate it with the wider notion of gender performativity.

Butler likely would label these performances as instances of 'doing gender', *i.e.*, playing a gendered part in a structured social environment within which traditional sexual binaries are the metaphorical script. As Lawler (2014:132) puts it:

[...] what Butler is arguing is that certain attributes [in this setting] are brought together to establish something we call 'gender'. In the Foucauldian sense, gendered persons and gender itself are categories 'made up' within discourses. Further, it is in the heterosexual encounter that 'gender' gets 'consecrated'.

Consider the following: the notion of gender performativity has been associated with 'black feminism' by many post-structural theorists (e.g., Salih 2002:7-9) but also, "Butler uses the term in particular to underline the intersections of race, ethnicity and class with gender and sexuality [...]. I understand that, throughout her work, very clearly Butler proposes no theory of 'queer', nor is 'queer' a central term in her writing anywhere. Nevertheless, it should be noted that queer theory plays an important role in politicizing other issues such as class or race" (Kornak 2015:55). Indeed, Somerville (2002:787) persuasively argues that:

[...] queer theory must be thoroughly informed by and linked to theories of race and ethnicity, fields organized around racial and ethnic identities [...] as well as less institutionalized formulations including so-called whiteness studies [which] also have much to gain from queer approaches. While the necessity for intersectional approaches is widely acknowledged, the intellectual, political, and institutional frameworks that we have inherited (and sometimes unwittingly reproduced) often put considerable pressure on maintaining boundaries between such axes of difference rather than exposing their imbrication.

In that regard, Alinia (2014:2334) makes the point that the black, feminist perspective, to a large extent, relies upon "intersectional analysis to shed light on the relationships between the structural, symbolic and everyday aspects of domination and individual and collective struggles in various domains of social life." Social class, race, gender and their mutually constitutive, interlocking stratifications are integrative theoretical characteristics revealed in the work of

virtually all the principal theorists featured in this dissertation. In particular, however, black feminist thought [“BFT”] focuses on the oppressive nature of white hegemony and its implicit social stratifications by adopting:

[...] a necessarily oppositional stance to the features of mainstream society that keep oppressive power dynamics in place and render black women systemically inferior. BFT provides a self-defined lens through which black women can be seen and our experiences understood. According to BFT scholars, black women’s knowledge is acquired through our various experiences living, surviving, and thriving within multiple forms of oppression. It is a self-defined, embodied way of knowing. In other words, black women’s subjective knowledges represent a standpoint epistemology (Patterson, et. al. 2016:57).

Patterson, et. al. (2016:58) quotes black social theorist and activist Tamara Beauboeuf-Lafontant who notes that, “because so many black women have experienced the convergence of racism, sexism, and classism, they often have a particular vantage point on what constitutes evidence . . . valid action . . . and morality” (2002:71). I became acutely aware of this unique, black vantage point as I listened to the observations of the black interviewees in my study. I have tried to present their points of view, particularly in Chapters 7 and 9. Participant SW11 captured the racialized counternarrative by demonstrating how some white employees regard the performative hypervisibility of their black managerial colleagues. In our session together, he illustrated the implicit marginality of black identity in terms of social equality:

SW11: I’m the manager of - they’re all admin, and I can see sometimes where [...] the [white] dominant culture almost relish if [a male or female black manager] makes a mistake, and so they go out of their way to make sure they don’t make mistakes.

ROG: What I’m hearing you say is that white people relish in it when they see a black person make a mistake.

SW11: I would use the term, “dominant culture,” as opposed to “white.”

ROG: What is the “dominant culture” here?

SW11: White. *(Both laugh.)*

I was able to observe the mutually constitutive aspect of gender performance as a form of dramaturgy - a Lacanian ‘masquerade’ - a term Butler (2002) co-opted to describe “the

performative production of a sexual ontology” (1990:64) conforming to a heteronormative script replete with accompanying and associated societal and workplace expectations.

In other words, acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance but produce this on the surface of the body [...] [they] are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality (Butler, 1990 [1999]:173).

It will be recalled that a number of the project interviewees referred to this ‘masquerade’ as calling for certain chameleonic behaviours, much the way an actor dons a costume and then changes it, depending upon the role assigned. The ultimate social value of this sepulchral form of gender consecration, through the scripted performance of it, is in the agent’s ability to differentially access power-laden, homophilous networks. The old boys’ club exemplifies a network whose members command, for example, long ago legitimated claims to such banal perquisites as “front parking spots” and “stogies in a boardroom”(NE3) - an observation noted by one of the participants interviewed in Chapter 8.

I move from the broad philosophical canvas representing Butlerian performativity to instead view intersectionality more narrowly, still consistent with her theoretical position but strictly from the position of an historically antithetical stance generally characteristic of a symbolic interactionist. A Goffman-like micro-analysis of intersectionality dissects gender identity performances “in given interactions [so that] the microscopic lens is] on the experience of the individual who accumulates several minority identities, [the management of] these intersecting identities, and the discrimination [sometimes suffered] as a result” (Frame 2017:18). My dissertation linked this precise insight to the work of Kimberle Crenshaw and Sara Ahmed but, most importantly to the narratives of the non-white interviewees whose lived experiences in the Ontario college system interpolated this study’s theoretical abstractions with the harsh reality of oppression and inequality. A non-white female in this system navigates discrimination on two fronts: the first because of her gender and the second because of the melanation of her skin that is different from the prevailing racial hegemony. Crenshaw is among the foremost to argue that “because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not



take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated” (Crenshaw 1991:140). Ahmed has famously framed conceptualizations of intersectionality in terms of research dealing with diversity and inclusion - another major theme throughout this dissertation. She writes:

We can ask: what recedes when diversity becomes a view? If diversity is a way of viewing or even picturing an institution, then it might allow only some things to come into view. Diversity is often used as a shorthand for inclusion, as the ‘happy point’ of intersectionality, a point where lines meet. When intersectionality becomes a ‘happy point’, the feminist color of critique is obscured. All differences matter under this view (Ahmed 2012:14).

Pnina Werbner (2013:403) returns the reader to Goffman by adding that:

[A]lthough inequalities and discrimination against ethnic minorities or immigrants may persist beneath the surface, everyday multiculturalism also forms the grounds for an emergent positive, shared intersubjectivity. This is so because the surface of everyday life, as Goffman argued, has a normative moral power that cannot, and should not, be underestimated. Scholarly frameworks starting from the stress on negative identities – subject to discrimination – within a field of power relations must thus be grasped [...] as quite different from analyses that start from the positive aspects of valorised multiple ethnic and diasporic identities.

Finally, as if to underscore Werbner’s comments, there is the representative voice of interviewee, SW6, whose observation bears repetition at this juncture not only to poignantly conclude this segment but to serve as an introduction to the next, concluding section in which I summarize the main arguments of this dissertation. She said this: “I make people uncomfortable, not just because I’m female, not just because I’m black, but I’m an animal that they don’t know how to categorize. And so, rather than even try to, you know, consider how to do it, it’s just easier [if I am] left out.”

## 10.7 CONCLUSION: Summary of Main Arguments

My qualitatively dominant, sequential mixed methods study was originally designed to investigate the intersection of gender identity subjectivities at the middle management level of Ontario college bureaucracies. I planned to investigate whether various forms of cultural and social capital function to achieve and maintain gender dominance in these administrative hierarchies. However, race became a significant, related inquiry that could not be left unexplored. I examined how individuals employ various cultural and social capitals as mechanisms to gain institutional control or to negotiate gender and racial subjective identities within their workplace bureaucracies (Rubenson 2011, Field 2003, Fine 2007).

Along the path of that reflexive awareness, I found intersectionalities linked to being a racialized, differentially gendered and sexualized middle manager. I explained how agents experience objective workplace fields of power differently because of nuanced gender, sexualized and racial oppressions. I theorized that mandated diversity and inclusion policies do not neutralize nor even mitigate these intersectional discriminations (Athens 2017, citing Honneth 2017 and Park [1925] 1952). My findings revealed that in the Province's college system, there is a systemic failure to recognize and acknowledge the subjective importation of modulated and reproduced historical influences (Pred 1981). These androcentric and racialized social artifacts comprise the causal power that drives collateral agency and intent, guiding one's workplace thoughts and actions (Gallagher 2012, Pacherie 2007, 2008, Suchman 1968). These autobiographical predispositions are buried deep within the habitus, yet they ultimately impact the "complex interplay between the individual, and the dynamics of the social" (Nolan and Walshaw 2012:348).<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> There are the vaunted constituencies of putative diversity and inclusion through promulgated policies and mandated practices in Ontario colleges. However, in reality, as I mentioned above, these policies and practices are nothing more than a form of deracination and gender capitalism in an increasingly data-driven, neoliberalized workplace environment. Subjective identities continue to be compromised and coping strategies which include the negotiated manipulation of social capital are invoked to achieve personal and systemic career targets.

From my research, I began to develop the idea that, what one interviewee earlier referred to as ‘white fragility’, is perhaps a psycho-social concomitant of ‘diversity fatigue’<sup>298</sup> or ‘occupational burnout’<sup>299</sup> creeping into the collective workplace sentience. It may be driven by an immanent sense that, in terms of social equality and efforts at curtailing intersectionality, plenary social inclusion initiatives have achieved very little. Therefore, any further reflection is not really worth the focussed deliberation, insight and compromise required to change one’s *a priori* assumptions about social reality that have been, for so long, taken-for-granted. Schumpeter (2016:7) defines diversity fatigue “as a form of mental exhaustion brought on by the constant attention required to ensure a workforce or other group is racially or ethnically diverse”. In that regard, the narratives I heard can be neatly summarized by suggesting that those unaffected by social class barriers and workplace intersectionality, unconsciously or perhaps even at a conscious level, are unaware of or simply choose to ignore the fact that these career impediments exist. When confronted with the reality of intersectionality and the need for meaningful activism, they buy books and talk about it with serious facial expressions in “comfortable gatherings of friends who are unlikely to nudge one another to the places of discomfort that these books, at their best, demand” (Johnson 2020:np). Some of those victimized accept this reality and navigate troubled intersectional terrain to sustain their managerial careers “on a battleground without bullets or the armor needed to be successful in the war for social inclusion” (Schumpeter 2016:8).

Because so much of my research inquiry was devoted to the examination of gender in the middle management workspace of the Ontario college system, a significant portion of Chapters 5 and 8 focus on a discussion of gendered capital. Some contend that it is a manifestation of agency derived from social capital. By linking goal-oriented, agentic workplace practices to Bourdieusian theoretical analysis (Jarzabkowski and Wolf 2010, Powell and DiMaggio 2012, Gardner-McTaggart 2020, Krzyżanowski 2014), one uncovers a yield of distinctive habitus shaped by intersectional identities which themselves are reshaped and reconstructed through the existential and interwoven struggles of the workplace, infused in some cases by antecedent historical and cultural practices and conditions that carry forward bias and inequality (Clark 2014, Costa-Lopes, et. al. 2013, Loury

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<sup>298</sup> See also fn. 262 for another understanding of “diversity fatigue” suggested by Teresa Boughey.

<sup>299</sup> “Occupational burnout” has been defined as is referred to as an endpoint of unsuccessful coping, feelings of overextension, inactive problem-solving, supervisory appraisal and other proactive coping skills that may help mediate occupational stress prior to burnout (Cherniss 1985; Jennett et al. 2003). Compared with occupations in general, there are substantially higher amounts of burnout in human services ...” (Hurt, et. al. 2013:301).

and Loury 2009, Phillips 2011). To use a heteronormative metaphor, my research shows that white patriarchy survives by successfully breeding its own in the contested but fecund ground of neoliberalism. And, of course, Bourdieu<sup>300</sup> would remind us that institutional misrecognition and the doxic orchestrations of subordination are endlessly reproduced in environments where they are permitted to flourish without meaningful challenge.<sup>301</sup>

In Chapter 4, I acknowledge that some inroads in the direction of diversity and intersectional inclusion form a basis for plenary optimism, however, the prevailing feminist rhetoric is that diversity is conflated with the habitus, white heteronormativity, and quaintly postcolonial notions about gender-neutrality (Kalogeros 2014, Urbanek 2011). In a bureaucracy such as the Ontario college system, this ideological simulacrum merely projects the illusion of systemic fairness but not the reality. My research indicates that gender-neutral policies actually operate to conceal organizational patriarchy. I gathered evidence suggesting that, far from non-judgmental acceptance of variegated subjective gender identification, the college system in this Province is, instead, traditionally gendered (Cohen et al. 2004, White, et. al. 2012) and ultimately driven by an androcentric habitus. Pervasive, symbolic domination regarding gendered subjectivities and racial minorities are always in the shadows and often thinly veiled by a discursively ambiguous sub-text (Höpfl and Case 2007). An example frequently mentioned in my project is the dogged persistence of the ‘old boys’ network’, typically comprised of white, middle-aged, married, heterosexual males who possess a great amount of managerial discretion. In other words, according to Ferguson (1984:7), a modern bureaucracy, such as the Ontario college system, is nothing more than a “scientific organization of inequality.” Social theorist Joan Acker (1990:154) provides a compelling

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<sup>300</sup> Apart from Bourdieu’s unique perspective, it might be noted that others regard gender capital as part of a reconversion process that produces a gendered form of cultural capital revealing itself in pre-reflexive dispositions that shape and are shaped by one’s gender identity construction, in effect enriching its ultimate value as cultural capital. Based on my research findings, I have argued that career paths in Ontario colleges are gendered and that gender capital as well as other forms of human and social capital, when employed strategically in the field play a significant role in accessing and sustaining hierarchal dominance within a typical college bureaucratic environment. But the data I obtained reveal that gender and racial intersectionality continue to present considerable obstacles in the Ontario college system.

<sup>301</sup> My fieldwork covered a period of one year from December 2018 to the end of November 2019. The process involved the adoption of a sequential mixed methods approach (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). My conclusions address both principal and related research inquiries which, broadly conceptualized, include (a) the social mechanisms used to secure and maintain managerial positions in Ontario colleges, (b) the influence of gendered capital in that mechanism and (c) intersectional oppression as a consequence the manipulation of social power. As I mentioned above, particular attention was accorded to the scholarly work of a significant number of feminist theorists with enhanced focus on their philosophical appropriation of Bourdieu’s theory of practice. My literature review provides a theoretical basis for the grounded methodological approach adopted for my research and fully explicated in Chapter 3. My analysis of the mixed methods data gathered in my field work supports Bourdieu’s theories as it does the preeminent, feminist interpolations cited throughout my research paradigm. Later in this Chapter, I also briefly discuss the limitations of my research and recommendations for further investigations in this area.

summation “(r)ational-technical, ostensibly gender-neutral, control systems are built upon and conceal a gendered substructure.”

The survey descriptive statistics alone were certainly helpful, but they did not as transparently reveal the ‘gendered substructure’ that became more evident in the written answers to the text-based questions and certainly in the interview narratives explored in depth throughout Chapters 7 - 9. From the majority of interviewees, I heard repeated variations on a research theme which suggests that existing diversity policies in Ontario and the legislation from which they are derived simply do not produce the intended impact. An androcentric core of neoliberal gender and racial intersectionality continues to plague middle management in Ontario college bureaucracies. Perhaps the ability of a large, publicly funded organization to function, often without systemic transparency, in such a racially and ethnically divided sub-culture serves to embolden the habitus of white male privilege or at least do very little to attenuate its sustainability. With a nationwide lens on higher educational administration, this could be the subject of a further project, however, with respect to my own research objectives, my findings suggest support for theoretical positions referred to above.

My project examined a social phenomenon theorists tend to identify as the ‘queen bee syndrome’ - the idea that a woman who has made it to the top essentially constructs practice strategies and network exclusions specifically designed to inhibit other women from the same chances at career success. The general premise focuses on the idea that, in this process, a female manager obviously mimics the masculinist stereotype of the ‘old boys’ network’ - another topic discussed extensively throughout my dissertation. In effect, these managers become willing converts in the *illusio* of a neoliberal patriarchy in return for acceptance in power-based structural networks that can enhance career ascendancy. In Chapter 5, I introduced the concept of *mimesis* which entails the strategic process of following the path of the organizational power structure and, within it, the most influential constituents. By imitating those who have been successful in negotiating the signposts along the way, approval, and acceptance by those in a position to enable the personal achievement of career goals is more likely to be a viable long-term strategic outcome. The concept easily aligns with any discussion of the queen bee syndrome. Adherents certainly can be understood as having

copied the template of male domination to enhance social capital with a view to career progression in a college bureaucracy.<sup>302</sup>

Admittedly, whilst, the foregoing view is in the minority, my findings support the suggestion that gender capital is far more likely to be used strategically by females to counter the oppression of male domination in the workplace. My findings suggest that women adopt masculinist practices to enhance their social capital without necessarily adopting belief in the illuso of androcentrism. In the survey respondents were equally divided as to whether it was sometimes necessary to emphasize 'masculine' or 'feminine' traits such as nurturing practices at work simply to get the job done, however, as noted earlier it was the open-ended questions and the interviewee responses that produced the most informative data to assist in addressing this question. The evidence gathered in my study suggests that individuals do utilize gendered capital to contend with male domination and the proliferation of neoliberal patriarchy, sometimes by copying the masculinist template and at others by emphasizing feminine traits through the strategic utilization of sexuality and/or nurturing practices. In most cases, gendered capital is a manipulative social device exploited for the purpose of enhancing social capital without the agent necessarily subscribing to the illuso of the androcentric norm in the workplace.

Throughout my project, I have argued that the observance of institutional diversity mandates may not reveal the culturally arbitrary influence of a patriarchal habitus.<sup>303</sup> In that sense, one can locate, in the Ontario college system, participatory complicity in and the overarching salience of real-life,

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<sup>302</sup> Taken further, the practice can produce what some theorists refer to as 'hegemonic femininity'. In a notional mirror image of Connell's 'hegemonic masculinity', sociologist Patricia Collins (2004:187-189) argues that "within hierarchies of femininity, social categories of race, age, and sexual orientation also intersect to produce comparable categories of hegemonic, marginalized, and subordinated femininities". In other words, following Collins' line of reasoning, we are led to understand that the strategic use of gendered capital by women, given the appropriate context or field, is a salient, feminist iteration of masculine domination.

<sup>303</sup> Malinda S. Smith, at the University of Calgary, points out that: "There is no shortage of policy statements about equity, but there is a gap in political will to truly enact them." (Campbell 2020:np). Citing the work of numerous researchers who have comprehensively investigated this topic, I suggest throughout this dissertation that mandatory diversity policies whose stated purpose is to combat the workplace discriminatory practices are of little political persuasion when it comes to dealing with negatively coherent attitudes and behaviours of the willingly blinded bias of the majority of employees in the college workplace. In fact, because diversity and inclusion policies do little to recognize and acknowledge multiple workplace identities, they may even be responsible for the implicit limitation of optimal career promotions and leadership efficacy.

biased attitudes or beliefs about gender, race, and class.<sup>304</sup> Intersectionalities are present but they appear to be muted, disengaged, and unspoken, hovering over workplace interpersonal dynamics like Billing's 'phantom' of the male norm.<sup>305</sup> As recently as 2019, a comprehensive, national study focused on the current status of equity, diversity and inclusion in Canadian higher education revealed that: "[a] lack of diversity in senior leadership, especially of racialized people, is [...] a key finding of the survey" (Davidson 2019:5). The data gathered for this project tends to point in the direction of a noticeable absence of proactive leadership charged with addressing the bureaucratic and increasingly neoliberal patri-focality of middle management in the Ontario college system. I read and heard compelling narratives suggesting that these workplace oppressions silently and effectively legitimate and thereby reproduce a disproportionate power imbalance favouring white, male, heterosexist, and socioeconomically homologous structural networks. The result is a proliferation of intersectional and interpersonal marginalization which, in turn, perpetuates social inequality, to say nothing about the diminution of organizational productivity. In short, my research data shows that the dominant influences of both patriarchy and the 'old boys' network' are each examples of how 'structural holes' take shape only to generate power imbalances between fields resulting in the dominance of one field over another which then replicates and legitimizes oppressive intersectionalities in the workplace.

In the Ontario college system, affected individuals feel they must contend with gender identity and racial discriminations in the field of play. Agents resort to various survival mechanisms including the exploitation of gender capital and mimesis to maintain - if not advance through - the hierarchy in their college administrative careers. Non-white males and aspiring females copy the hegemonic performances of their white male superiors. Many interviewees talked about how they act out their gender identities through more subtle behaviours. Sometimes they emphasize their nurturing and collaborative skills transposed from home. Others present individualized expressions of their own masculinity or femininity – even overtly sexualized flirtation - to achieve personal or organizational

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<sup>304</sup> As I mentioned earlier, it is not difficult to find compartmentalized, assimilated, aggregated, and integrated diversity and inclusion policies oozing from colourful college websites suffused with enlarged pictures of the smiling faces of multi-racial minorities. But my research shows that in provincial college mid-management these same policies amount to little more than the abject negation of difference in its own right. Authentic diversity implementation is vapid beyond mere numeracy.

<sup>305</sup> Levin (2009:108) suggests that in Canada: "(W)e should recognize that our institutions, including schools, have [long] been sources of pressure for homogenization. It is simply much easier in large institutions to treat people as if they were all more or less the same or, alternatively, to marginalize people seen as different or to treat them as if their problems were their own fault."

footholds. Regardless, on the basis of the research I completed, the data gathered, and the analysis I have developed, it is my suggestion that social capital – including gender capital – and its organizational manifestation an innate source of dynamic power in the Ontario college system and, indeed, both gender and race are variables that can and do facilitate or curtail career ascendancy within college administrations.

In several respects, the various approaches I adopted regarding both theory and methodology applied to the foregoing are both distinctive and original. In what follows, it is my intention to elucidate those qualities.

### **(a) Distinctiveness of this Empirical Study of Intersectionality**

A discussion of the distinctiveness of this study must begin with its singularity. Never before in Ontario has there been a project of this breadth and depth investigating intersectionality in the middle management sector of the Ontario college system. For reasons discussed in the dissertation, a combination of historical systemic and contemporary logistic issues posed difficulties that made access to data a very time-consuming and at times a frustrating endeavour. Nevertheless, the original project goals were completed, and data was gathered successfully days before the full impact of the COVID-19 worldwide crisis. To the date of submission for my doctoral degree, the topic of my mixed-methods, empirical research has never been explored in an organizational milieu that is and remains relatively secluded from purview in comparison to a somewhat narrower range of investigation at individual universities in the Province. The distinctive, integrated but qualitatively dominant mixed-methods approach chosen for this project was the key to gaining access to the many institutional participants who volunteered for follow-up interviews, the results of which lent unique and valuable insights to study of gender and racial discrimination pervasive in Ontario's colleges.

As I explain below, my thesis offers an unusual and innovative approach to understanding the multi-dimensional nature of intersectionality through different - and at times competing - methodologies and their theoretical underpinnings. With Bourdieu's theory of practice as the dissertation's intellectual touchstone, I engage with an eclectic array of differing schools of thought. I was



especially influenced by Ronald Burt's discussion of structural networks (called 'holes') within bureaucratic organizations and a considerable portion of Chapter 5 is devoted to the application of Burt's theorizations in the administrative architecture of the Ontario college system. The distinctive element is the methodological reconciliation of these sometimes vastly different examples of epistemologico-methodological eclecticism.

Indeed, what I consider to be most distinctive about my dissertation is its uncompromising commitment to an existential and eclectic approach purposed for the induction, organization and shaping of knowledge from each of what Hjørland (2002:259) defines as the "four basic kinds of methods" for KO [i.e., knowledge organization] — 'empirical methods', 'rationalistic methods', 'historical methods', and 'pragmatic methods'. Alexiv and Marksby (2010:365) add a refined understanding of these methodologies:

- (a) **Empiricism:** (observations and inductions): classification provided by statistical generalizations based in "similarity"
- (b) **Rationalism:** (principles of pure reason; deductions): classification based on logical, universal divisions
- (c) **Historicism:** (study of context and development; explicating pre-understanding): classification based on historical or evolutionary development (taxonomies). Classification of the sciences based on their history and organizational structures
- (d) **Pragmatism:** (analysis of goals, values and consequences in both subject and object): classifications based on specific values, policies and goals (*bolding added*).

Each of the foregoing typologies of knowledge construction and organization has been fully explicated in my project. For example, consider the prominence of Erving Goffman as a 'dedicated empiricist' (Lofland 1984), Pierre Bourdieu's overarching and quintessentially rationalist 'science of sciences' (Sismondo 2011), the 'radical historicism' of Michel Foucault (Grumley 2016) and finally the structural 'holes' of Ronald Burt and his fundamentally 'pragmatist theory of social relations' (Gross 2009, Fulse 2020) - all are featured theorists throughout my dissertation. Each shares a dedicated and significant portion of the epistemological spotlight in this thesis in addition to emerging poststructuralist paradigms exemplified in the work of Nick Rumens and several others influenced by Foucault's writings.

Throughout my project, I always remained open to and aware of the “possibility that the use of a given method within a given [knowledge organization] system can, in principle, be dissociated from the epistemological position providing its theoretical justification. An important corollary of this is that the methods used in designing a given [knowledge organization] system need not mirror, in all respects, the core epistemological commitments of its designer(s)” (Dousa and Ibekwe-SanJuan 2014:153). I was invariably reminded of and ineffably inspired by Sieber’s (1973:1358) decades old observation that:

[...] the adjustment in traditional research designs called for by the integration of field and survey methods would seem to produce a new style of research. At present, there are too few examples of this style to adduce general principles to be followed in organising future projects. The task of collecting specimens of projects that have sought to benefit from the interplay of fieldwork and surveys, rather than instances bearing on a single aspect of projects, remains for the methodologist of the future - providing that the boundaries between the two traditions are dissolved and attention is turned to their intellectual integration in the interest of improving our strategies in social research

Undoubtedly, the distinctiveness of this adventurous and wide-ranging approach to the project’s methodological fabric contributed to its essential originality.

### **(b) The Originality of the Methodological Approach**

This project methodology was designed and developed as a qualitatively dominant and mixed-methods approach for a number of reasons: some practical, others theoretical and still others intuitive. From a practical standpoint, federal regulations and a long-standing tepidity of each college ethics review panel toward qualitatively designed projects made an initial survey the most pragmatic entry point at which to solicit access to participants for more intensive follow-up interviews. Also, in practical terms, I found that it served well as an introductory doorstep to a trusting relationship established between the participants who volunteered to be interviewed and myself. Anxiety or apprehension about meeting face-to-face and recording what was said in the live setting was significantly reduced on both sides of the microphones. It made for a more relaxed and intimate experience that provoked highly personal and insightful narratives from the interviewees. In theory, a constructivist, interpretive methodological architecture is almost without parallel if the

main purpose of the investigation is to elicit the lived experience of the participants through their often-intimate personal narratives (Denzin and Lincoln 2006, Shelbe 2015).

My project never sought to obtain the “right” answer to any of the inquiries. While the project originated with exclusive focus on gender, the data unfolded in a way that provoked an intuition in favour of readjusting the research lens to focus on a richer more complex sociological fabric that included a hitherto unanticipated racial dimension. As a result, what became important was an exploration of the participants’ subjective experiences of race and gender issues in the college workplace which, in turn, were responsible for a much greater comprehensive examination of intersectionality in the administrative sector of Ontario’ colleges.

There is an added feature of qualitatively dominated research of the type in which I engaged and that is the unique opportunity to give voice and to perhaps advance, to some degree, the political agenda of all the intersectionally marginalized participants in this study. Undoubtedly they represent the vast majority of similarly affected college employees outside the project sample population. Those individuals who, for various reasons missed the opportunity to be heard and to have their voices documented as a featured component of a scientific exploration may be silent but they have been heard through the narratives of their colleagues.

There is a social justice dimensionality to this project. It demands acknowledgment from those in a position to make effective policy changes. The methodological approach adopted clearly demonstrates the fact that diversity and inclusion mandates in college institutions across the province are largely ineffective at mitigating the deleterious effects of workplace intersectionality. In the words of Sarah Ahmed (2012:71), the existing diversity rhetoric in the institutions investigated “gives permission to those working within institutions to turn away from ongoing realities of institutional inequality”. The end product of my methodology compels those willing to turn away - perhaps without compunction - to confront that damning reality, hopefully incentivized to do whatever is possible toward the amelioration of intersectional oppression.

As I mentioned earlier, the originality of the methodological approach chosen for this project rests primarily in what I suggest is its fundamental core of eclecticism - the idea that a project of this nature is improved and enhanced by intentionally drawing upon a rich and variegated palette of theories and methods from a wide, colourful, inclusive and occasionally oppositional spectrum of advanced sociological scholarship. I am reminded of the insightful hortatory expressed by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17) who propose that mixed-method research is "inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research". As I demonstrated earlier, in the section entitled '*Perspectives on Gender Capital*', careful analysis of the data from a variety of theoretical positions produced a methodology that was always focussed on eschewing paradigmatically rigid notions of theoretical incompatibility or any *a priori* assumptions about consequential research incoherence. Instead, with novel results produced from an original approach, I remained mindful of the assertion made by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998:21) to the effect that:

Most good researchers prefer addressing their research questions with any methodological tool available, using the pragmatist credo of 'what works.' [...] For most researchers committed to the thorough study of a research problem, method is secondary to the research question itself, and the underlying worldview hardly enters the picture, except in the most abstract sense.

My initial doctoral proposal promised that unequivocal intention in 2017 and my dissertation remained both locked in and steadfast to that methodological commitment. The innovation of my thesis was to acknowledge and make novel use of the tensions among diverse literatures and different methodological utilities available for interpreting data. As I have shown above, I concentrated on integrating or even, at times, subsuming theoretical incompatibilities. For example, I offered a methodological reconciliation of the philosophical differences between the approaches taken by symbolic interactionists such as Goffman and the fateful and deterministic theory of practice asserted by Bourdieu who, in presenting the first ever Erving Goffman Prize Lecture, at the University of California, Berkeley in April 1996 (Sociología Contemporánea 2018) acknowledged a surprising array of similarities more than the opposites of their respective *oeuvres*.

Finally, my innovative adaptation of existing methodological approaches is consistent with the advice of educational researchers Yanchan and Williams (2021:8) who suggest that a “contextually sensitive”, modern approach to research should properly:

[...] emphasize creative theory construction, question formulation, and problem solving. To the extent necessary, researchers and evaluators would also engage in the innovation or creative adaptation of whatever methods, tools, and techniques are needed to more directly, thoroughly, and fruitfully interrogate a given subject matter in particular contexts. Research and evaluation could thus involve creative uses and combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods, action research, development and design-based research, historical inquiry, theoretical and philosophical investigation, and other potentially useful activities [...].

Virtually all of the foregoing were accessed and utilized in this dissertation.

### **(c) Critical Feminist Scholarship & the Investigation of Intersectionality**

In a recent journal article, sociologist Kay Fuller (2020:1) provides a thought-provoking and stimulating exegesis that directs attention to the idea of how reflexivity,

[...] as recognition of an other [,] validate[s] knowledge claims to assert transcendence of our “own subjectivity and own cultural context in a way that releases [us] from the weight of (mis)representations” (Pillow, 2003, p. 186). Declarations of positionality by white scholars pre-empt accusations of re-colonizing research participants in voyeuristic ways. As such, reflexivities may lead to complacency. Ironically so, when critical reflexivity aims to disrupt the complacency associated with positivism (May and Perry, 2011).

Fuller cites and, in so doing, effectively returns the researcher to Bourdieu’s (1990:116) conceptualization that embodied dispositions of the habitus are highly capable of transposability through “the awakening of consciousness and socioanalysis”. Lorber (2006:450) notes that “feminist social science has devised research designs and methodologies that have allowed the standpoints of oppressed and repressed women throughout the world to come to the forefront, and

which reflect increasingly sophisticated intersectional analyses of class, racial ethnicity, religion, and sexuality.” Moreover, critical feminist scholarship compels researchers to engage with Bourdieu’s work to assist in refocusing a reflexive lens on themselves. The purpose is “to establish reciprocity in self-disclosure; and to expose misrecognition i.e., the long-forgotten arbitrariness of social divisions relating to gender, class, and race” (Fuller 2020:1). For example, in this dissertation I have demonstrated that both the cultural hegemony of ‘white supremacy’ and the mutually constitutive, ethnocentric phenomenality of ‘white fragility’ (DiAngelo 2018:2) evident in the Ontario college system draw us toward an underlying “recognition that race inequity and racism are central features of the education system. These are not aberrant nor accidental phenomena that will be ironed out in time, they are fundamental characteristics of the system” (Gillborn, 2005:498).

Bourdieu informs us that complacency is implicated in the structural diffidence of the *status quo*. In this study it is exemplified by the sometimes platitudinous rhetoric of diversity. Occasionally it is located in the publication of institutional policy statements about the virtues of diversity and inclusion. But, at a rudimentary individual level, it is rarely authenticated through a demonstrable conscious and conscientiously driven intersubjective symbiosis perceptual and behavioural modifications. As Christine Alemany (2020:2) suggests, it is “be[ing] about it instead of just talking about it”. It exemplifies the dynamic process of misrecognition. It happens when:

[...] underlying processes and generating structures of fields are not consciously acknowledged in terms of the social differentiation they perpetuate, often in the name of democracy and equality [...]. As a translation of *meconnaissance*, however, misrecognition does not quite place the necessary emphasis on how a practice might be made ‘[...] invisible through a displacement of understanding and a reconstrual as part of other aspects of the habitus that ‘go without saying’ (Mahar et al., 1990, p. 19). Such misrecognition operates in the education system, Bourdieu argues, through an arbitrary curriculum that is ‘naturalised’ so that social classifications are transformed into academic ones. The result is that instead of being experienced for what they are (i.e. partial and technical hierarchies), such social classifications become “total” hierarchies, experienced as if they were grounded in nature” (Grenfell & James, 1998: 23–24).

Bourdieu would likely suggest that, in terms of methodological praxis in the social sciences, it is a *sine qua non* that one’s own positionality as a researcher must be taken into account - especially in relation to the objective structures and the individuals populating them - so that the researcher is not inordinately influenced by subjectivity and the structuring dispositions instilled through the

determinisms of the habitus. At the same time, ethical research practice requires the researcher to acknowledge that very habitus. Accordingly, my study findings suggest that there exists a characteristic 'white' *umwelt* or point of view. As a researcher and by reason of my own whiteness, age, education, community position and even gender, I found myself privy to discursive intimacies - often in the form of subtle, meta-linguistic significations - that were never (and likely never would be) shared with me by the non-whites with whom I came in contact in the context of and external to the formal interview settings during my investigations. It was painfully obvious that we live in different worlds.

Fuller's view (2020:3) is that critical feminist scholarship obligates researchers investigating intersectionality to acknowledge social interactions like the foregoing and to take that awareness a step further by engaging in their own reciprocal 'scholastic reflexivity' (Fuller 2020:3). She reminds us of Rollock's (2013:506-7) hortatory:

White researchers electing to carry out race research have a particular responsibility to critically reflect upon and demonstrate awareness of these issues. They must remain alert to and report on the dynamics of race and their responses to it. To do so not only ensures the development of critically reflexive practice but also remains crucial to making the processes of whiteness visible. To do otherwise, to remain silent about these processes even while researching race is to enact and endorse a paradigm interred in racial division and hierarchy. (Rollock 2013:506-507)

Awareness of the issues to which Rollock refers may very well direct the researcher to Yuval-Davis' (2015:93) definition of 'situated intersectionality' the touchstone of which is Bourdieu's theoretical stance conceptualizing "the crucial importance of symbolic power as well as the different kinds of capital: social, cultural, as well as economic and political which people use to differentiate and distance themselves from other, inferior, class groupings". Symbolic power in the Bourdieusian dispositional typology is equally diffuse and stratified in layers of social hierarchies that reproduce a structural kinesis of individual or group networks focussed on gathering social capital and deploying power and influence within those hierarchal and lateral grids. According to Yuval-Davis (2015:95) "intersectionality is the most valid approach to the sociological study of social stratification because it does not reduce the complexity of power constructions into a single social division, including class, as has been customarily the case in stratification theories". But therein lies

the conundrum of which a 'critical' researcher, imbued with an abiding interest in feminist intersectional theory, should be aware.

A persuasive strain of critical feminist scholarship supports the contention, expressed here by Kathy Davis (2020:114), and others (e.g., Tomlinson 2013:166, Bilge 2013:411) to the effect that Crenshaw's original work - discussed throughout in this study - has been misread ever since European feminist sociologists began colonizing intersectionality as a framework for their own theorizations. Thus, its philosophical *raison d'être* has been essentially:

[...] obliterated (Salem, 2018). The subject for whom it was initially intended (marginalized woman of colour) has been displaced (Lewis, 2013). Black feminists have not been properly cited or represented, while white, neoliberal European feminists have usurped all the credit for intersectionality as theory (Tomlinson, 2013a). Intersectionality has been whitened, depoliticized, and transformed into a product of the neoliberal academy rather than the helpmeet for social justice it was meant to be (May 2014).

The purpose of this dissertation is not to attempt what, in his work, *Esquisse pour une Auto-Analyse* (*Sketch for a Self Analysis*) (Laberge 2004 [2007]:116), Bourdieu described as a "reconciliation of contradictions". It would be, in his words, (1992:114), a comparatively futile attempt at "the reconciliation of the irreconcilable" (1992:114). Rather, I prefer to set aside regional or global proprietary claims on intersectionality in favour of a phenomenological viewpoint rising above geography. My alternate focus is on how these and the other seemingly irreconcilable ideologies and disparate schools of thought assist in understanding the multi-faceted dimensions of intersectionality. This enterprise can be and is enriched and empowered by the inculcation of a number of points of view, regardless of their ontologies, just as I have tried to do in this project. McCall (2005) addresses this complexity, just as I have done by concentrating on my own appreciation of methodological eclecticism. McCall adopts "a fairly expansive view of what a methodology is. Ideally, a methodology is a coherent set of ideas about the philosophy, methods, and data that underlie the research process and the production of knowledge" (2005:1774). And in my thesis, I have interpreted McCall's viewpoint in a way that is consistent with Bourdieu's pragmatic approach to research which, in essence, is to utilize whatever works best to achieve the



sought-after research goals. This is the promise I made in my original doctoral proposal in 2017, and I suggest it is a promise that has been kept.

### **10.8 Study Limitations**

One limitation of my findings is that racial and ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the survey sample and interviews. It comes as no surprise. As mentioned in those Chapters, approximately 84% of the survey respondents identify as white. There were only two African American managerial interviewees, one Filipino and one interviewee with an Indigenous heritage. It was most interesting, however, to read and hear about the oppression of racial minorities through the numerous narratives and intimate reflections of the white study participants. This, itself, is phenomenal. Standing alone and in profile it is both a powerful indictment and added corroboration of the arguments I have made in this dissertation. The plight of the victimized is told by those who are directly or indirectly complicit in institutionalized, intersectional victimization. Moreover, I did manage to document a number of interactions with several students and college service staff – all of whom were non-white and their voices, even though marginalized, were among the most strident. Since the administrative populations are predominantly white and not likely to change in the near future, this overwhelming racial disparity might be a subject for study in itself at the policy level.

The data is persuasive that gender identity makes a difference to the careers of both men and women in college middle management. For example, a minority of men believe that the workplace has been feminized and, to that extent, their careers have been inhibited simply because they are men. A greater number of male interviewees, but still in the minority either do not recognize that gender inequality exists in their work environments, or they contend that it is not a systemic problem at all. The data shows that while some women have been astute and successful enough to have achieved the Presidency in some colleges, those who have not coopted the prevailing androcentric norm also tend not to convey the same authority nor command the same respect as their male counterparts. Several participants emphasized the implicit challenges to contending with the 'old boys' network and the fact that one necessarily negotiates - using gender capital as the

bitcoin – social positioning in a way that gains acceptance into a power-based structural network so that sponsorship from it supports one’s career in middle management.<sup>306</sup>

My sequential, mixed methods (qualitatively dominant) approach resulted in a far more time-consuming study. My workplan shows that a total of 2,301 [see: Sch. 'H' item (d)] hours were spent on data collection over a period of one year which, in Canada, exceeds the labour equivalent of full-time employment during the same period of time. The two-phase development of the data collection methodology required sequencing because volunteers for the interview needed to have completed the survey to fully understand the purpose of the follow-up invitation and the deployment of each survey had to be calendarized among 15 colleges – each of which had its own agenda for timing to avoid overlapping or bottle necking. The vast geographic distances involved in the qualitative component of the project explain, in part, why the effort took up such a great deal of time and expense.<sup>307</sup>

The goal was to investigate the middle management sector of representative, provincially funded public colleges in each of four geographic quadrants of Ontario. That much was achieved with a total of 15 participating colleges from which at least two colleges in each of the quadrants participated in the research. However, of the 1447 eligible participants only 308 (31%) responded to the survey with approximately 283-290 satisfactory completions. Therefore, reliability of the survey data is a limitation. Survey respondents may or may not have provided correct responses to the attitudinal questions for a number of reasons including (a) the sensitive nature of the research questions, (b) uncertainty about privacy and confidentiality, (c) time constraints which may have compromised

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<sup>306</sup> Mixed methods research tends to be more problematic than either quantitative or qualitative studies standing alone (Gliner and Morgan 2000, Hesse-Biber 2015, Kumar 2014, Alevi and Habek 2016, Weisberg 2014), Reconciliation of the findings from each using a mixed methods approach is rarely a certainty and explanations accounting for differences in results sometimes can border on little more than speculative. Elsewhere, I outlined the sequential phases of the research methodology deliberately without suggesting equality in the weight accorded each phase of data collection. The primary purposes of the survey were to (a) gather important demographic background information about the respondents and (b) use the Likert scaled, attitudinal questions as a methodological doorstep to more intensive investigation through the follow-up interviews of the volunteer participants. In my opinion, the chosen methodology succeeded in that regard.

<sup>307</sup> The interviews with their live attendances were the bedrock of information for the project. They provided remarkable narratives, exceeding my expectations, and revealing densely textured insights that would not have been discovered by restricting data collection to a survey alone. However, the interviews were semi-structured leaving a great deal of room for variation in responses notwithstanding the thematic guide used for each interview. The variability of the responses may carry semantic implications for detailed textual analysis. The quotes selected for inclusion in this dissertation may be interpreted differently by the reader, the researcher, and each interviewee.

careful deliberation about some of the questions, especially calling for fine distinctions between “agree” / “strongly agree” and (d) second-guessing the researcher’s intent or not fully understanding the questions – this last point gathered from some of the explanations provided in the three, open-ended questions at the end of the survey. Even among the 283-290 satisfactory survey completions there were some non-responses to some of the questions which could have caused some statistical inaccuracies. On the other hand, I achieved my project goal of 32 interviews. To do so, it was necessary to investigate a total of 15 colleges rather than the initial 8 that were originally proposed at the outset of the project.<sup>308</sup>

### 10.9 Controlling Research Bias

Research was carried out in my workplace milieu: the Ontario college system where I was and where I am employed at the middle management level.<sup>309</sup> There is a certain ‘messy’ (Parkhe 1993) implication in this sort of positioning.<sup>310</sup> This opens-up the spectre of research bias. It can occur at any stage of the research process from development through to methodology and analysis, but the problem does seem to pose an increased risk during qualitative research because of its highly subjective nature (Morse et. al. 2002, Thirsk and Clark 2017, Thorne et. al. 2016). The term itself is ambiguous because, in quantitative research, it could refer to a systematic deviation or methodological departure from what otherwise would be a paradigm of statistical accuracy

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<sup>308</sup> With respect to the qualitative component of the study, generalizability, as always, remains problematic and broad conclusions might be fraught with lack of rigour. However, in this study, certain demographic features of the sample population suggest somewhat more extended applicability of the findings and a greater likelihood of replicability, especially in relation to the wider Canadian and global context (See Schedule ‘J’). The homogeneity of the sample population is striking: a large majority is white, from similar backgrounds, lifestyles, and educational paths to adulthood. Almost everyone is very well-educated, middle-aged, highly paid, and socially aware. The similarity of those variables likely influenced the data saturation point. The narratives I heard tended to conflate into variations on what, by now, had become consistent themes. The striking differences were evident in my interviews with those few individuals affected by racial intersectionalities and this, perhaps, points to an area for further research.

<sup>309</sup> The interest was stimulated by earlier studies at Bradford University in which my attention was focussed on the work of Yvonne Due Billing and her notion of the ‘phantom of the male norm’. I conducted a mixed methods project that was much smaller but very similar to the methodological design of this dissertation.

<sup>310</sup> I was then, as I am now, positioned more than an outside observer looking-in and writing on a *tabula rasa* about the phenomena of gendered middle management in the college bureaucracy. I am, in fact, a white, male, socioeconomically homologous participant in the research environment as well as being an unavoidably complicit yet detached observer. I could have responded to my own dissertation survey with authority and conviction. I could have been interviewed for this dissertation and, likely, I would have had something to say. I work at the college I investigated earlier and while I am not employed at any of the colleges visited in my study, I certainly do possess extensive and comprehensive ‘insider’ knowledge of how the Ontario college system works at every level. I understand the structural doxa and illusio of these institutions because, for over 10 years, they have been inseparable components of my working life.

(Denscombe 2014). Qualitative research bias generally refers to a particular frame of reference that has attracted the researcher's attention to one or more aspects of the phenomena being studied. Other potentially relevant saliences are ignored or at least consigned to the background of the research protocol (King, et. al. 1995). It is very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid research bias completely (Kumar 2014). The reality is that researcher perspective is both central and, in the final analysis, inevitable (Collier and Mahoney 1996). In this dissertation, numerous strategies were included in my own efforts to limit the influence of research bias.

The strategies I engaged were as follows: (i) The use of a survey preceding the interviews with open-ended questions in the survey so as not to force answers to a limited range responses (Decieux, et. al. 2015, Zhu and Larina 2016, Faran and Zanbar 2019). (ii) Likert scales for survey responses to attitudinal questions to avoid any suggestion that correct answers are binary (e.g., 'agree / disagree) (Johnson and Morgan 2016, Douven 2018, Dimitrov 2012). (iii) Controlling the possibility of participant bias by asking interviewees to provide spontaneous feelings about a topic rather than responses they might consider to be socially acceptable (Duigman 2016). (iv) Limiting potential bias by developing a thematic structure to the interview questions and, wherever possible ordering the questions in a manner consistent with the pre-determined thematic architecture (Frels and Onwuegbuzie 2013, Roulston 2019, Warren and Korner 2015, Edwards, and Holland 2013); and (v) Ensuring that all the data obtained was analyzed with as much transparency (Given 2008) and critical thought (Reding 2018) as possible. In that regard the quantifiable data management aspect of NVivo 12 software (Ishak and Abu 2012) was of considerable assistance as were my copious field notes (Hallowell, et. al 2005) in which I was able to document social artifacts that unlikely would have been captured through surveys alone.

## **10.10 RECOMMENDATIONS: Policy & Research Implications**

In this section, I point out how the findings of my dissertation may be important for policy, methodological practice, theory. I offer a number of recommendations for future research in those areas of interest. They all address the overarching duality of gender and racial inequality that hampers career progression yet persists in Ontario colleges despite the promotion and enforcement of systemic diversity and inclusion policies. Intersectionality should be taken into consideration in any future research initiatives choosing to illuminate this underlying, yet almost

invisible issue in the Province's community colleges. In this regard, my study findings demonstrate the fundamental influence of gender and racial inequality in the workplace. The consequence is a suite of interpersonal workplace practices to which both dominant and minoritized agents resort to maintain or enhance positional superiority in an organizationally complex milieu such as the Province's college system. Some career aspirants manipulate doxastic compliance. They consciously shape subjective and multiple identification processes with the goal of accessing entrance to (or perhaps support from) vaunted social networks. Membership in such networks implies the discursive and phallogocentric technology of power and influence necessary to facilitate (or actually impede) the promotional goals of those seeking network admission. I have shown how intersectional identities are accorded differential treatment at the instance of some constituents belonging to the dominant workplace culture - sometimes unfortunately resulting in career stasis and disadvantage. Further research and interrogation is needed. It should be focussed on (a) province-wide intersectional policy analysis, (b) methodological praxes to gather meaningful data about the Ontario college system with far less institutional resistance and (c) comprehensive theory development to understand and explain the etiological underpinnings of the phenomena explored in this dissertation more fully. I discuss each of these below.

### **(a) Policy Analysis & Development**

Research ethics in Canada is governed by federal guidelines. The policy for human research anywhere in Canada is known the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans (2ed) (TCPS2). Rigorous training and examination are required prerequisites to obtaining a temporary, three-year licence to conduct research involving humans across the nation (See Schedule E). All public institutions of higher education - including every public college in Ontario - are bound by the TCPS2 ethical paradigm which requires a comprehensive and extremely time-consuming application to each college's Research Ethics Board (REB).<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> There are numerous inconsistencies in the way reviews are conducted by local boards which undermines the ethics review process and frustrates the efforts of qualified researchers. With respect to provincial, publicly funded colleges, there is a provincial, centralized multi-site review board that ostensibly functions to assess ethics applications on behalf of all the colleges in the province, but the reality is that each college nevertheless insists on having its own application completed and submitted. The frustration is triple barreled because ethical research design acceptance by the REB does not open the door. Yet another round of institutional support for the deployment of the project and access to the physical structure of each college itself imposes further time, cost, and delay.

This vertiginously complex process points to a policy-level consideration that should be focussed on further study and possible revision of the process by the three Councils responsible for research ethics in Canada: namely, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). With legislative imprimatur, it is possible that all research ethics applications in Canada could be brought under centralized federal oversight with a permanent advisory committee established to address recurrent and frustrating procedural issues researchers face in applying for and gaining approval to commence research projects in Canadian public institutions.

Meanwhile the TCPS should collaborate with institutions at the local level with a view to simplifying and streamlining the application process with less complex, more efficient policy directives. A greater emphasis should be placed on the education of REB Chairs and Boards. This might include multi-city workshops and ethics conferences. There, local issues of concern to both researchers and REBs could be debated in an open forum with a view to synergy, collaboration and cost-effective ethics review practices with far less wasted time and effort on the part of everyone involved. I personally encountered a number of REB chairs who, I discovered, had very little experience with research ethics applications and the applicable TCPS, Core II rules. A few certainly left me with the impression that, if the ethics application process were deliberately made challenging enough, I might simply be persuaded to give-up and move on to another application at a different college.

Indeed, at this juncture, I feel it is appropriate to respectfully suggest that honest, and forthright, intersectionality-based policy analysis at the systemic level is needed about what some might describe as a secretive and research-resistant culture. It is not an overstatement to suggest that Ontario college environments are veritable Potemkin villages. For example, according to Dr. Enakashi Dua (2017:11), associate professor at the School of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies at York University in Toronto, colleges, and universities in Canada refuse to publicize data to show the relative proportion of visible minorities at work in institutional administrations.<sup>312</sup> They

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<sup>312</sup> In a nation-wide study, researched by Dr. Dua and six other professors in higher education throughout Canada, the data gathered reflects the profound influence of discriminatory intersectional patterns permeating the bureaucracies in higher education: "(I)t cannot be denied that under-representation occurs, that women are less represented than men, and that there are significant differences in the numbers and the patterns of representations of different racialized groups".

offer no explanation about why this sort of information cannot be made available to researchers or, for that matter, to the public.

The Ontario college system is a complex of secretive places replete with intersectional micro-aggressions against those populating middle managerial sectors of the college system. This understated form of race and gender discrimination is arguably obscured by the rhetoric of diversity and inclusion. Those who are intersectionally dominated are often victimized by a hegemony of white, androcentric, postcolonialism. In Thoreau's words, those affected by the resulting gender and racial inequalities 'lead lives of quiet desperation'. At the very least, senior-level executives in Ontario's colleges must recognize that policy formulation has an inevitable power-driven, normative connotation. Given the influential nature of institutional policy, paradigmatic change, expressed in clear, implementative steps is needed in the direction of a structural shift toward socio-cultural proficiency. This suggestion is not merely ideological star-gazing. In my recommendations for future research, below, I argue that undoubtedly, change can be facilitated through compelled sensitization training at the individual level when it is a component of mandated employment protocol. Publicized statements about system-wide diversity and inclusion are not useful; the idea must be reduced to individual cognition where an explicit confrontation with the consequences of workplace intersectionality must be the focal point of the interaction.

Fair but assiduous operational monitoring must ensure active, individual employee engagement in learning-based discourses about the relationality of intersectional micro-aggressions. The dialogic must be sufficiently congruent with follow-up sensitivity training, perhaps based on Kurt Lewin's 'T-Group' model (Highhouse 2002). It may be arduous for some at first. Thinking more deeply about ways to become sensitive to and then mitigate traditional stereotypes can be daunting. Stereotypes are associated with a form of structural assimilation, the architecture of which is integral to and serving the needs of white patriarchy. And, as demonstrated in this dissertation, race-based patriarchy is not easily dislodged from the public mindset. However, if the learning outcomes have been effectively implemented, the time, effort, and individual attention given to interpersonal awareness of the root causes of intersectionality in the workplace ultimately will improve the lived experiences of system-wide managers. Moreover, the insights they garner are likely to have a positive impact upon the dynamic interplay amongst those they supervise. Managers must be sensitized to their dual responsibilities. First, their fundamental obligation to understand difference

and the intrinsic value of diversity. Second, at an individual level, each must be made aware of how to implement institutional vision and mission through a form of governance that invariably respects and demonstrates socio-cultural proficiency toward varied and increasingly multitudinous gender and racial identities. I suggest that this must be taught and executed in a manner that gives primacy to the overarching importance of human dignity and individuality.

More broadly, a viable assessment needs to be made of the impact (or the lack of it) institutional policies and practices have on diverse voices and the initiatives required to equitably facilitate “access to positions of power and influence” within the Ontario college system (Canadian Philanthropic Foundation 2019:6). Kael Sharman (2014:2) points out that “[e]ducational policy makers have made and do make conscious choices to institutionalise social power hierarchies and therefore have been and are very much responsible for creating the ways in which the structures of our educational system perpetuate oppression on the basis of class and gender.” Looking at a very recent provincial study of higher education conducted by researchers during the COVID - 19 pandemic, Khan, et. al. (2021:6) of Ryerson University in Toronto concluded that in “existing institutional policies, it is common to see institutionalized discrimination which may have been overlooked until recent years. Institutionalized discrimination refers to discrimination embedded within procedures, policies, and other documentation that institutions, such as universities and colleges, adhere to. Generally, institutional bias affects historically marginalized groups.” The Ontario government and its Ministry of Colleges and Universities might well borrow a page from a study conducted by the 2020 *Greater Manchester Independent Inequalities Commission*, the findings of which concluded by advocating the necessity for “equality and wellbeing goals to be put at the heart of public policy ...” (Webster 2021:25 citing GMIIc:np).

But the necessary discourse toward change and amelioration of structural inequalities created by old values and the historical biases plaguing the system cannot evolve in a carceral environment that historically isolates itself from reasonable purview (Kipang and Zuberi 2018, Chan 2005, Bashevkin 2002, Magnusson 2000, 2011). The shroud of secrecy described herein is a preserve that resists change. It effectively precludes access for the purpose of research in furtherance of public transparency and it does so through the blunt and rather primitive instruments of silence and institutional impermeability . The overall impression is that there are college executives in Ontario who simply wish to be left alone to conduct their business operations in private, without external



oversight. The narratives revealed in my findings reflect some of the imbricated consequences.<sup>313</sup> Social justice and equity – the core tenets vital to the attenuation and eventual eradication of workplace intersectionality – cannot take root and ultimately flourish in a cloistered environment that fails to aggressively promote individual, critical reflection about the complex relationships and interactions that take place in traditional binary structures of oppression and symbolic domination. There needs to be a “critical analysis of the neoliberal rationality [suffusing the Ontario college system] and [the need] to examine its manifestations for rearticulating conceptions of social justice” (Rezai-Rashti , et. al. 2017:160) in provincial higher education. In her book, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory* (2019:219), Patricia Hill Collins writes:

Even well-intentioned equity and inclusion policies fall short in that they so often assume all inequalities share the same ontological history and internal logic. In doing so, they violate the premises of intersectionality [by ignoring] the historical and contextual realities that race, gender, class and sexual inequalities emanate from different sources, produce different effects, and are understood as coconstitutive. Equality policies that favor a single-stranded approach to equality reflect an assumption of virtual sameness among groups and such assumptions run counter to the scholarship on intersectionality which asserts the varying historical roots and effects of different types of inequality [...].

I suggest that there is a need for much less restrictive access to sociological research in Ontario’s colleges. A relaxation of the existing protocols that inhibit viable research projects such as my own will lead to meaningful intersectional policy analysis and formulation of the sort inspired by Collins’ observation above. Epistemological freedom is the correct path to the eventual plenary recognition of difference and deserved dignity being accorded to the variegated forms of human identity and expression.

### **(b) Methodological Pragmatics: Implications for Future Praexologies**

One’s choice of methodology tends to be influenced by the ability to access the data required to complete the project. In that regard, my comments explicate the policy issues discussed above.

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<sup>313</sup> In the words of political journalist, Edwy Plenel (2002:np): “The world is among us, within us and with us. It is no longer possible to see it as some distant notion, exotic or episodic, to keep it in a relationship of subordination or domination. It is there, the whole and its parts inseparable.”

They are also based on the assumption of further grounded research in the field of college administrations in Ontario or in the rest of Canada. If the choice of method is quantitative, the researcher, after having gone through the gruelling process of REB approval at the local level, must obtain further, institutional approval in order to facilitate the deployment of a survey to the target population. Support from that level is never guaranteed.<sup>314</sup> Time, effort and commitment are routinely wasted among everyone involved and often for no apparent reason.

If the choice is a qualitative design, then access to the physical structures is required in order to meet interviewees. Off-site interview settings present risks and technical difficulties not worth taking. In my experience with the research for this dissertation, obtaining institutional approval required a further consultative level of discussion with facilities management / operations supervisors for the purpose of obtaining a mutually agreeable setting for the interviews. In some instances, I was fortunate to be able to shorten the process somewhat by first obtaining informed consent to interview from the participant, and then obtaining institutional approval but, in the application, pointing out that the interviewee proposed to allow access to his or her office. That strategy tended to obviate any necessary involvement with facilities managers. However, generally, the cumbersome - almost Thesean - logistics involved created a time consuming, frustrating nightmare which greatly increased the labour and time efforts in what otherwise should have been a straight-forward process. If the researcher has the determination, courage and patience enough to conduct a mixed methods investigation, all of the foregoing difficulties are amplified, and the effort involved is greatly increased.<sup>315</sup>

This unfortunate conundrum needs to be addressed both federally and provincially. Federally, the TCPS:Core II guidelines need to be revisited with a view to streamlining the research process involving human subjects in Canada. This can be achieved in part by re-examining some of the current restrictions in place which impact on researchers' ability to conduct scholarly investigations

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<sup>314</sup> On numerous occasions, I spent months obtaining REB approval to proceed with my research, only to be rejected at the institutional level because there was no support for the deployment of the survey. Hundreds of hours were wasted with these efforts.

<sup>315</sup> The overall suggestion is that there needs to be collaboration between the local REB, institutional administration, and facilities management / operations within each college so that upon approval from the REB, the researcher can expect a relatively seamless transition through to the interview itself. Central oversight at the local level and a committee in each college to coordinate logistical issues could efficiently resolve logjams created by the lack of inter-departmental communication with regard to research ethics applications.

in public institutions. The process can best be described as a good deal of 'red tape'. The concerns primarily involved an overabundance of caution regarding anonymity, the formality of written consents and an inordinate reliance upon the 'biomedical' model of research that is fundamentally hypothesis driven and in which any element of qualitative investigation tends to be regarded with a heightened degree of suspicion.

Provincially, research involving higher education across both colleges and universities should be a matter of provincial oversight rather than leaving access determinants to the discretion of each, individual college. I found decisions about whether and when I would be given access to college personnel made with scant professional consideration and, in some cases, by individuals who were not sufficiently trained in either ethical compliances or TCPS: CORE II standardized research protocols. Every college I visited had its own arbitrary rules and regulations, the net effect of which frustrates the research process and adds to the cost, complexity and labour involved in otherwise competent data gathering exercises.

### **(c) Triangulation (Crystallization)**

My dissertation innovates because it draws uniquely on a diverse set of literatures and methodologies in a manner consistent with an 'existential' framework of pragmatism discussed in Chapter 3 (Kaluha 2019, Cuffari 2011, Garko 1999, Todres and Wheeler 2001, Wolin 1995, Baert 2011 and see: Fairfield 2011, McDaniels 1983, Kitchin and Tate 2013). In my 2017 doctoral proposal, accepted at Manchester Metropolitan University, I indicated this flexible approach would be exploited in my project through the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2009, Onwuegbuzie, et. al. 2009) that would emphasize mixed-methods as a means to explore what turned out to be a multi-faceted social ontology (Murphy 1986, Lewis 2009, Bhaskar 2013, Lutz, et. al. 2016). This decision was not made without considering certain drawbacks (Bazeley 2004). Researchers "interested in mixing methods have inherited a legacy that makes it difficult to integrate qualitative and quantitative approaches on a more profound level. They usually have to take refuge in a rather freely interpreted form of philosophical pragmatism" (Bergman 2008:8 and see: Maxcy 2003, Morgan, 2007), just as I have done in this project. Nevertheless, in making this commitment in my doctoral proposal, it was my considered intention to eschew "contentious issues of truth and reality" (Feilzer 2010:8) by

“focus[ing] instead on 'what works' as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation” (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003:713). It is important to remember that “practitioners tend to conduct mixed methods research, which should actually not be possible, if some of the demarcations between qualitative and quantitative research methods were taken seriously” (Bergman 2008:9).

Lamont and Swindler (2014:7), for example, reconcile and, in fact, go further to justify the theory and methodology of symbolic interactionism - featured throughout this dissertation - as an existential approach to cultural sociology that can be understood with an explicitly Bourdieusian rationalization (see: Bourdieu, et. al. 1991d). They note that:

The relationship between symbolic interactionism (where ethnography has historically been the preferred method of data collection) and cultural sociology is a complex one, in part because the influence of the former declined as the latter increased. At the same time, the two subfields are closely intertwined as a number of leading cultural sociologists are ethnographers, have been influenced by symbolic interactionism, or would self-define as interactionists. [Therefore] [t]he growth in popularity of specific techniques of data collection should be understood in the context of the ebbs and flows of disciplinary currents where the relative importance of subfields and topics is tied to intergenerational dynamics (or field dynamics in Bourdieusian terms [Bourdieu 1990]).

Mindful of and inspired by the foregoing, my research praxis incorporates a continuous cycle of variegated, abductive reasoning guided primarily by a reflexive desire to produce a socially useful contribution to knowledge. I have done this by utilizing multi-focal theoretical and methodological paradigms that allow for more concentrated exploration of research aims and goals (Spratt et al. 2004). Some refer to this as a ‘triangulated’ approach<sup>316</sup> to research (Casey and Murphy 2009, Jones and Bugge 2006, Battaglio and Hall 2018, Bekhet and Zauszniewski 2012). Grbrich (2013:9) believes “the ensuing paradigm [...] has often become termed ‘pragmatism’ – a mix of post positivism and social constructivism, a leaning toward postmodernism, and an emphasis on empirical knowledge, action, triangulation and the changing interaction between the organism and its environments”.

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<sup>316</sup> Richardson (2000) suggests using the post-modern term ‘crystallization’ instead of triangulation.

Methodological triangulation (or 'crystallization') is often used to imbue grounded research with an element of scientific validity. But it simply means that the researcher adopts more than one and perhaps several different methodological approaches to investigate a phenomenon from a number of different perspectives. Some would suggest that the ability to cross boundaries in this manner is form of advanced, "methodological sophistication" highly appropriate to the multi-layered study of public administration (Biel 2019). Others point out that "[i]t has been found to be beneficial in providing confirmation of findings, more comprehensive data, increased validity and enhanced understanding of studied phenomena" (Bergman 2008:9). Bergman (2008:10), citing Brewer and Hunter (2006), "postulate[s] that 'the purpose of triangulation (as this multimethod approach is often called) is to ease validation which [...] involves comparing various [theoretical and/or methodological] readings of the same or nearly identical social situations" precisely as I have done throughout this dissertation.

I recommend this approach for future research in this area because it acknowledges and addresses the phenomenological complexity implicated. From a research standpoint - and now from personal experience - I found that it is daunting to engage in large-scale, comprehensive organizational studies. This when it involves several institutions over vast geographical spaces and differing yet interwoven dimensions of intersectionality from a single theoretical or methodological perspective. Apart from logistical issues which I discuss elsewhere, certainly qualitative or quantitative methods of data collection in their own right would not, by themselves, so thoroughly reveal the richness and contextual nuance that my own methodology produced. These methods can be selectively imbricated - building on each other in novel, complimentary ways (Sells, et. al. 1995) that minimize the weaknesses of each while maximizing satisfactory and fulsome results from the overall project goals and research objectives.

#### **(d) Theory**

The same as above can be said for theoretical triangulation. Similar to the philosophical premise supporting its methodological counterpart, theory triangulation "is an approach which provides multiple theoretical perspectives either in conducting the research or in interpreting the data. Multiple theoretical perspectives [just as I have done in this project] can help to rule out competing hypotheses and reduce the risk of premature acceptance of plausible explanations while increasing

confidence in developing concepts or constructs in theory development” (Joslin and Müller 2016:1044 and see Banik 1993). Turner and Turner (nd:4) suggest that “the results of studies adopting this mode of triangulation are generally rigorously discussed and produce rewarding conclusions”. Moreover, the adoption of this eclectic and flexible approach avoids the “constraints of a single research philosophy (or paradigm) and its accepted methods, therefore allowing the researcher to identify phenomena that may not be identified using a single paradigm” (Joslin and Müller 2016:1044). Starting with Bourdieu’s *Theory of Practice* as the epistemological foundation for my entire thesis, I ventured on my own eclectic journey away from a single focus on traditional positivist approaches which are, for numerous historical reasons, favoured by Canadian sociological enterprise.

In my dissertation, I allude to the Canadian structuralist bias in sociology studies. Traditionally, Canadian sociologists have coopted theories and approaches from the United States and, to a much lesser extent, other countries and then applied them to Canadian circumstances (Clark 1975:225 and see Carroll, et. al. 1992, Davis, 1971, Harrison 1981, Nock 1993, Shore 1987). The standard textbook curricula for the Canadian sociology students of the 1960’s almost always included a discussion of the titan of American sociology, Talcott Parsons, and his theory of structural functionalism which, for many years was the predominant approach to sociological enterprise in Canada. For example, the nation’s most venerated sociologist, John Porter, unreservedly acknowledged his indebtedness to Parsons (Helmes-Hayes 2002) whose ideas are evident in Porter’s classic treatise, *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965). Between the 1960’s and the near end of the century, Porter’s work undoubtedly influenced a number of related Canadian sociological research agendas including those focussed on ethnic stratification. At the time Porter was teaching at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario (where, at the same time, this researcher studied for his sociology degree), the Canadian sociological *oeuvre* was in its nascent form and heavily reliant on the pervasive influence of teachings and teachers from the United States. Bourdieu (1984:103) knew of and abhorred these influences, notably the implicit, utilitarian orthodoxies of Parsons’ structural-functionalist rationalism.

American sociology [...] subjected social science to a whole series of reductions and impoverishments, from which [...] it had to be freed. [However,] to combat this global orthodoxy, it was above all necessary to engage in theoretically grounded empirical research, by refusing both pure and simple submission to the dominant definition of

science and the obscurantist refusal of everything that might be or seem associated with the United States, starting with statistical methods.

Parsonian structural-functionalism was certainly not without criticism - even in the United States - especially by American sociologist, C. Wright Mills, who was opposed to the conservatism of such a utilitarian theory of the sociological enterprise. At one point, Mills unfavourably referred to Parsons' work as having been relegated to a certain "fetishism of the concept" (Mills 1959:35) and Mills dismissed much of it as being wholly ineffective to deal with contemporary social transitions and change. Through time, Parsons eventually became regarded by North American sociologists "as a conservative and apologist of the deficiencies of Western modernity and capitalist societies" (Staubmann 2021:179). Criticism tends to be ephemeral and Parsons' place in the vaults of sociological history - with or without his critics - is well cemented. However, Mills' larger and more significant point, according to Staubmann (2021:181), is that "individuals are the victims of [...] societal circumstances [such as the decline of democracy in favour of a colonized version of imperialism] without being able to grasp the structural problems in which they are trapped. They experience individual fates, private troubles, but cannot perceive the "real" reasons behind them, which are the "public issues", i.e. the institutions and larger structures of society that constrain the lives of individuals". In Mills' (1959:5-6) own words, the therapeutic is the "sociological imagination", a "quality of mind" that:

[...] enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. It enables him to take into account how individuals, in the welter of their daily experience, often become falsely conscious of their social position." [...] The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise" (Mills 1959:5-6).

It is this researcher's opinion that intellectual growth and maturity of feminist scholarship takes us some distance toward the fulfillment of Mills' promise in ways, for example, that are explicated in this dissertation. Today, in Canada, we observe a slowly incremental, intellectually tentative but cohesive emphasis on scholarly feminist teaching, literature and qualitative studies including grounded theory, symbolic interaction, queer theory and conceptualizations of Butlerian performativity (Morton et. al. 2020, Klostermann 2020, Klostermann, et. al. 2020, Fullagar et. al. 2021, Hutchison 2021, Truman 2021, Fournier 2020). The obvious preeminent linkage between this

broad spectrum of feminist research and Bourdieu's theories has most definitely led to his writings having assumed a more prominent role in Canadian sociology while, at the same time the teaching of symbolic interactionism (discussed in Chapter 3 and above) has increasingly shared the spotlight with Bourdieu's work. In fact, *Theory of Practice* and *Distinction* have been, for a time, standard reading at graduate levels alongside the work of Skeggs, Butler, Rumens and several other well-known post-structuralist theorists. Meanwhile, Bourdieu's relational sociology, complimented by contemporary feminist scholarship, especially in terms of racial and gender inequality at micro and macro societal levels, has become increasingly cited in Canadian scholarly journals and publications even though it appears that this commensurable alignment with Bourdieu's philosophical *oeuvre* is currently being challenged by some.<sup>317</sup>

Notwithstanding the debate, I suggest that my dissertation explains how Bourdieu's work does, in fact, recognize temporal disjuncture and analytic dualism located the ontological existence of structural forces impinging upon and unconsciously misrecognized by agents in the field. In Chapter 7, for example, I refer to the fact that some women unconsciously submit to the misrecognition of wearing masculinized professional clothing – the doxic iteration of a structural, androcentric norm (Dolan 2014). Elsewhere in the same Chapter, I discuss mimesis and misrecognition both of which I suggest are the mechanisms by which the doxic orchestrations of the game are successfully navigated. These examples are in turn inextricably linked to my main research objectives inclusive of a theoretical understanding of the impact of gender identities and regulated improvisations in the workplace (see: Comut 2018).

In this limited respect, I offer the suggestion that the intellectual fragmentation referred to above may not be necessary at all and, in fact, may be capable of reconciliation in taught graduate courses focussing on Bourdieu's theories and the associated feminist scholarship referred to throughout

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<sup>317</sup> More recently there has been an active debate in Canadian universities about the growing lack of intellectual coherence in the discipline (Brym 2003) despite the fact that that "Bourdieu's work knits many but not all of the central specialties and research agendas together. This represents a shift from Porter's dominance in early Canadian sociology to Bourdieu's current dominance" (Stokes and McLevey 2014:195). Even so, there seem to be calls for a nation-wide scholarly drift in favour of critical realist theories (Carroll 2013) which, in turn, have triggered passionate debates and a pervasive reinvigoration of intellectual fragmentation (Puddephattand and McLaughlin 2015, Stanbridge 2014, Tindall 2014) in Canadian sociology. Of course, Bourdieu and modern notions of critical realism are understood by many as anathema. For example, Decouteau (2016:303) writes that "(t)he critical realist and Bourdieusian conceptions of action fundamentally disagree on a number of fronts: the synthetic versus dualistic relationship between structure and agency; the social nature of the self/body; the link between morphogenesis and reflexivity".



this dissertation. Together, they richly deserve their rightful place in Canadian sociology. I expand upon this research outlook in the following section dealing with specific recommendations for future research utilizing a Bourdieusian theoretical framework but never losing sight of the outstanding feminist theorizations and methodological approaches offered by Connell, Skeggs, Butler, Huppatz, Goffman, Collins and many others explored in this project. In particular, I see the need within Canadian sociology to address - at a theoretical level - the hidden scourge of workplace gender and racial discrimination more assiduously across multiple epistemological disciplines that embrace intersectionality theory and methodology through both disparate and complimentary lenses..

The racially minoritized participants in this study certainly made direct allusions to the prevailing substrate of racial and gender biases discretely concealed by their college's website glitz of published institutional diversity and inclusion policies. However it was significant that many white participants, aware of these promulgated policy directives, acknowledged not only the complex undercurrent but also the relationality of intersectional oppression in their workplaces. In other words, they were aware of the various micro-aggressions of social injustice and inequality affecting some of their colleagues who were vulnerable to workplace intersectionality. They were also aware of the diversity rhetoric at their own organizational policy level. However, the glaring disjunctiveness and the apparent empathy gap between rhetoric and reality was a sensitive topic for the most part left untouched. The metaphysics involved between the potential and the actual imbricated by the cognitive dissonance routinely framing the lived experiences of white, privileged actors in the Ontario college system requires further theoretical exploration, most probably at the ethnographic level.

### **10.11 Looking Forward to Future Research**

This Province-wide study presents a number of opportunities for further research highlighting workplace gender relations and related areas.

- (1) A similar project but with national scope, including an expansion of the inquiry into French speaking colleges across the Country, including Quebec, could trigger national policy implications.

Using a Bourdieusian relational framework, such a study could provide a more accurate picture of the extent to which institutional inequality despite legislation and policy directives that superficially might suggest otherwise. At the policy level, even with concentration on Ontario alone, it would be helpful to engage further with Bourdieu's work and the works of feminist scholars to explore, in greater detail, the efficacy of current legal and regulatory policies regarding workplace health, safety, and diversity and inclusion schemes in all public institutions. The neoliberalist model, characterized by its discursive preoccupation with egocentricity, competitiveness, and materialism, is being adopted in many provincial public institutions to deal with the pressures of financial sustainability.<sup>318</sup>

(2) My project findings call for an ethnographic research with a micro-sociological focus at one or more selected provincial colleges. Data gathering might involve either an embedded investigator or an existing Ontario college employee (perhaps a small group of employees) already possessing advanced degrees in the social sciences. The project goal would be to pursue advanced, grounded research with respect to institutional gender and race relations. The view from deep inside would lend both synergy and complementarity to this research. Such a perspective, from direct experience, might reveal the greater subtleties of intersectionality in the social mechanics of organizational doxa and their relationship to habitus, capital, and field. For example, it would be of assistance to observe how agents discursively navigate the inclusionary and exclusionary networks of structural holes within the institution.<sup>319</sup>

(3) The intersection of gender and race permeates my study, and many participants were very much aware of the privileges and perhaps unfair or unearned access to social power they enjoy simply because they are male or white or both. 'White privilege' was one of the most frequently mentioned phrases during the interview phase of my data collection. The administrative side of every college I visited was overwhelmingly populated by white employees. Every President of every

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<sup>318</sup> However, in doing so, it is possible that historical social constructs such as patriarchy and the doxa of heteronormativity – the traditional concomitants of neoliberalism in a capitalist economy – obfuscate the deeper meaning of authentic diversity by focusing narrowly on gender equality through numbers alone.

<sup>319</sup> McAdam and Marlow (2009:14) point out that "[t]he importance of challenging structures and their exclusionary impetus can only be articulated through critical feminist debate which challenges masculine dominance and consistently presents women as outsiders to the norm". In that sense, it would be useful to map the precise discursive paths by which agency leads to the creation and abandonment of structural alliances, as well as individual career advancement, promotion, and compensation.

public college in Ontario is white. The absence of minorities in college middle management and at the highest levels of leadership in these institutions should be examined more intensively at the policy level as should the stark disparity between the whiteness of college administrations and their student populations. The dissemination of one-size-fits-all anti-discrimination policies at the institutional level is simply not working for the reasons I have explained in this thesis.

More incursively, I suggest that further research should be encouraged to investigate the substantive efficacy of mandated sensitivity training at the individual level. Further research may prove this approach to be cost-effective and viable in the long-term. The same has been done effectively with the implementation of the *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act, 2005, S.O. 2005, c. 11* which, by statute, requires, as a condition of continued employment, periodic individualized training and individual certification in every public and private organization with respect to individuals with disabilities. The legislation mandates that employees at all organizational levels make all reasonable efforts to accommodate disabled people fully and unreservedly. Similar legislation specifically designed to eliminate or, at least ameliorate workplace intersectionalities relating to race and gender has the potential to produce similar positive results. However, it is my view that the training involved inevitably must be brought down to the individual level and, at that rudimentary level, certification must become a *sine qua non* of employment.

(4) Laura Hamilton, et. al. (2019:334) points out (and I have also noted elsewhere in this dissertation) that a great deal of the research focussing on intersectionality to date tends toward a certain characteristic mono-categorization with obvious emphasis on the gendered doxic order and its exquisitely ineffable inequalities. The lack of gender parity on virtually any occupational social level is undoubtedly an important topic for intense scholarly exploration and enterprise (Messerschmidt, et. al. 2018). But this relatively narrow view often avoids the imbrication of racial narratives that add to the dominant theme of intersectional oppression. For example, I noted with some concern, that the seminal Huppatz book, *Gender Capital at Work* (2012), makes bare mention of racial issues in the workplace even though Australia has a significant Aboriginal population with ever-rising indigenous employment rates - especially in the private sector. Scholarly authors of colour such as Collins (1990, 2019), Ahmed (2012), Lopez (2003), Morrison (1993), Walker (2003), and Crenshaw (1991, 2016) - even though the latter actually coined the expression

'intersectionality' - are often not accorded what I suggest is their rightful place in the broader discourse of intersectional oppression. In particular, Collins' book, *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory* (2019) provides a comprehensive analytical framework that could form the basis for further theorizing intersectionality. From this perspective, she views the multiplicities of social inequality through a polemical lens that - given the appropriate receptivity - could facilitate broad-based social change.

(5) In 2016, Raewyn Connell wrote a paper for the University of Johannesburg focussed on discussions about the decolonisation of knowledge, She was referring to the fact that:

The recent managerial turn in university systems worldwide – the online templates, auditing, benchmarking, ranking, quantification of output, and corporate strategic planning that we all know and love – looks uncommonly like an attempt to impose control on a knowledge formation that is losing coherence. But the effect is to increase the irrationality of the institutions (listen to what both academic and non-academic staff say about these mechanisms), and to narrow, not enrich, the domain of knowledge (2016:5)

Connell argues against what has become a “monolithic” characteristic of neoliberal management systems throughout the world. Heavily influenced by the neo-Marxian template that is the global capitalist business model knowledge production has defaulted to systemic binaries. This is so even in higher education where there is abundant access to a panoply of ideologies, theories and methods with which to tackle and wrestle down the oppressions of intersectionality and inequality in the workplace.

The overarching idea suggested by Connell was not unknown in Canada even at the time of Connell's paper. For example, Racine and Petrucka (2011) posit the applicability of Connell's approach to domestic Indigenous and Aboriginal research within the nursing profession. They argue for “conciliating the philosophy of primary healthcare to postcolonial feminism for decolonizing research and enhancing knowledge transfer with non-western populations. We contend that applying the theoretical and methodological strengths of these two approaches is a means to decolonize nursing research and to avoid western neocolonization” (2011:12). Akena (2012) and

Canadian sociologist, Donna Haraway (1998) hold similar views. Her opinions are strident however perhaps it is voices like hers that need to be heard. She finds herself:

[...] deeply indebted to Aristotle and to the transformative history of 'White Capitalist Patriarchy' (how may we name this scandalous Thing?) that turns everything into a resource for appropriation, in which an object of knowledge is finally itself only matter for the seminal power, the act, of the knower. Here, the object both guarantees and refreshes the power of the knower, but any status as agent in the productions of knowledge must be denied the object (1998:592).

This, of course, is the embodied and discursive essence of intersectionality. Haraway's passion conveys the clarion signal. The colonialization of both gender inequity and racism must be addressed. Novel approaches must be embraced to the navigation of "differentials of power within various interconnected forms of heteropatriarchal and neoliberal racisms and colonialisms" (Dhamoon 2015:1) exemplified in the Ontario college system. This and similar, powerful, unique views of the relationship between Eurocentric colonization and intersectionality (e.g., Adefilia, et. al. 2021, Collins 1999, Noble 2017, Kurtis and Adams 2017, Manion and Shah 2019) are too often unrecognized which should not be the case. Laura Hamilton sees this as "not just an issue of failing to acknowledge [...] major sociological thinker[s]. It illustrates that the core theoretical contributions of intersectionality scholarship are incorporated thinly or not at all. Going forward, masculinities and femininities research will need to grapple with this foundational shift in thinking, which challenges the original work of Connell (1987, 1995), on which so much scholarship has built". I agree with the hortatory and should I engage in further, post-doctoral studies on a national scope in Canada attention certainly will be equally accorded to both gender and racial intersectionality and the resultant social injustices across the Provinces.

### **10.12 Post-Script on the Impact of COVID-19 <sup>320</sup>**

As I write this post-script in May 2021, we find the current situation regarding the COVID-19 worldwide virus pandemic rendering painful, often financially disastrous consequences for many people and institutions. Interventions, including strict lockdowns - as is the case here in Ontario, Canada - have had numerous impacts in many areas of working life, including higher education

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<sup>320</sup> This topic is presented more comprehensively in Schedule 'L' where I discuss the systemic impact of the virus.

management and administration not only throughout this Province but across the rest of Canada. Ontario Premier Douglas Ford has completely shut down the higher education system Province-wide and students - at whatever level - have been ordered to study from home. "Ontario distributed \$25 million in additional funding to publicly assisted colleges, universities and Indigenous Institutes to help address each institution's most pressing needs, including purchasing medical supplies, offering mental health supports and deep cleaning campus facilities" (Ontario Government Newsroom 2021). Home offices and digitally connected work teams (using multi-purpose software such as Skype, Zoom and Microsoft 'Teams') have become commonplace and, in some cases, even the preferred method of communication and workplace interaction.

As of this writing, research in the subject areas focussed upon in this dissertation has been sparse and itself seriously imperilled by physical and logistical restrictions imposed by the Government upon everyone in the Province. Passantino (2021:13) suggests that "(p)ost-Covid educational communication will need to get serious about projecting diversity, inclusion and belonging. It will need to become more clear, unbiased, and culturally sensitive, combined with a warm and human approach to form an immediate and positive emotional connection with the learner". I suggest that the same might very well be both applicable and necessary in the inter-subjective social relations comprising the medial sectors of the Ontario college system. The last Schedule in this dissertation addresses this issue and suggests the obvious need for novel research on both micro and macro level as to how the COVID-19 pandemic impacts upon and will affect higher education in Canada and, in particular, the managerial sector of the Province's community colleges in the future. Meanwhile, the Pfizer, Moderna and Astra Zeneca vaccines are being distributed worldwide - including here in Ontario, Canada - which gives everyone sufficient reason to hope for brighter outcomes in 2021 and going forward.

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## SCHEDULE A: QUALTRICS SURVEY

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The (coloured) original of this (monochromatic) survey facsimile was created using Qualtrics software technology provided by Manchester Metropolitan University. Several drafts went through revision between April and September 2018. The version below, dated September 28, 2018, is that one that was finally approved and realized.

The survey went through an extensive pilot test at one of the colleges in south-east Ontario during November and December 2018 and it was followed-up by live interviews at the same college. The results were satisfactory, and the empirical data obtained became part of the larger dissertation project.

## WELCOME

### INTRO A.

## Welcome to the Ontario College Gender Survey



We're conducting research on gender issues in Ontario colleges, specifically in college administrative environments. The survey that follows consists of 30 questions, 27 of which are multiple choice and 3 of which - at your option - permit you to add your own responses to a few wrap-up questions. The survey should take about 10 minutes and your responses are completely anonymous.

You can only take the survey once, but you may complete it at any time until the survey closes in approximately three weeks' time. All the multiple choice questions require responses in order to proceed; the 3 text questions allow for brief optional answers in sentence format, if you have time.

At the end of the survey you will be invited to participate in a follow-up live interview and you may indicate your willingness to do so by filling-in a bit of information so that we can contact you to arrange an appointment. The interview itself requires about 1 hour of your time. It is completely anonymous; only a confidential coding number will be assigned to the interview - no names or any other identifying information will be available to anyone other than the researcher.

There is a **DETAILED INFORMED CONSENT** link which follows. The link takes you to a

comprehensive introduction to the survey and the interview as well should you wish to participate fully in the project. Please read the Informed Consent before you proceed.

If you have any questions about the survey, please email: [richard.gasparini@stu.mmu.ac.uk](mailto:richard.gasparini@stu.mmu.ac.uk). This survey and its dissemination have been approved by your college's Research Ethics Board. For details of the REB contact person please see the **DETAILED INFORMED CONSENT** form which contains more comprehensive information.

We really appreciate your input!

**Richard O. Gasparini,**  
PhD (c) - Manchester Metropolitan University  
Manchester U.K.

## Loyalist detailed informed consent survey



### REB Approval Letter from your College

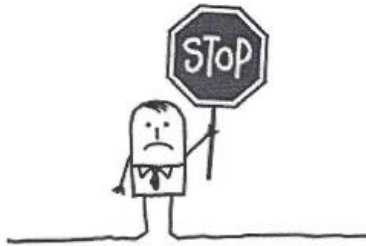
[Loyalist approval.pdf](#)

- [click] I confirm that I have read the DETAILED INFORMED CONSENT FORM above and that I wish to proceed with the survey portion of this project.
- [click] I do not wish to proceed

#### **INTRO B**

*INTRO B.*





BEFORE PROCEEDING, PLEASE CONFIRM THE FOLLOWING:

- a) I am at least 20 years of age;
- b) I have at least a high-school certificate or diploma (from any Country) and
- c) I hold a managerial position in a college administrative environment

- [click] I confirm the three criteria above
- [click] I do not meet one or more of the criteria above and must exit the survey

### Default Question Block

Q1. Which category below includes your age?

- 20 - 30
- 31 - 40
- 41 - 50
- 51 - 60
- 61 and over

Q2. How long have you held a managerial job in the Ontario college system?

- Less than one year
- 1 - 5 years
- 6 - 10 years
- 11 - 15 years
- 16 years or longer

Q3. I consider myself to be ...

- a man (including a transman)
- a woman (including a transwoman)
- transgender
- non-binary
- gender queer or gender non-conforming
- other

Q4. In terms of sexuality, I consider myself to be ...

- straight (or heterosexual)
- gay | lesbian (or homosexual)
- bisexual
- asexual
- some other category
- not sure
- rather not say

Q5. My gender influences my experiences of ordinary social interaction.

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time
- Sometimes
- Never

Q6. A person's gender determines that person's social standing.

- Strongly agree
- Agree

- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q7. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Certificate or Diploma
- Bachelor's
- Master's
- Doctorate
- Professional Designation (e.g. CMI, P.Eng, AIIIC, etc.)
- Other

Q8. Which of the following categories most accurately applies to you?

- White (e.g. German, Irish, English, Italian, etc.)
- Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin (e.g. Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Colombian, etc.)
- Black or African-American (e.g. African-American / Canadian, Jamaican, Haitian, Ethiopian, etc.)
- Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean, etc.)
- First Nations (e.g. Inuit, Anishinaabe, Cree, Tseshah First Nation, etc.)
- Middle Eastern or North African (e.g. Lebanese, Iranian, Syrian, Moroccan, etc.)
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (e.g. Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, etc.)
- Some other race, ethnicity or origin

Q9. I am socially ...

- conservative
- liberal

- somewhere between conservative and liberal
- other
- rather not say

Q10. My relationship status is ...

- single
- partnered
- married
- other

Q11. I have a parental relationship with the following number of children living at home for at least part of the week:

- None
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four or more

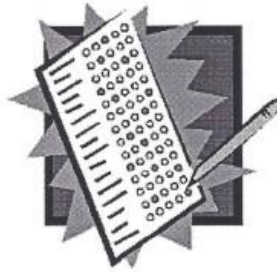
Q12. How much total combined money did all members of your HOUSEHOLD earn last year?

- Less than \$25,000
- \$25,000 - \$34,999
- \$35,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 and up
- Rather not say

Q13. I am most proud of:

- Who I am
- My physical appearance
- What I have achieved in life
- My job
- My family
- My social network
- Not sure
- Rather not say

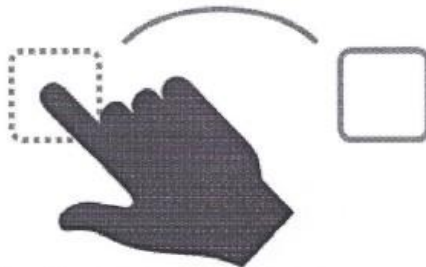
*INTRO C.*



**Get ready!! ... A tough one's coming up!!**

This next question will take a bit of time to answer but your responses are very important to us. Click when you're ready to go.....and thanks!

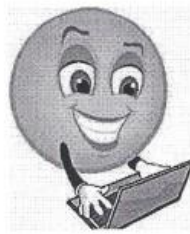
Q14.



Please drag and drop each block of activity (on the left) to the box (on the right) that most closely reflects your level of engagement.

	Can't Get Enough	Frequently
Watching television or movies	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Socializing with friends		
	Occasionally	Not That Often
Walking for pleasure	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Reading books for pleasure		
	Rarely	Never
Competing in or attending sports activities	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Family activities and outings		
Enhancing my education		
Playing a musical instrument or listening to music		
Computer activities		
Other		

EXTRO .



Thanks so much!! ... The rest will take much less time. We really do appreciate your patience!!

Q15. How many times in the past 12 months have you visited the home of someone of a different neighbourhood or had them in your home?

- None
- 1 - 2
- 3 - 5
- 5 - 7
- More than 7 times

Q16. The nurturing skills I use at home tend to be valued by my superiors when I employ those skills at work.

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time
- Sometimes
- Never

Q17. Gendered skills can be important to access leadership positions at work.

- Strongly agree
- Agree

- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q18. I feel there is congruence between my gender and the skills associated with my workplace role.

- Clearly describes my feelings
- Mostly describes my feelings
- Moderately describes my feelings
- Slightly describes my feelings
- Does not describe my feelings

Q19. At work, I am complimented when I wear garments and/or accessories that accentuate my gender.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q20. At work, the gender of a decision-maker determines the level of respect given to the decision itself.

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time



- Sometimes
- Never

Q21. My feeling is that a superior's gender enhances that person's credibility regardless of competence.

- Clearly describes my feelings
- Mostly describes my feelings
- Moderately describes my feelings
- Slightly describes my feelings
- Does not describe my feelings

Q22. Which gender presentation seems to dominate your workplace?

- Masculinity
- Femininity
- Variation or variations of masculinity and femininity
- A mixture of masculinity and femininity (e.g. androgyny)
- Something between masculinity and femininity but not a variation of either
- There is no one, specific gender presentation that dominates my workplace

Q23. At work, the display of gender-specific traits such as "masculinity" tend to enhance career progression.

- Extremely likely
- Moderately likely
- Slightly likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Slightly unlikely
- Moderately unlikely
- Extremely unlikely

Q24. Similarly, at work, the display of gender-specific traits such as "femininity" tend to enhance career progression.

- Extremely likely
- Moderately likely
- Slightly likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Slightly unlikely
- Moderately unlikely
- Extremely unlikely

Q25. Sometimes I find it necessary to emphasize either "masculine" or "feminine" traits at work simply to get the job done.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q26. I have the sense that my background affects my opportunities for career advancement in my workplace.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q27. I have the feeling that somehow I'm doing the kind of job I was intended to do.

- Clearly describes my feelings
- Mostly describes my feelings
- Moderately describes my feelings
- Slightly describes my feelings
- Does not describe my feelings

### TEXT BLOCK

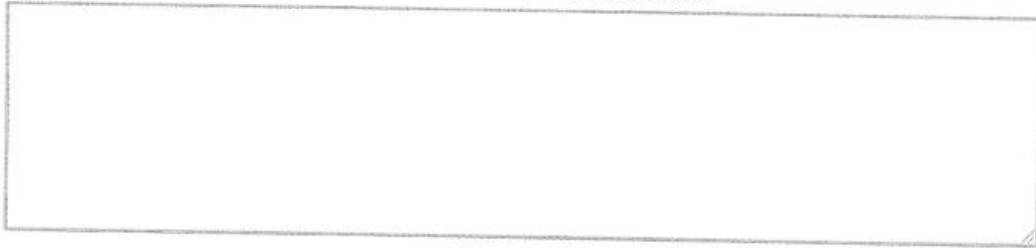
*TB INTRO.*



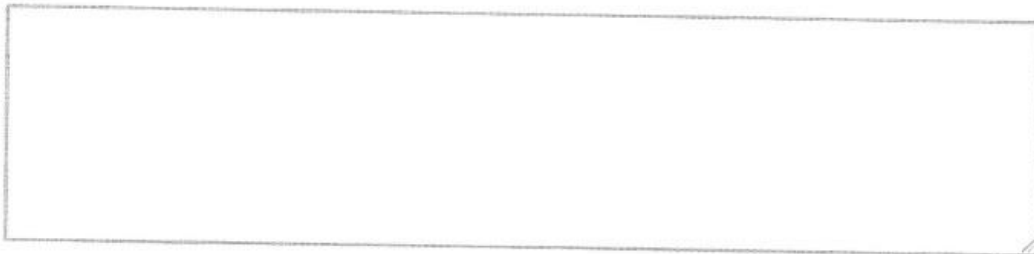
Wonderful! Now we have just a few more questions but this time, you will have the opportunity to add your own 'optional' thoughts and comments in response to just three (3) areas in which we are trying to gather a little more information for analysis. You can pass on any of the questions if you wish but we really would like to hear from you on all three.

Please bear with us for a few more moments.

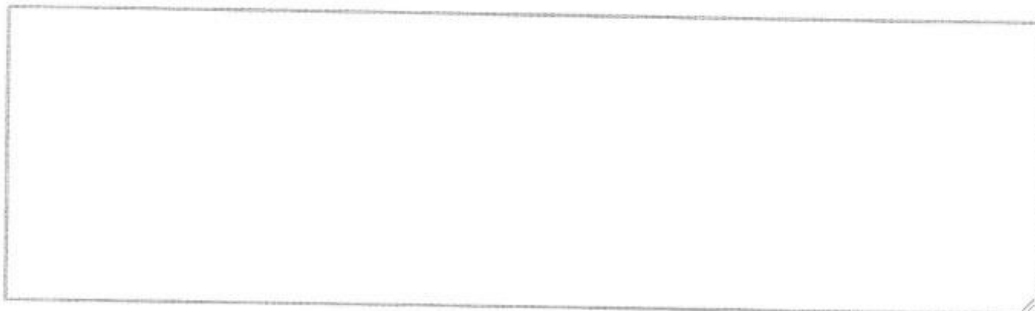
T1. What aspects of your life and work seem to be the most "gendered"?



T2. Tell us about a time when you may have used your "gender" to achieve a specific goal.



T3. Finally, in your opinion does the interaction of gender and management matter to overall organizational performance where you work? Please explain your response.



**EXIT A**

*EXIT A.*



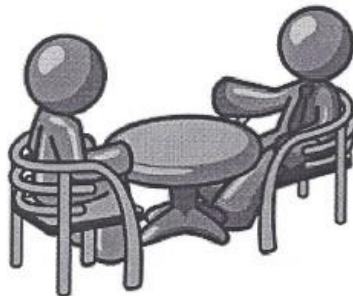
Thank you for participating in the Ontario College Gender survey. Your comments are invaluable and they will be used as the basis for ongoing study and academic discussions in sociology over the coming years. Rest assured that your very kind input will contribute to the larger body of knowledge about and insight into gender issues in Ontario college environments.

If you would like to participate further in a completely anonymous but live interview session at your convenience, please indicate your willingness below. We would be delighted to meet you personally with a view to hearing a live and confidential expansion of the thoughts and observations you have expressed in the survey.

- I would like to participate further in your project by volunteering to participate in a follow-up, live interview.
- I would prefer to exit the survey without participating further.

## EXIT B

*Exit B.*



## Thank you for agreeing to participate in a follow-up interview!

We are delighted and most appreciative that you have very graciously volunteered to participate further in this project by agreeing to a completely anonymized, live interview, the logistics of which will be arranged at your convenience. We'll need your contact information below so that we can set-up an interview within the next 3 weeks. It should be held in at least a quiet, semi-private setting. The interview, lasting about one hour, will be recorded for transcription purposes but the recording itself will be anonymized and coded in accordance with ethical and privacy standards already approved by your college's Research Ethics Board.

The interview itself will be semi-structured, focusing on some of the gender themes covered in the survey. There might be certain aspects of the survey that you would like to develop in a more comprehensive manner and our experience is that the best way to achieve this is in a face-to-face, live interview.

Please be sure to read the **DETAILED INFORMED CONSENT FORM (INTERVIEW)** linked immediately below for your convenience:

### [Loyalist detailed informed consent interview](#)

Again, we wish to thank you most sincerely for offering your time (and patience!) spent on the survey and the extra time required for the interview. We will try to make the experience as easy and convenient as possible. We look forward to meeting you soon!

**Richard O. Gasparini,**  
Manchester Metropolitan University,  
Manchester U.K.

Full Name

Telephone with area code

Email address

Q40.



I **CONFIRM** that I have read and fully understand the Detailed Informed Consent (Interview Protocol); on that basis, I agree to be interviewed by the Researcher on a date, time and place to be arranged at my convenience.

Click here to indicate you've confirmed

### Block 7

Q38. Could you please tell us the most convenient way to contact you?

- Telephone
- Email

### Block 8

Q39.



What is the best time to contact you by telephone?

- Business Hours
- Evenings 7:00 pm - 9:00pm
- Weekends

**EXIT AA**

*EXIT AA.*



We're really sorry that you've decided not to participate in the follow-up interview. If it wouldn't be too much trouble, could we please ask you the most significant reason behind your decision? It will assist us greatly in adjusting the survey and our methods going forward.

Thank You!

Richard Gasparini

- Not enough time available
- Not interested in the survey content
- Interested in the survey content but not interested in participating in an interview
- Interested in the interview but I don't like the idea of being recorded
- I have privacy concerns
- Other
- Prefer not to say

Q36.





**Researcher:**

**Richard O. Gasparini**

BA, JD, LL.M, MBA, PHD(c), CIM, FCMI-CMGR, AFSALS, FRSA

**THIS INFORMATION DELETED BY AUTHOR**

*... a doctoral research project supported by the*

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*All Saints Building, Manchester, U.K., M15 6BH*

*Supervisor: Dr. Christian Klesse | [cklesse@mmu.ac.uk](mailto:cklesse@mmu.ac.uk)*

Ontario College Gender Survey VI - 9 -18 - 18

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## SCHEDULE B: INTERVIEW THEMATIC STRUCTURE

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The second stage of the study gathered qualitative data through live interviews with survey respondents who each agreed to a follow-up, *in-person*, and *in-depth* discussion, on average lasting approximately 90 minutes. The 'Interview Thematic Structure' was developed by myself over several months in 2018 (in conjunction with my supervisors) as an interview guide designed to follow-up on and expand the survey answers with respondents providing greater depth and insight.

It was planned that a significant source of data used in this research methodology should be derived from the interviews, with the survey questions utilized as a baseline from which to elicit expanded, optimized data collection on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences as they related to the questions on the survey. The online survey was used as the touchstone for more exploratory questions driven by the thematic guide below to gain insight into the depth, richness, and phenomenological complexity inherent in the research questions.

# Interview: Six Themes

Scroll (don't click) to automatically move the chart  
through the various themes

USE "SLIDE SHOW" MODE FOR BEST RESULTS!

## Six Themes: Background

1. Can you tell me something of your family and how you experienced it as a child?
2. Do you think gender played a role in the distribution of tasks and roles?
3. Tell me about the things boys were permitted to do as they grew up / girls and the things that were considered inappropriate depending upon one's gender.
4. What were the familial expectations of what you would do with yourself as you grew older? i.e. jobs, education, leaving home, marrying etc
5. Were there different privileges in the family that somehow seemed to be connected to gender? Explain.
6. Around home, who seemed best at various household tasks and responsibilities?
7. As you grew up what – if anything – changed and redefined how you looked at the world and larger issues in life?

- Family structure: mo / fa occupations / sibs / housing / education and relation to embodied cultural capital
- Gendered role-playing in the family (gendered symbolism)
- Gender identification and stratification in the family (i.e. access to privileges and therefore dominance)
- Role expectations emanating from the family (i.e. the social order of binary oppositions as familial expectations)

2

## Into Adulthood

1. As you grew into an adult – possibly through the education system – tell me about the people you mostly hung-out with and why you chose to be with them.
2. Did you always tend to have friends from a similar background to your own? Or, were there ever times growing when you tended to mix with and in different social circles? Was your social circle mostly of the same gender or mixed or just with another gender? Do you think these friendships had anything to do with job opportunities that came later in life?
3. Thinking about growing up can you tell me about the kind of job or jobs your parent or parents had were 17?
4. Tell me about the things that influenced your educational choices and how they influenced your ultimate decisions about higher education. Would you say your gender had anything to do with those choices?
5. Tell me more about the various jobs you've held and how you got into them.
6. Do you think gender played any role in how you moved through your various jobs to where you are now and if so, explain.
7. Were you ever really influenced strongly by the movies you watch growing up? Tell me about that. I'm interested particularly in the characters or actors – actresses you identified with. Did the media representations of women and men have an impact upon how you saw yourself in the world?
8. Do you think the opportunities for and the quality of employment in your life had anything to do with either you age or your gender and, if so how?
9. What were you experiences in dating and forming intimate relationships with others as a young adult (if that was anything that mattered to you at the time)?
10. Do you think there are various personal notions about what constitutes "masculinity" and "femininity" and, if so, which ones seem to you to be the most advantageous going through adulthood and into the job market? Why?

- Awareness of social-structural position through acquired symbolic capital (i.e. geographic, financial, ethnic and cultural family origins); active identity construction
- Educational choices (i.e. school and subjects and distance from necessity)
- Basis of Occupational Choices
- Access to Social mobility (based on gender)
- Age and gender as biological forces obtaining specificity from social class position

3

## Interviewee's Own Family

1. Could you tell me a bit about your current relationship status or family situation?
2. Do you think gender matters when you interact with your partner / children? How?
3. Tell me about any discussions you may have had with your kids about the kind of kids they should be hanging out with and those to stay away from? Did gender or sexuality ever enter the picture?
4. What is it that moms and dads are supposed to do as they raise a family? How do you arrive at these notions? Would you raise children differently depending upon their gender?
5. What do you think might be the biggest life obstacles facing your child if he/she were transgendered? gay? and why?
6. How do moms and dads differ in the way they show love and nurturing toward the kids?
7. Did gender have anything to do with the expectations you had for the kind of education / job suitable for your kids? Explain. Did any of this have to do with specific bodily aptitudes?
8. Tell me about the kinds of considerations you had in mind in your choices of house locations as you raised your family.
9. Either in your own family or the one in which you were raised, did family values have anything to do with the organization of roles within the family and the shared role expectations of everyone in the family?
10. Did you ever have the sense of "belonging" to a certain group? Explain. If so, how did this impact upon your family life (if it did at all)?

- Housing choices
- Gendered role-playing (dispositions) in your family and role expectations and binarisms
- Gendered nurturing styles (fa/mo to kids and then variances between child sexes)
- Influence of gendered or culturally embodied dispositions on children's educational and occupational choices

4

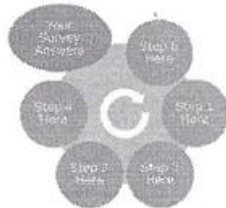
## Employment

1. Do you have a preference to work on certain tasks with men or with women or in mixed-gender groups? Explain
2. Do you see a gendered division of labour at work (i.e. certain tasks are more likely to be assigned to or taken by men rather than women or perhaps vice versa)?
2. Would your answer be any different if we talked about other social settings?
3. Does it seem that certain things at work are better handled by men / women more-or-less subconsciously? Explain
4. Do you think your own job or perhaps or job category at work almost seems to create its own gender construction? What has been your experience with various jobs or roles at the college?
5. Does the way you carry out your job responsibilities have anything to do with the people with whom you interact? If so, what is it about them that exerts such influence?
6. Does the way you present your own gender change depending upon what task or role you are fulfilling at work? (If the answer is "yes" explain how that is so).
7. Do you think that a person's gender or perhaps gender presentation leads to career advancement or perhaps enhancement along that person's career trajectory? How? Or Why not?
8. Do you express your gender in different ways depending upon whether you are at work, at home or socializing with friends? Explain

- Gendered forms of cultural capital in the workplace
- Gendered divisions of labour in your workplace
- Institutional influence on gender-neutrality in the workplace (and does it minimize the social capital); habitus changes in response to field
- Evidence of symbolic violence in the workplace and its relation to gender
- Work and home – multiple gendered identities? – Gender distinctions in the workplace

5

## Survey Themes



- Q17 – Gendered skills and access to leadership positions at work
- Q 16 – Transference of gendered skills from work to home and vice versa
- Q18 – Gender of decision-maker and its symbolic capital
- Q20 – Gender presentation and symbolism at work and relative dominance (e.g. masculine / feminine traits)
- Questions T1 – T3 - comments

6

## Wrapping-Up



- Tell me about your hobbies and interests
- Your management style at work vs. home with family
- Dualist Gender Oppositional Biases
- Views regarding gender and social mobility
- Views regarding gender and the various skills associated with that gender
- Tell me about the kinds of things you do at work / home as a man / woman that almost seem to be second-nature – things you wouldn't likely do if you were of the opposite sex

7

# SCHEDULE C: MMU ETHICS APPROVALS

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## SCHEDULE 1

### ETHICS APPROVAL FROM MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

Dr Christian Klesse  
Sociology

Faculty of Arts and  
Humanities  
Research and Knowledge  
Exchange

26 January 2018

Manchester Metropolitan  
University, Room 123,  
Geoffrey Manton  
Building, Rosamund  
Street West, Off Oxford  
Road, Manchester, M15  
6LL, UK

Dear Dr Christian Klesse,

+44 (0)161 247 6673

**Application for Ethical Approval: Richard Gasparini**

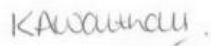
**Project Title: Gender Capital in Ontario Managerial College Environments**

**Ethics Reference Number: A&H1718-28**

I am pleased to inform you that the above Ethical Application has been approved unconditionally.

I would be grateful if you could inform the other member(s) of the supervisory team.

Yours sincerely



Katherine Walthall  
Research Group Officer

**Manchester Metropolitan  
University**



Dr Christian Klesse  
Department of Sociology

5 October 2018

Dear Dr Klesse,

**Application for Ethical Approval: Richard GASPARINI**

**Project Title: AMENDMENT to Gender Capital in Ontario Managerial  
College Environment A&H1718-28**

**Ethics Reference Number: A&H1819-02**

I am pleased to inform you that the above Amendment to and Ethical  
Application has been approved unconditionally.

I would be grateful if you could inform the other member(s) of the supervisory  
team.

Yours sincerely

Katherine Walthall  
Research Group Officer

Tel: +44 (0)161 247 6673  
Email: [k.walthall@mmu.ac.uk](mailto:k.walthall@mmu.ac.uk)

cc. Student  
Susan Baines – DRDC  
Deborah Bown – Research Administrator

**Faculty of Arts and  
Humanities**  
Research and Knowledge  
Exchange

Manchester Metropolitan  
University, Room 123,  
Geoffrey Manton Building,  
Rosamund Street West,  
Off Oxford Road,  
Manchester, M15 6LL, UK

+44 (0)161 247 6673



[www.mmu.ac.uk](http://www.mmu.ac.uk)



## SCHEDULE D: ONTARIO COLLEGE ETHICS APPROVALS

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College	City in Ontario	Approval Date
Algonquin	Ottawa	11-29-18
Cambrian	Sudbury	10-04-18
Centennial	Toronto (North York)	01-08-19
Confederation	Thunder Bay	06-28-18
Fanshawe	London	02-11-19
Fleming	Peterborough	12-14-18
George Brown	Toronto	02-03-19
Lambton	Sarnia	03-21-19
Loyalist	Belleville	07-24-18
Mohawk	Hamilton	12-15-18
Niagara	Niagara Falls + Welland	03-12-18
Northern	Timmins + Three Regional Campuses	04-03-18
Sheridan	Toronto (Central Campus)	03-26-18
St. Clair	Windsor	09-12-18
St. Lawrence	Kingston	04-01-19

**Note: Approval letters, signed by all the appropriate institutional REB authorities on official letterhead are on file and capable of being produced for audit purposes upon request.**

## SCHEDULE E: TCPS (CORE II) CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION

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TCPS 2: CORE CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION, MARCH 20, 2017

PANEL ON  
RESEARCH ETHICS

*Navigating the ethics of human research*

TCPS 2: CORE

### *Certificate of Completion*

*This document certifies that*

**Richard Gasparini**

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:  
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans  
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: **20 March, 2017**

## SCHEDULE F: INFORMED CONSENT (INTERVIEW)

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### INFORMED CONSENT (INTERVIEW)

(Approved format - TCPS CORE II Policy Statement)

#### COPYRIGHT DISCLAIMER NOTICE

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#### Background/ Purpose

I am an employee at [REDACTED] where I am the [REDACTED]. I am conducting a research project in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate in Philosophy (Gender Studies) at Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, U.K. You are invited to participate in the research study involving gender issues in the workplace. The goal of the study is to identify and measure the extent to which gender plays a role in the managerial environment in a modern educational setting such as the College where you are employed. By participating in this study, you will be helping to understand the phenomenon.

#### Procedures

This study consists of participating in a single interview. The interview will take place in a private location of your choice **at your place of employment during business hours** and will last approximately one hour. In the interview, you will be asked for your thoughts and reflections surrounding the following questions:

- (i) In what circumstances might the existing managerial career structure in the organization tend to preserve a trajectory in which gender plays a significant role?
- (ii) In what circumstances might gender in management positions directly or indirectly play a role in inhibiting or stimulating advancement to the higher levels of leadership?

(iii) Are managerial employees compelled to prioritize work-related responsibilities over family-oriented obligations?

(iv) Are individuals in managerial positions devalued should they choose not to adopt stereotypical leadership styles closely associated with gender?

(v) Is the managerial environment dominated by gendered cultural standards and expectations?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary; it is entirely up to you to choose to participate or not to participate. You can choose to leave this study at any time. Nothing will happen if you decide to stop. If you decide to participate, the interview will be entirely confidential. You will not be identified personally, and no one will be able to connect the interview to your name except the researcher.

### **Audio-recording**

With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview. The audio recordings will be used in writing up the interview, to help make sure the write-up is accurate and complete. Only auditors and evaluators of the research project will have access to the recordings but not your name. The recording will be erased from the digital recorder as soon as it is transferred onto the computer. The computer files of the audio-recordings will be password protected during the study and destroyed at the end of the study. Refusing the recording does not mean you cannot participate in the study.

### **Risks and Discomforts**

The risks of participating in this study are somewhat above minimal. In this context “**minimal**” is defined as a situation where the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the interview venue are not greater, in and of themselves, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examination or tests. In this context, “**risk**” is defined as including the probability of harm (physical or psychological) occurring from participation in a research study. Both the probability and the magnitude of possible harm may vary from minimal to somewhat above minimal. In this context “**somewhat above minimal**” means that it is possible that you might get tired or even impatient during the interview. You may find some of the questions uncomfortable or hard to answer. Some questions may be evocative or may seem too personal or intrusive. Recalling traumatic or distressing events is normally a distressing activity, which may cause some level of discomfort for some participants. It is also possible that for some participants some questions and the answers they evoke trigger a relatively transient period of unhappy rumination. Finally, you may find some of your answers difficult to formulate and/or express verbally. If this happens, we can (a) discuss the situation, (b) take a break, or (c) stop. If you choose to stop, we can either finish the interview another day or you can end your participation in the study.

## **Direct Benefits**

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to assist in learning more about gender issues in the workplace and how they might affect organizational performance. The direct benefit to the interviewer is that the data collected forms an essential research component of the interviewer's PhD dissertation – a necessary requirement for the granting of the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Gender Studies) from Manchester Metropolitan University, U.K.

## **Indirect Benefits**

I. Gender studies examines the causes of social injustices related to an individual's gender identification and practices intrinsic to that identification in this case as they are played out in College administrative environments. The engagement with 'the social' is not simply a theoretical position but the product of an interest in social inequality and the ways in which it is masked and perpetuated. More importantly, gender studies involve serious exploration for real-world solutions and means of the prevention of bias based upon gender or gender identification. Essentially, gender studies promote awareness of the value and worth of all people, regardless of sex.

II. Gender studies research also investigates the nature of gender, and in both the workplace and in society gender research assists individuals to establish healthy gender-related expectations and models of identity.

III. As Ilana Yurkiewicz (2012) points out, "(i)t's tough to prove gender bias. In a real-world setting, typically the most we can do is identify differences in outcome.... Bias may be suspected in some cases, but the difficulty in using outcomes to prove it is that the differences could be due to many potential factors." A study such as this one may bring us closer to understanding whether a gender problem exists in our institutional setting and, if so, its phenomenological nature.

## **Alternatives**

The alternative to participating in the study is not to participate is not to participate in the interview.

## **Compensation**

There is no compensation for your participation in this study.

## Confidentiality

Your privacy is protected as a participant in this study. There will be a number rather than your name on copies of your interview. No one other than the researcher will be able to associate a name to an interview. All the interview digital recordings and other research documents will be kept in a locked computer in a locked space belonging exclusively to the researcher and to which only the researcher has access. Computer files will be protected with a password known only to the researcher. Interviews collected on the recording device will be deleted once transferred to the researcher's computer.

None of the information you provide will be shared with anyone outside the research project. The research project team consists of the researcher, his academic mentor and supervisor and the project evaluation team. Your name will not be used in any written reports that result from this project. Once the project is complete and has been evaluated, all the data collected of every kind and nature, except for the dissertation itself, will be permanently deleted and scrubbed by industry-standard disk overwrite processes.

## Rights of Refusal and Withdrawal

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to refuse to participate. If you change your mind about participating at any time, including during the interview, you have the right to withdraw.

## Experience

The researcher conducted a project very similar to this one for his master's degree at **Bradford University, U.K.** The study was done at **Seneca College in 2017** and it involved much the same protocols. A survey was distributed among a target population from which a statistically representative sample was derived. From the respondents, volunteers were obtained who later participated in the interview portion of the project. The data was later analyzed and, eventually destroyed to maintain confidentiality - much the same as in this project. The researcher has experience - gained from studies and from his master's work at **Seneca College** with statistical analysis, Qualtrics survey data collection and thematic interview settings.

## Questions and Contacts

If you have questions about this research, you may contact the following:

[REDACTED]

Richard Gasparini, [REDACTED] – [REDACTED]



**[INSERT LOCAL COLLEGE CONTACT PARTICULARS HERE]**

**Signatures**

I have fully explained to the participant the nature and purpose of the procedures described above and the risks involved in participating in this study. I have asked if any questions have arisen regarding the procedures, and I have answered these questions to the best of my ability.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher / Interviewer**

Date

I have read/been read this information and understood the purpose of the study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and questions that I have asked were answered to my satisfaction. I consent to participate in this study and understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Participant / Interviewee**

Date

I agree to have the interview audio recorded.

Yes\_\_\_\_\_

No\_\_\_\_\_

I am aware that whatever I say will be digitally recorded.

Yes\_\_\_\_\_

No\_\_\_\_\_

## SCHEDULE G: INFORMED CONSENT (SURVEY)

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### INFORMED CONSENT FORM (SURVEY)



This informed consent form is for academic and administrative managers over 30 years of age with at least 1 year of seniority in their managerial roles at **(DELETED BY AUTHOR)**.

**Name of Principal Investigator:** Richard O. Gasparini  
**Name of Organization:** Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, U.K.  
**Purpose:** PhD Dissertation  
**Project:** Gender Capital in Ontario College Managerial Environments

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#### INTRODUCTION

My name is Richard Gasparini. I am pursuing doctoral studies in sociology at Manchester Metropolitan University in Manchester, U.K. I am in the 'research' phase of my dissertation which requires a significant amount of data collection gathered from both surveys and interviews. I am doing research in gender studies the purpose of which is briefly mentioned below. This document will provide you with more information about the project and invite you to be part of the research.

If there is something about the contents of this form that you do not understand, please ask me and I will take time to explain. You can contact me confidentially at this encrypted email address:





## **PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH**

Our idea is that educational institutions, including colleges in Ontario, are fields of dominance that are shaped, held, wielded, and reproduced. Even outside the classroom, in governance and administrative echelons, their presence “reflects struggles over agency” (Samuels 1993:3), and paths to managerial ascendancy (Hall 1996).

We think of the word “agency”, in this context, in relation to the objective structures of culture or, what one researcher calls “the unwritten musical score according to which the actions of agents, each of whom believes she is improvising her own melody, are organized”.

Using the theoretical framework of the famous French philosopher and sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, this research project - the first of its kind in Ontario - will offer insight into the gendering of management in college administrative environments and, to a lesser extent, the impact of existing federal, provincial, and institutional diversity policies in colleges throughout Ontario. The results could have far-reaching implications for human resource policies and governance in public / private colleges across the Province.

## **RESEARCH INTERVENTION**

This research will involve your participation in an online survey that can be accessed above plus the possibility of a further face-to-face interview with the researcher, if you agree, that will take about one hour with as much as 1.5 hours allowance made for the interview. The researcher will take notes and the interview also will be recorded for accuracy and documentation.

## **PARTICIPANT SELECTION**

You are being invited to take part in this research because:

- (1) You meet the selection criteria,
- (2) Your acquired experience as a manager and the required level of interaction to fulfill your responsibilities almost necessarily exposes you to prevailing gender attitudes and assumptions made about managerial roles within the organization. This kind of knowledge is necessary to be able to more fully explore the premises referred to above and
- (3) We are sincerely interested in having your valuable input.

## **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Your participation in the survey portion of this research is both confidential and entirely voluntary. It is completely your choice whether to participate or not. If you choose not to participate, your decision will

have absolutely no impact or bearing upon your job, work-related evaluations, or reports. You may change your mind about your willingness to participate at any time and you may stop participating even if you agreed earlier. If you choose to be interviewed, every possible effort will be made to ensure ongoing confidentiality. Confidentiality is uppermost in the design on this project, and it has been addressed during the research planning (i.e., proposal writing and obtaining approval from the relevant ethics review boards in England and in Ontario) and at three points during the research process: data collection, data cleaning, and dissemination of research results. You may ask questions along the way, particularly questions regarding clarification or explanation of any of the points or issues raised.

## **PROCEDURE**

You are being asked to assist in learning more about gender issues and the extent to which the “phantom” male normative managerial social structure exists at this educational institution. For that purpose, exclusively, you are being requested to take part in this research project. If you accept, access to the online survey is above taking less than 10 minutes to complete. It is possible that, in addition, you may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview with the principal investigator [“interviewer”]. The follow-up interview will likely take less than one hour.

If you are asked to participate in the interview, you will be seated with the interviewer in a quiet, confidential and in a comfortable place where you are employed. Alternative settings may be arranged via SKYPE and telephonic communication. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. No one else but the interviewer will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except the interviewer and his project supervisors at Manchester Metropolitan University will have access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the recording which will be kept by the interviewer in a secure place with locked access. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except the interviewer will have access to the physical recording. It will be destroyed shortly after completion of the research project. Your college may wish to use the completed study but if that is the case, nothing in whatever is provided that will reveal your name or any identifying information from which your name might be inferred.

The type of questions that participants are likely to be asked in the survey and interviews (should they be selected interviews) includes but is not limited to questions or discussion around the following topics:

- background information including age, education, administrative position, etc.
- your social, economic, cultural, and intellectual context
- your views about the extent to which ‘gender’ plays a role in your workplace
- your views about the key(s) to career advancement in your administrative environment
- your thoughts about the traditional cultural expectations of one’s gender

Some of the questions and discussion points may be sensitive or might be perceived as potentially cause embarrassment. Protections regarding confidentiality and anonymity are in place and are delineated throughout this consent form.

The interviewer can be contacted at the following email addresses:



**PLEASE ENSURE THAT EMAIL FROM THIS ACCOUNT IS NOT AUTOMATICALLY SENT TO YOUR “TRASH” OR “SPAM” FOLDER.**

### **RISKS AND BENEFITS**

You are being asked to share personal and confidential information, and it is possible that you may feel uncomfortable revealing your thoughts about some of the topics either on the survey or in a follow-up interview (if you are selected for an interview). You do not have to answer any questions on the survey or take part in the interview if you do not wish to do so, and that is also fine. You do not have to provide a reason for not responding to any question, or for refusing to take part in the survey or the interview. If you are contacted about a follow-up interview and then you agree to participate, it should be made clear that you may stop the interview at any time – without explanation.

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to assist in learning more about gender issues in the workplace and how they might affect organizational performance.

The direct benefit to the interviewer is that the data collected forms an essential research component of the interviewer's dissertation – a necessary requirement for the granting of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Gender Studies).

I. Gender studies examines the causes of social injustices related to an individual's sex. More importantly, gender studies involve serious exploration for real-world solutions and means of the prevention of bias based upon gender or gender identification. Essentially, gender studies promote awareness of the value and worth of all people, regardless of sex.

II. Gender studies research also investigates the nature of gender, and in both the workplace and in society gender research assists individuals to establish healthy gender-related expectations and models of identity.

III. As Ilana Yurkiewicz (2012) points out, “(i)t’s tough to prove gender bias. In a real-world setting, typically the most we can do is identify differences in outcome. Bias may be suspected in some cases, but the difficulty in using outcomes to prove it is that the differences could be due to many potential factors.” A study such as this one may bring us closer to understanding whether a gender problem exists in our institutional setting and, if so, the nature of that problem.

### **REIMBURSEMENT**

You will not be provided any private or institutional incentive to take part in this research.

## CONFIDENTIALITY

The information obtained on the survey and during the interview including but not limited to any personal details about you will not be released to anyone outside of the interviewer's research supervisor. Identifiable data collected from this research project will not be published. Your college may wish to make use of the study results. If so, nothing in the study will in any manner whatsoever identify any of the respondents. Identifiable data will not be shared with or given to anyone except the interviewer's the interviewer's academic review team in the U.K. on a strictly 'need-to-know' basis.

Nothing that you reveal about yourself in a way that could reveal your identity will be shared with anybody outside the individuals mentioned above, and nothing of any kind whatsoever will be attributed to you nor capable of being deducted by name.

## RIGHTS TO REFUSE AND/OR WITHDRAW

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so and choosing to participate either in the survey or in the follow-up interview (if you are selected for an interview) will not affect your job or job-related evaluations in any way whatsoever. You may stop participating in the survey or the interview at any time that you wish without your job being affected. You will be provided with an opportunity at the end of the survey and at the end of the interview to review your responses, and you can ask to modify or remove portions of those, if you do not agree with your responses or the notes taken during the interview if it appears you were not understood correctly.

## CONTACT

If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact any of the following:

Chair, Research Ethics Board for this College: [see below under *Chair, Research Ethics Board*]

Richard O. Gasparini [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

This Informed Consent was reviewed by the relevant Review Ethics Board ["REB"] of the college where the data is being collected. The responsibility of the REB includes but is not limited to ensuring that research participants are protected from harm. Responsibility is focused on research subject protection by virtue of its role in the ethics review of research involving humans. The role of the REB is clearly outlined by Canada's Panel on Research Ethics as follows: "The REB is established to help ensure that ethical principles are applied to research involving human subjects. The REB, therefore, has both educational and review roles. The REB serves the research community as a consultative body and thus contributes to education in research ethics; it also has responsibility for independent, multidisciplinary review of the ethics of research to determine whether the research should be permitted to start or to continue." It is our understanding that the REB's concern about risks for research subjects resulting from their participation in the proposed research has been appropriately addressed. The contact information for REB having purview over this project at your college is as follows:

**THIS PROJECT HAS RECEIVED YOUR COLLEGE REB APPROVAL**

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Kind Regards

**Richard Gasparini**

## SCHEDULE H: SURVEY & INTERVIEW METRICS

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This schedule contains the following information related to the project survey and interviews:

- a) The colleges visited, the date of the original survey deployment for each college, the date of the follow-up reminder deployment for each college and the survey closure date.
- b) The date, geographical quadrant, and length of each interview by interviewee code; and
- c) The interviewee codes indicate:
  - age
  - children
  - education
  - gender
  - marital status
  - race / ethnicity
  - geographic region in Ontario
  - employment seniority and
  - sexuality

### **(a) Colleges Visited, Survey Deployment Dates & Closure Dates**

The colleges visited, the date of the original survey deployment for each college, the date of the follow-up reminder deployment for each college and the survey closure date:

<b>College</b>	<b>Original Survey Deployment</b>	<b>Reminder Deployment</b>	<b>Survey Closure Date</b>
Cambrian	2019-06-10	2019-06-17	2019-06-21
Centennial	2019-04-29	2019-05-06	2019-05-10
Confederation	2019-05-27	2019-06-03	2019-06-07
Fleming	2019-07-08	2019-07-15	2019-07-19
George Brown	2019-04-29	2019-05-06	2019-05-10
Georgian	2019-10-21	2019-10-28	2019-11-01
Humber	2019-11-18	2019-11-25	2019-11-29
Lambton	2019-11-04	2019-11-11	2019-11-15
Loyalist	2018-11-02	2018-11-09	2018-11-16
Mohawk	2019-02-11	2019-02-19	2019-02-26
Niagara	2019-03-18	2019-03-25	2019-03-26
Northern	2019-04-08	2019-04-15	2019-04-20
Sheridan	2019-01-29	2019-02-04	2019-02-10
St. Clair	2019-02-25	2019-03-04	2019-03-08
St. Lawrence	2019-09-30	2019-10-07	2019-10-12

Source: Author

### **(b) Interview Metrics : Quadrants, Participants & Duration**

The date, geographical quadrant, and length of each interview by interviewee code:

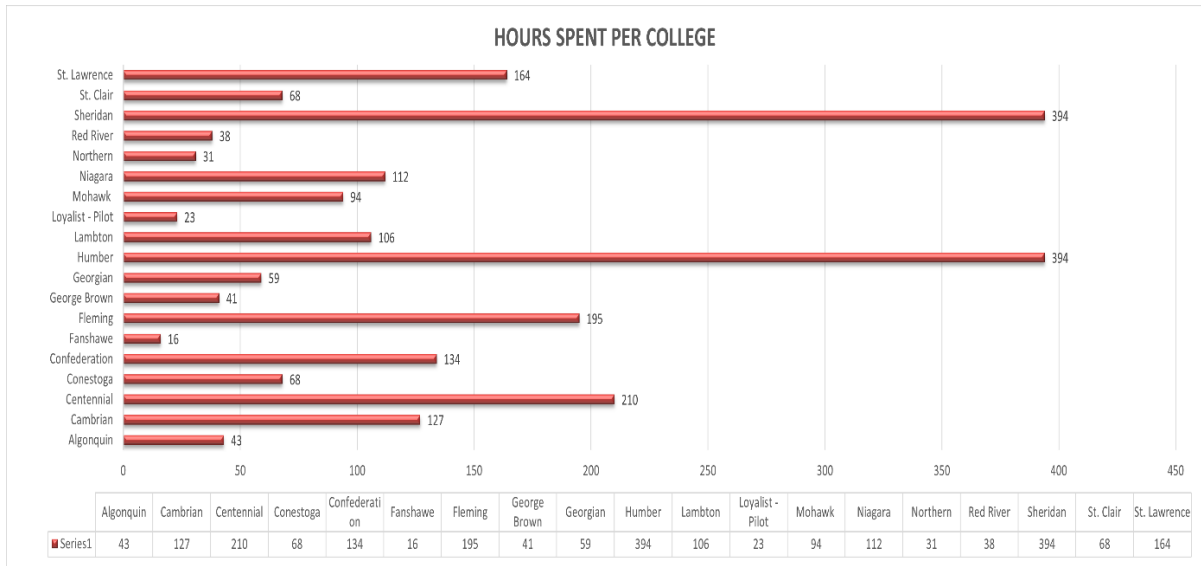
<b>Date</b>	<b>Quadrant</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Interview Duration</b>
<b>2018</b>	<b>SE, SW, NE, NW</b>	<b>Code Name</b>	<b>Hours : Minutes</b>
Dec 10 (# 1)	SE		1:22
Dec 10 (# 2)	SE		1:42
Dec 11 (# 1)	SE		1:27
Dec 11 (# 2)	SE		1:39
<b>2019</b>			
Feb 21	SW	DATA REMOVED TO PRESERVE ANONYMITY	1:29
Mar 7 (# 1)	SW		1:28
Mar 7 (# 2)	SW		1:31
Mar 13	SW		1:27
Mar 28	SW		1:24
Apr 4	SW		1:16
Apr 10	SW		1:36
Apr 11	SW		1:25
May 14 (# 1)	SW		1:29
May 14 (# 2)	SW		1:15
May 14 (# 3)	SW		1:22
May 15	SW		1:25
May 16	SW		1:24
May 22 (# 1)	SW		1:26
May 22 (# 2)	SW		1:11
June 11 (# 1)	NW		1:15
June 11 (# 2)	NW		1:14
June 26 (# 1)	NE		0:47
June 26 (# 2)	NE		0:38
June 26 (# 3)	NE		0:35
July 22 (# 1)	NE		1:32
July 22 (# 2)	NE		0:49
July 22 (# 3)	NE		0:37
July 24	NE		0:52
July 29	NE		1:04
July 31	NE		1:15
Oct 17 (# 1)	SE		0:46
Oct 17 (# 2)	SE		1:01



**(c) Interviewee Socio-Demographics: Age, Children, Gender, Race, etc.**

Demographic	Age	Children	Education	Gender	Marital	Race	Region	Seniority	Sexuality
DATA REMOVED TO PRESERVE ANONYMITY	31-40	0	Master	Female	Married	White	DATA REMOVED TO PRESERVE ANONYMITY	2-5	Straight
	31-40	2	Master	Female	Partnered	White		2-5	Straight
	31-40	1	Certificate or Diploma	Female	Partnered	White		2-5	Straight
	41-50	3	Doctorate	Male	Partnered	White		16-20	Straight
	20-30	0	Master	Female	Partnered	White		2-5	Straight
	41-50	0	Bachelor	Female	Partnered	White		2-5	Straight
	41-50	0	Certificate or Diploma	Male	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	2	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	2	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	51-60	1	Bachelor	Female	Partnered	White		6-10	Gay
	31-40	3	Master	Male	Married	Asian		0-1	Bisexual
	41-50	2	Bachelor	Male	Married	White		2-5	Straight
	41-50	1	Certificate or Diploma	Female	Married	Black		11-15	Straight
	51-60	0	Certificate or Diploma	Female	Married	White		11-15	Straight
	51-60	2	Master	Male	Married	White		2-5	Straight
	31-40	2	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	0	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	2	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	0	Doctorate	Female	Single	White		2-5	Asexual
	51-60	1	Doctorate	Male	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	2	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	31-40	3	Master	Male	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	41-50	1	Master	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	51-60	0	Certificate or Diploma	Male	Partnered	White		2-5	Gay
	41-50	2	Master	Female	Partnered	White		11-15	Straight
	31-40	3	Master	Male	Married	White		2-5	Straight
	51-60	3	Master	Male	Married	White		0-1	Straight
	51-60	2	Master	Male	Married	Black		2-5	Straight
	51-60	2	Bachelor	Female	Married	White		6-10	Straight
	51-60	0	Doctorate	Male	Single	White		2-5	Straight
31-40	0	Master	Female	Partnered	White	2-5	Straight		
41-50	1	Bachelor	Male	Single	White	11-15	Straight		
41-50	0	Master	Male	Married	White	6-10	Gay		

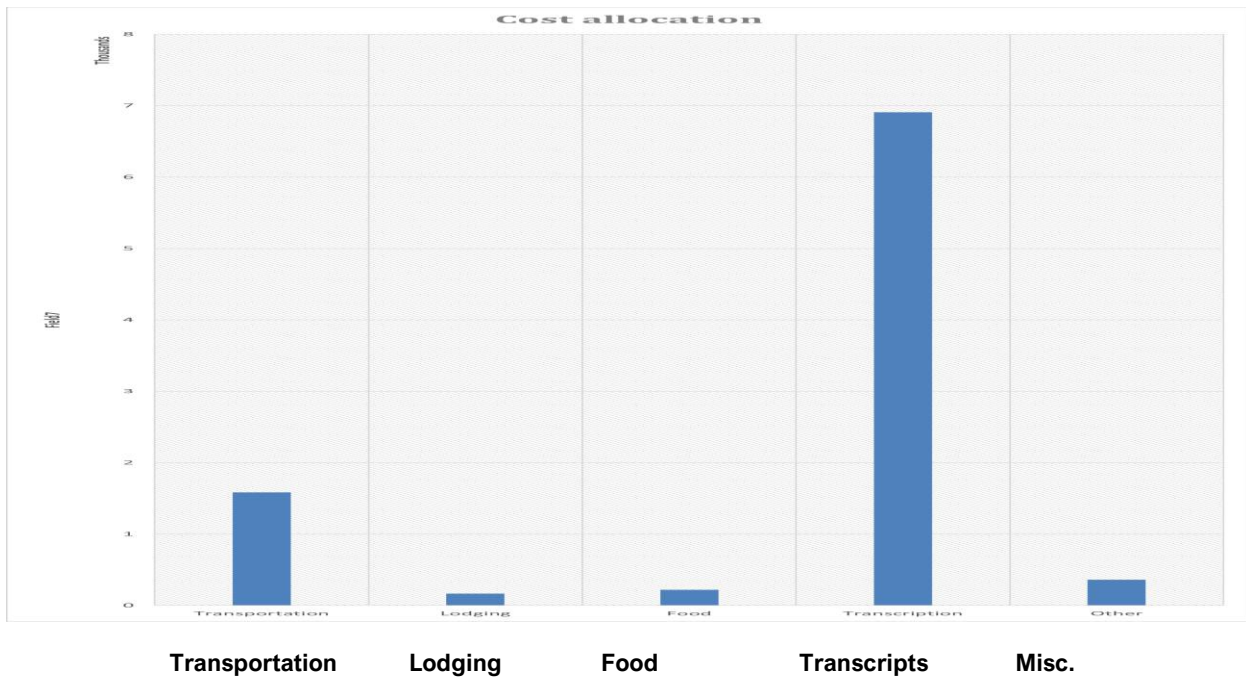
**(d) Research Hours per College**



Total: 2301

Source: Author

**(e) Research Cost Allocation**



## SCHEDULE I: TCPS-CORE II ETHICS FRAMEWORK PROBLEMATICS

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In Canada, the three primary research funding councils — the *Medical Research Council* (MRC) (now *Canadian Institutes of Health Research* (CIHR)), the *National Sciences and Engineering Research Council* (NSERC) and the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council* (SSHRC) — are responsible for the formulation and promulgation of joint policy statements regarding any public research in this Country that involves human participants of any age group. The policy, which was initially published in 1998 but which has undergone a number of revisions since then (Piron 2002, Ells and Gutfreund 2016), is called the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS) (Ells and Gutfreund 2006). Krista Holmes (2016:6) outlines the evolution of the policy framework as it applies to all public colleges in Ontario - including all those investigated in this study:

The first iteration of the TCPS [...] was replaced by a substantively revised version, the TCPS 2, in 2010. The TCPS 2 was then updated in 2014. In order to steward the evolution and interpretation of the original TCPS and to provide the Tri-Council Agencies with independent advice on issues related to the ethics of research involving humans, the Tri-Council Agencies assembled the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics (PRE) in 2001. The TCPS 2 draws on the advice provided to the PRE by its working groups and committees and reflects significant and valuable input from the research community [...]. The TCPS 2 has also been adopted, adapted and used as a guide by other granting agencies, both public and private, in Canada and internationally, as the ethics standards required to be followed by researchers they support.

The fundamental purpose of the TCPS is to establish a suitable, national ethical and normative architecture that lays out for all researchers the ethical approaches that should be uniformly adopted when they are conducting research that involves human subjects in any Canadian, public institution (Cantini, et. al. 2004). A secondary purpose of the TCPS is to set-up both structural and governance protocols for the functional operation of institutional Research Ethics Boards [“REB”] across the Country. The three councils “consider funding (or continued funding) only to individuals and institutions which certify compliance with this policy” (TCPS: i.1 2018). This is especially important for public institutions that have applied for (or are in receipt of) funding for ‘internal’ research projects. Unsurprisingly, most - if not all - academic institutions stipulate that *all* research involving human participants conducted at these institutions must be compliant with the TCPS. This

includes not only 'internal' research projects funded by the councils but also any 'external' projects - such as my own - even where the matter of funding is not a consideration. A breach of the TCPS protocol could trigger the unappealable divestment of funding for one or more of an institution's 'internal' projects. Therefore, virtually no public, academic institution is willing to take non-conformal risks - even with non-funded or self-funded research investigations - my own study being an illustrative example.

The ethics policy framework is mandated for all public, human research in Canada. The research undertaken for this dissertation was in strict compliance with the broad ethical principles fully delineated on the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* ['TCPS']: CORE II website, reference to which is mentioned below. Each college investigated required an extensive, separate, customized Research Ethics Board ["REB"] application. The individualized process is extremely time consuming (See: Schedule 'H', items 'd' and 'e'), cumbersome, highly technical and, on occasion, the cause of considerable researcher frustration and anxiety (Grayson 2004, O'Neill 2002, Tilley 2008, Holmes 2016). Fisher (2010:129) has identified a contributing factor:

While levels of research interest and examples of research activities are growing noticeably at colleges across the nation, this growth is occurring in an unsystematic and uncoordinated manner. This situation is further complicated by the scale of differentiation in terms of provincial legislation, collective agreements, funding guidelines, areas of specialization, and so forth. In particular, there is no established tradition, no clear organizational structure, no prevailing vision, and no coherent conceptual framework to guide the development of an effective and productive national research culture at Canadian colleges.

My multiple applications were most often reviewed by full research ethics boards that sometimes took several months to determine the adequacy of the application. Decisions were ostensibly based upon TCPS guiding principles and its specific directions. Many committees were of the view that even the slightest departure from strict observance of the guidelines would have meant rejection of the application. I learned that, generally, a one-year lapse before a fresh application would be entertained was a prospective outcome in situations where, in rare instances, the review committee decided to reject an application without permitting revisions or reasons for its decision.

Any researcher - internal or external to the institute being studied - desiring to conduct any research that may directly or indirectly involve the participation of human participants is required to complete the TCPS Core certification process. A copy of my certification is included in this

dissertation at Schedule 'E'. Every researcher is required to submit a copy of the certificate obtained immediately upon first interaction with any REB in any public institution across the nation. The certificate is then authenticated for validity and currency through access to a federal register of all issued and non-expired certificates issued to researchers. It is then submitted for ethics review and clearance. That process can involve multiple levels of scrutiny depending upon the amount of risk to the participants as determined by the REB after initially reviewing the ethics application. The certificate is valid for three years from issuance. My certificate was issued in March 2017 and all human research for this project was conducted 'in-person' between December 2018 and November 2019.

Ells (2011:881) points out that "(r)esearchers using qualitative methodologies appear to be particularly prone to having the quality of their study design called into question by research ethics review boards" (see: Lincoln & Tierney 2004, Macdonald & Carnevale 2008). My qualitatively dominant study was no exception. Apart from a justifiable identification of serious deficiencies in the proposed research design submitted for review, there appear to be at least three causal factors that explain, in part, the reasons for enhanced inspection and critical feedback: (1) historical biases against qualitative research, sometimes evaluated in terms of lacking established scientific grounding (Lincoln and Tierney 2004), (2) overly literal and restrictive interpretations of the TCPS protocols (by reviewers wary of internal research funding risks) that result in the arbitrary imposition of procedural and methodological obstacles never intended by the three councils (Ells and Gutfreund 2006), and (3) inexperience or unfamiliarity with the research plan on the part of the review committees (Grayson 2004) inevitably leading to incorrect formal assessments and evaluations of the researcher's applications.

I encountered and found it necessary to contend with all three issues variously during the course of my study. A steadfast commitment to the parallel disciplines of 'tact' and 'diplomacy' were quintessential discursive tools in gaining access to sought-after institutions targeted for my project. However, even then, very lengthy, and arguably unnecessary delays and / or application revisions were commonplace and virtually unavoidable. In fact, they became entirely anticipated outcomes as each institution was approached and research ethics review committees were engaged. I encourage researchers who decide to develop and pursue projects similar to my own in the Ontario college system – especially those designing qualitatively dominant methodological praxes - to be cautious and mindful of these challenges. Effort should be made to ensure sufficient

time and resources have been allocated to adequately achieve a satisfactory execution of their research plans.

The governing principles and complete policy framework can be found at [https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/tcps2-eptc2\\_2018\\_Chapter1-chapitre1.html](https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/tcps2-eptc2_2018_Chapter1-chapitre1.html).

## Schedule 'I' References

Cantini, S., et. al. (2006). Tutorial in Research Ethics Level 2 – Module 2.2: Specific Training for REB Members [Available at: [http://ethique.msss.gouv.qc.ca/site/fr\\_formation\\_ethique.phtml](http://ethique.msss.gouv.qc.ca/site/fr_formation_ethique.phtml)].

Ells, C. (2011). Communicating Qualitative Research Study Designs to Research Ethics Review Boards. *The Qualitative Report*, 16:3, pp. 881-891.

Ells, C. and Gutfreund, K. (2006). Myths about Qualitative Research and the *Tri-Council Policy Statement*. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 30:1, pp. 363-373.

Fisher, R.F. (2010). A conceptual framework for research at Canadian colleges. University of Western Ontario, London.

Grayson, J.P. (2004) How ethics committees are killing survey research on Canadian students. *University Affairs*. 2004.

Holmes, K. (2016). *Research Ethics in the Ontario College Sector: An exploratory descriptive study of governance and administrative frameworks*. A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Department of Leadership, Higher and Adult Education Ontario Institute for Studies in Education University of Toronto.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Tierney, W.G. (2004). Qualitative research and institutional review boards. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10, pp. 219-234.

Macdonald, M. E., & Carnevale, F. (2008). Qualitative health research and the IRB: Answering the “so what?” with qualitative inquiry. *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 6, pp. 1-5.

O'Neill, P. (2002) Good Intentions and Awkward Outcomes. In: van den Hoonaard, Will C. (ed.), *Walking the Tightrope: Ethical Issues for Qualitative Researchers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 17–25.

Tilley, S.A. (2008). A Troubled Dance: Doing the Work of Research Ethics Review. *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 6:2, pp. 91–104.

Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans – TCPS 2 (2018). [Available at: [https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique\\_tcps2-eptc2\\_2018.html](https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique_tcps2-eptc2_2018.html)].

## **SCHEDULE J: THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PATRIARCHY**

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This schedule expands on the topic introduced in Chapter 2 but, here, I present a wider and more inclusive cross-section of empirical data to support my dissertation arguments. Heterosexist, white patriarchy is certainly not confined to the Ontario college system. It is, in fact, a worldwide phenomenon. Gaia Vince (2019:np) points out that while “... patriarchy is not the “natural” human state [it is nevertheless] very real [and] often a question of life or death. At least 126 million women and girls around the world are “missing” due to sex-selective abortions, infanticide, or neglect, according to United Nations Population Fund figures. Women in some countries have so little power they are essentially infantilised, unable to travel, drive, even show their faces, without male permission. In Britain, with its equality legislation, two women are killed each week by a male partner, and the violence begins in girlhood: it was reported last month that one in 16 US girls was forced into their first experience of sex. The best-paid jobs are mainly held by men; the unpaid labour mainly falls to women. Globally, 82% of ministerial positions are held by men. Whole fields of expertise are predominantly male, such as physical sciences (and women garner less recognition for their contributions – they have received just 2.77% of the Nobel prizes for sciences)”. The graphic portraits below underscore the desperate inequalities reproduced in a variety of organizational contexts - including education management - with little evidence of abatement. The topics in this schedule are as follows:

### **SECTIONS**

- I. Hierarchal Patriarchies in the United States
- II. Hierarchal Patriarchies in The United States (Education Management)
- III. Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K.
- IV. Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K. (Education Management)
- V. Hierarchal Patriarchies in Canada

## 1.1 Hierarchal Patriarchies in the United States

In the United States, despite strong arguments showing the positive valuation effects of integrating gender-diverse managerial boards (de Luis-Carnicer, et. al. 2008) and, in particular, integrating the functional expertise that higher-level female managers bring to the executive table, upward transition through the administrative hierarchy remains a formidable task (Daehyun and Starks 2016). This is so despite research data showing that “[w]omen are perceived by their managers — particularly their male managers — to be slightly more effective than men at every hierarchical level and in virtually every functional area of the organization. That includes the traditional male bastions of IT, operations, and legal” (Zenger and Folkman 2019:np). Yet, “(f)ew U.S. boards have moved beyond mere tokenism when it comes to female directors” (Wade 2014:23). Moreover, women in America frequently must overcome gender-based discrimination and both conscious and unconscious systemic bias despite the existence of institutional policies purporting to implement workplace gender-neutrality (International Labor Organization 2017).

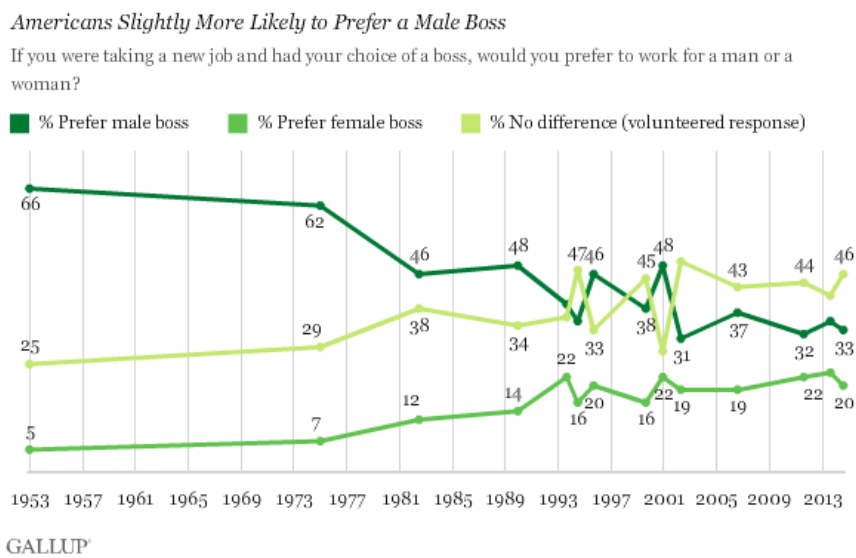
These are far from novel findings. For example, Kalev, et. al. (2006:589) gathered federal survey data for the period between 1971 and 2002 from 708 large corporations in the United States to ascertain the efficacy of each organization’s diversity programs. Their research shows that, in America, the imposition of diversity-based corporate policies and employee training in a concerted effort to reduce systemic bias in both private and public institutions were “the least effective at increasing the share of white women, black women and black men in management”.

As discussed in my dissertation, Kmec and Skeggs (2014:530) found that in America, “establishments in states that require anti-discrimination workplace postings employ fewer women in upper-management than those in states without such a requirement”. Wilson makes the point that since the publication of the United States Department of Labor’s ‘Glass Ceiling’ Commission Report (U.S. Department of Labor 1995), which, to this date, remains the most comprehensive American empirical study of the metaphorical ‘glass ceiling’ (Draulans 2003, Frazier 2005, LaBeach-Pollard 2005), very little has been achieved in the United States toward breaking through this “invisible, covert, and unspoken phenomenon that exist[s] to keep executive level leadership positions in the hands of Caucasian males” (2014:84). Annual Gallup polls in the United States between 1953 and 2013 surveyed whether Americans prefer their workplace managers of



equal competency to be male or female. While there is some upward movement favouring women over men and correspondingly less so favouring the opposite, opinions, especially over the past decade, are slow to change and movement is clearly halting and sluggish. Many Americans remain convinced that a male manager (33%) is preferable to a female manager (20%) in the workplace although the graph below documents indifference on the point which has almost doubled since 1953.

**Figure 6: 1950-2010 Gallup Poll Showing American Preferences for Male / Female Leadership**



**Source: Gallup**

The data from Gallup shows that the tendency is heading in the reverse direction, even women prefer males to females in leadership positions. As of 2014, 25% of women indicate a preference for female leadership in the workplace compared with 14% of men.

**Table 3: Differences Between Men / Women in Gendered Leadership Preferences**

*Men and Women Differ in Their Preference for Boss' Gender*

If you were taking a new job and had your choice of a boss, would you prefer to work for a man or a woman?

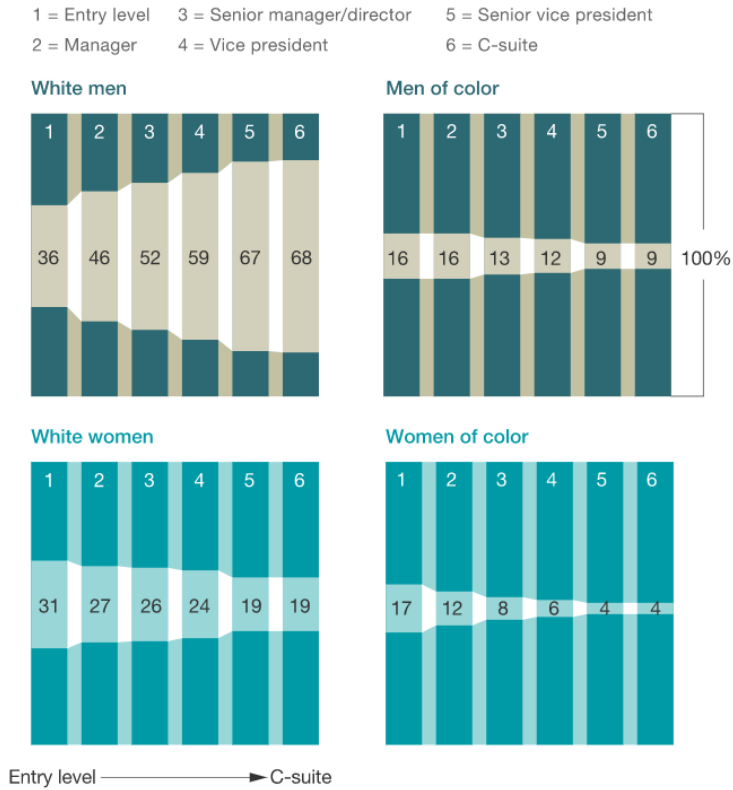
	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Difference</b>
	%	%	(pct. pts.)
Prefer male boss	26	39	-13
Prefer female boss	14	25	-11
No difference	58	34	24

Aug. 7-10, 2014

GALLUP®

In a recent empirical study, *Women in the Workplace 2018*, researchers found that “companies [say] they are highly committed to gender diversity. But that commitment has not translated into meaningful progress. The proportion of women at every level in corporate America has hardly changed. Progress isn’t just slow. It’s stalled” (Krivkovich, et. al. 2018:np). Further, the researchers conclude that, in the United States, “(b)ased on four years of data from 462 companies employing more than 19.6 million people, including the 279 companies participating in [the 2018] study, two things are clear: one, women remain underrepresented, particularly women of color. Two, companies need to change the way they hire and promote entry and manager-level employees to make real progress” (2018:np). The graph below, excerpted from the study, shows that for the fourth successive year of data collection, both white women and women of colour are underrepresented at senior management levels to a significant extent and the disparity cannot be explained by attrition alone.

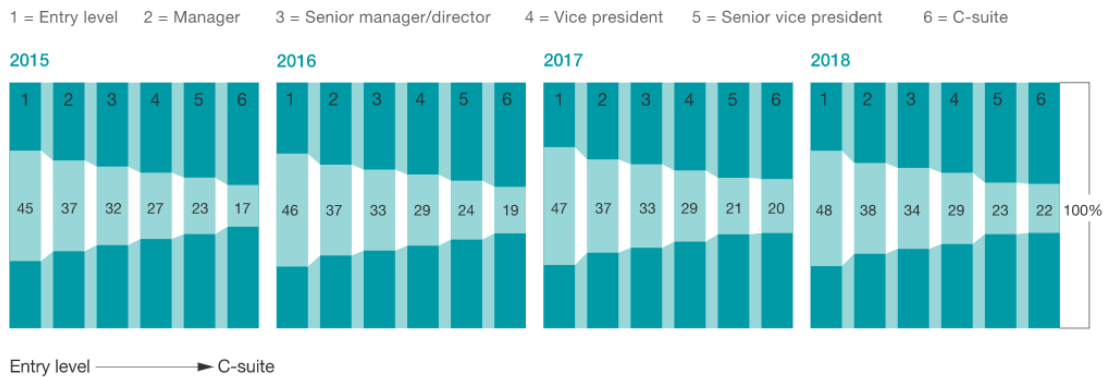
**Table 4: Representation by Corporate Role, Gender and Race (%), 2018, U.S.A.**



**Source: Women in the Workplace, 2018, Exhibit 1**

The table below traces the path of improvement in corporate America with respect to representation by women in senior managerial positions spanning the years 2015-2018. It is obvious that, according to these results, the rate of progression is very slow indeed.

**Table 5: Representation by Women in Corporate Roles, 2015 - 2018 (%), U.S.A.**



**Source: Women in the Workplace, 2018, Exhibit 4**

The point is corroborated elsewhere in data compiled by Catalyst in 2019 from the top Standard and Poor 500 companies in the United States (excerpted below). It shows that, as the rungs rise on the corporate ladder, there is a corresponding decrement in women securing executive managerial positions (Catalyst 2019).

**Figure 7: S & P Companies - Higher Up the Corporate Ladder, Fewer Women**

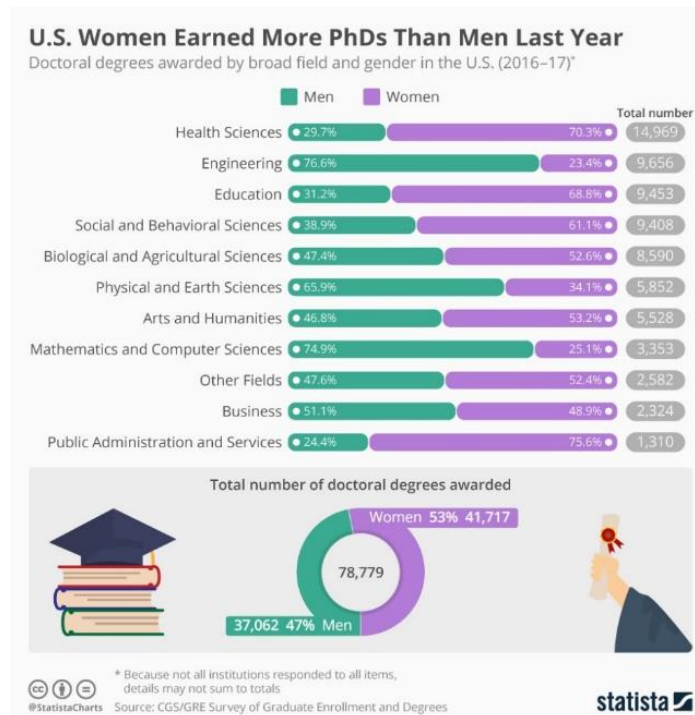


**Source: Catalyst: Women CEOs of the S & P 500 in 2019  
Dow Jones© 2019 USA**

## 1.2 Hierarchal Patriarchies in The United States (Education Management)

The pyramid above illustrates the under-representation of women at the senior levels of private sector corporate administrations. The statistics are replicated in the nation's public sector education systems. Robinson, et. al. (2017:1) report both qualitative and quantitative findings suggesting "men are still four times more likely than women to serve in the most powerful position in education, and both women and men of color are still grossly underrepresented" in leadership roles within America's post-secondary education systems. Empirical findings in a report on the status of women in higher education researched for the *American Council of Education* by Heather Johnson (2017) confirm the foregoing. The findings reveal that while women take on entry level positions in public college administrations whilst holding degrees and accreditations superior to their male counterparts at the same level, they are impeded by the metaphorical 'glass ceiling' when they try to advance to top level executive positions. Niall McCarthy, a researcher for Statista™ (McCarthy 2018), gathered data to demonstrate that, in a synopsis of the years 2016-2017, women were awarded the majority of doctorates in the United States.

**Figure 8: Doctoral Degrees by Field and Gender, 2016-2017, U.S.A.**

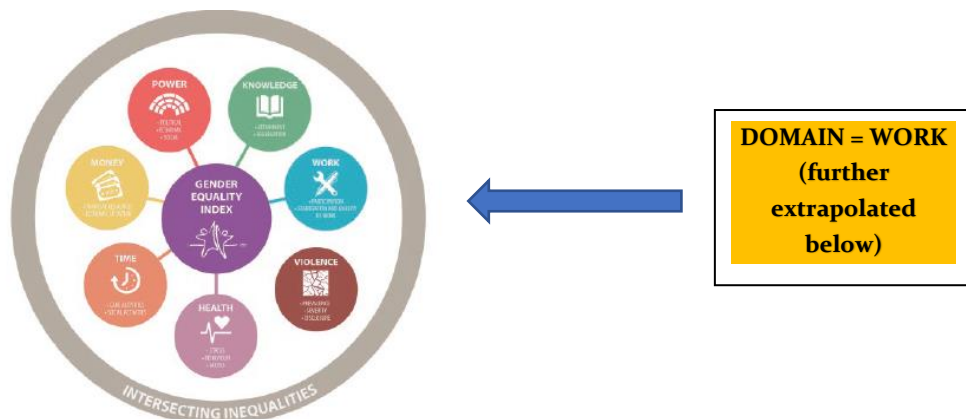


However, the *Bureau of Labor Statistics* has data to show that this statistic actually has been consistent over the eight years preceding 2016 (USBLS 2018). Nevertheless, in terms of leadership positions in higher education, as of 2016, only 30 percent were college presidents (USBLS 2018). Of the female minority achieving governance positions, a detailed analysis of their profiles reveals that, as the glass ceiling is shattered for them, their workplace behaviours become what Fox-Kirk would describe as “inauthentic” (2017:1). In other words, they actively adjust “perceptions of themselves by cultivating what researchers [have] called “agentic” male personality stereotypes” (Jagannathan 2019:np). Hannum, et. al (2014::65) summarizes the foregoing by contending that “[w]hile the general outlook is promising in terms of the number of women earning advanced degrees, few women reach the senior-most leadership levels” in education management. Finally, Hart (2006) argues that the persistent gender imbalance at the top tiers of college administrations is a detriment to the public education sector in the United States as a whole.

### 1.3 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K.

The situation is somewhat better in Europe whose *Institute for Gender Equality* [“EIGE”] has recently published findings from empirical measurements of gender equality in the European Union for the period 2005 - 2015. The findings include measurements of several intersecting domains and sub-domains embracing a variety of theoretical and conceptual issues faced all genders when confronting social inequalities in life’s major spheres including the workplace.

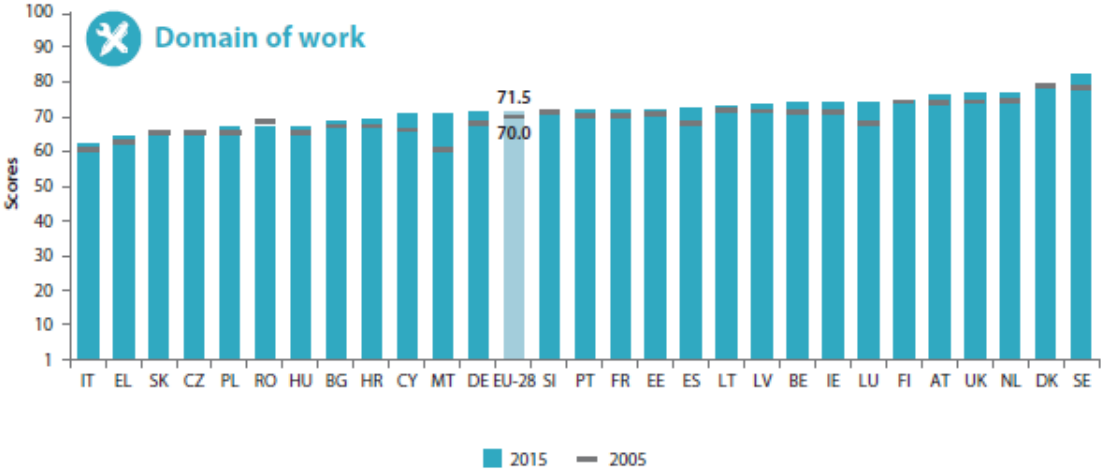
**Figure 9: Domains of the Gender Equality Index (2017)**



Source: EIGE (2017)

The ‘work’ domain above is further extrapolated from the EIGE main index to illustrate the extent to which people must contend with a wide-variety of issues relating to gender inequality such as work-life balance, precarious employment, career advancement, segregation, and mobility opportunities within their workplace. According to the EIGE, the overall comparative gains in this domain in the E.U. were non-existent to minimal in the period examined.

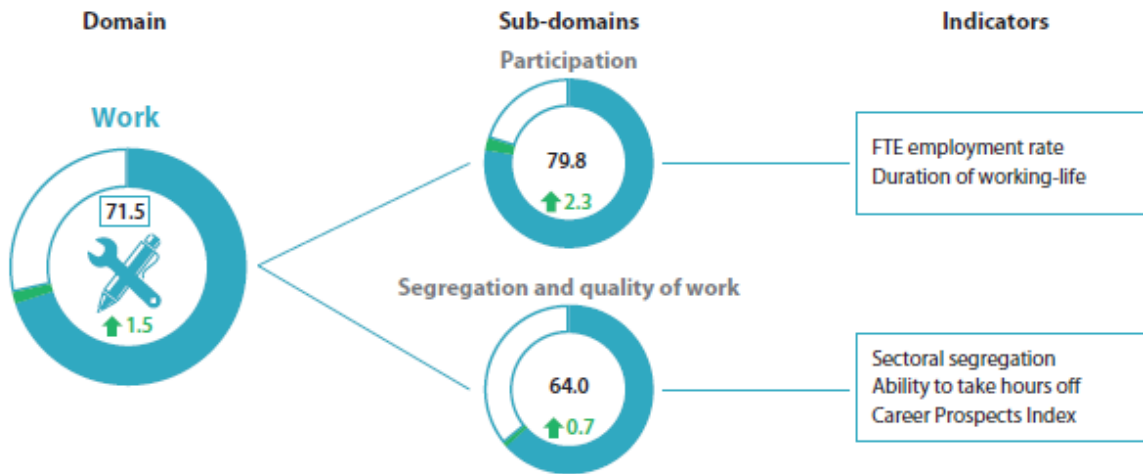
**Figure 10: Sources of the Domain of Work, EU Member States (incl. U.K.), 2005-2015**



**Source: EIGE (2017)**

When the ‘work’ domain is further sub-divided specifically into workplace participation and job discrimination as well as sectoral segregation based upon gender intersectionality, the gains across the E.U. have been particularly low during the period 2005 – 2015.

**Figure 11: Sources of the Domain of Work, EU (inc'l U.K.), 2015 % Change from 2005**

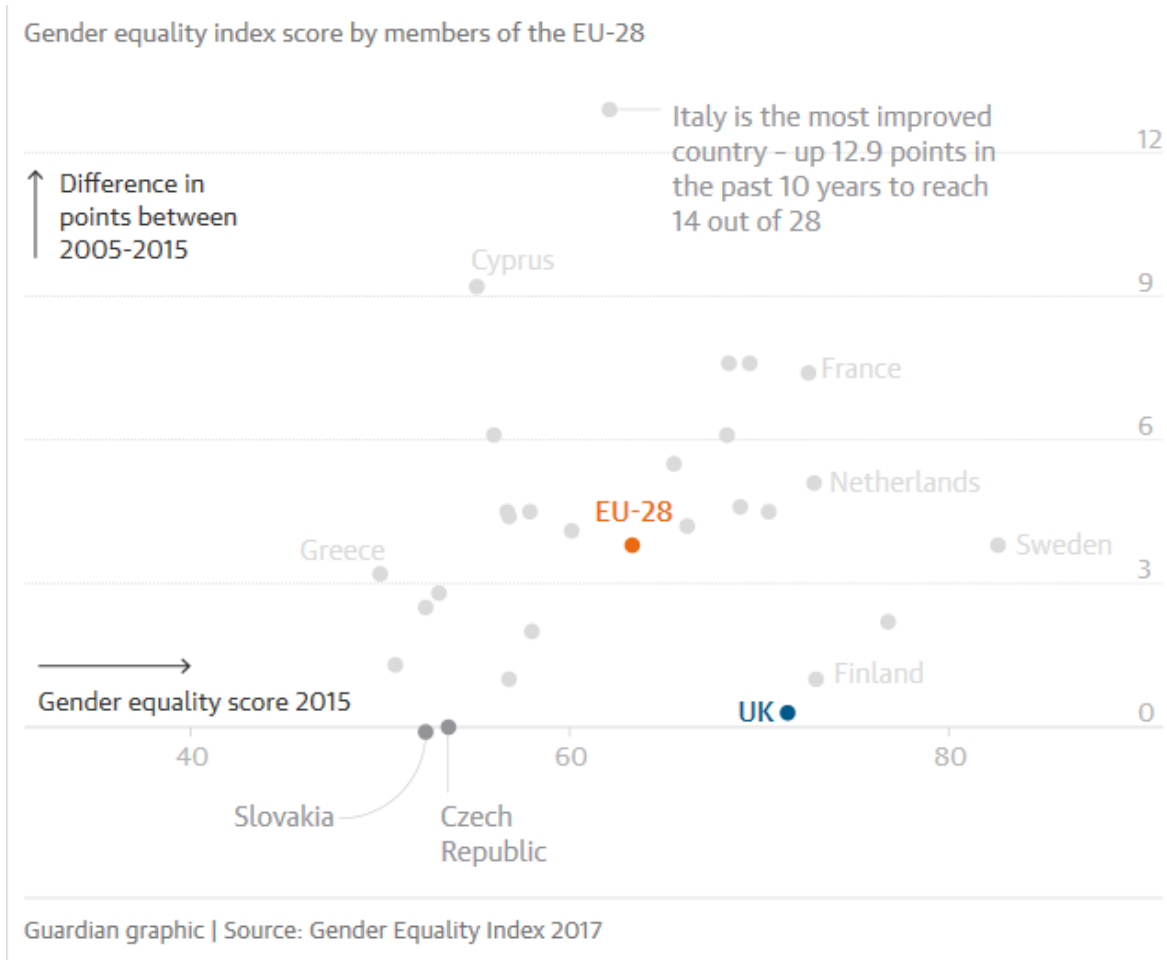


**Source: EIGE (2017)**

Indeed, the U.K., a former member of the E.U., “joins Slovakia and the Czech Republic among the EU’s 28 member states in having made no significant advances in reducing levels of inequality when taking into account a range of fields including the workplace ...” (Boffey 2017:np).

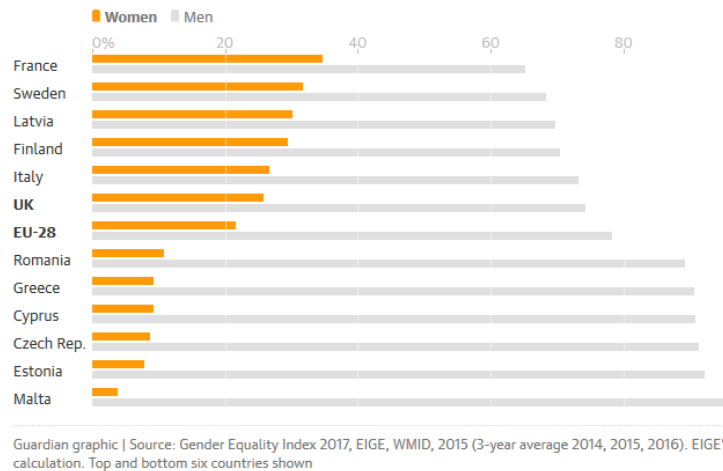


**Figure 12: Gender Equality Index Score - EU (inc'l U.K.)**



The Index also reveals that only approximately 25% of the highest-level corporate executives in the U.K. are women which is barely above the average in the E.U. and far behind France and Sweden which, even on their own, show significantly less than gender parity at the boardroom table.

**Figure 13: Gender Equality Index, Three Year Average (2014-2016)**



The *United Nations* (UN-HDR 2019:np) has formulated its own Human Development Report which contains a worldwide Gender Inequality Index [“GII”] that measures global inequality between women and men in three of the domains referred to above including the workplace environment. The index reflects this inequality for as many countries around the world as possible from which it is possible to collect reliable data of reasonable quality. The table below shows a 2017 global snapshot of the 25 countries that have achieved the greatest level of human development across many dimensions including the workplace domain. However, as the ranking drops lower and lower across these countries, the data shows that, even among the world’s most progressive countries, including Europe, the U.K., and Canada, there is a pressing and existential deficiency in potential human progress partly attributable to persistent inequality in gender achievements across a number of the dimensions mentioned in the EIGE 2005-2015 index - not least of which includes the workplace environment. According to the EIGE-GII from which the index below is extracted, the score “ranges between 0 and 1. Higher GII values indicate higher inequalities between women and men and thus higher loss to human development. There is no country with perfect gender equality. All countries suffer some loss in achievements in key aspects of human development when gender inequality is taken into account” (UN-HDR:2019-5).

**Table 6: United Nations 2019 Human Development Report, Gender Equality Index**

HDI rank	Country	Gender Inequality Index	
		Value 2017	Rank 2017
<b>VERY HIGH HUMAN DEVELOPMENT</b>			
1	Norway	0.048	5
2	Switzerland	0.039	1
3	Australia	0.109	23
4	Ireland	0.109	23
5	Germany	0.072	14
6	Iceland	0.062	9
7	Hong Kong, China (SAR)	..	..
7	Sweden	0.044	3
9	Singapore	0.067	12
10	Netherlands	0.044	3
11	Denmark	0.040	2
12	Canada	0.092	20
13	United States	0.189	41
14	United Kingdom	0.116	25
15	Finland	0.058	8
16	New Zealand	0.136	34
17	Belgium	0.048	5
17	Liechtenstein	..	..
19	Japan	0.103	22
20	Austria	0.071	13
21	Luxembourg	0.066	11
22	Israel	0.098	21
22	Korea (Republic of)	0.063	10
24	France	0.083	16
25	Slovenia	0.054	7

**Source: United Nations Development Program, Dashboard 1 (2019)**

It will be immediately noticed that very few countries of the 25 top-rated above have advanced beyond approximately 80% of the gender inequality gap. Four are Nordic countries (Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Finland) and Nicaragua is the fifth. The European Union, the U.K. (including Northern Ireland), the United States and Canada do not even make the list, and in fact they lag significantly behind other well-developed countries. The same is somewhat less obvious but just as true in education management.

## 1.4 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Europe and the U.K. (Education Management)

A compelling graph is the touchstone for this section. In a 2019 an empirical study of diversity and inclusion in higher education was undertaken by the European University Association. It is based on data from 159 institutions in 36 European systems. The title of the report is *Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in European Higher Education Institutions* (Claeys-Kulik, et. al. 2019). In the report, there is an interesting graph (below) showing responses (%) to a question about institutional efforts made to address the various intersectionalities impinging upon diversity and inclusion.

**Table 7: Dimensions of Diversity Addressed by Educational Institutions in the E.U. (inc'l U.K.)**

*Q12 Which aspects and dimensions of diversity do you address at your institution? Please tick all applicable, distinguishing between students, academic staff and non-academic staff.*

	Students	Academic staff	Non-academic staff
<b>Disability</b>	92%	76%	76%
<b>Gender</b>	82%	83%	74%
<b>Ethnic/cultural/migration background</b>	76%	55%	45%
<b>Socio-economic background</b>	71%	20%	19%
<b>Sexual Identity (Including LGBT+ )</b>	65%	52%	49%
<b>Educational background (alternative pathways, lifelong learners)</b>	61%	31%	28%
<b>Caring responsibilities</b>	53%	58%	58%
<b>Religious background/bellefs</b>	48%	39%	36%
<b>Age</b>	39%	46%	45%

**Source : Claeys-Kulik, et. al. 2019 :14**

Most interesting is that, among non-academic staff, 'gender' is a binary dimension of diversity (Snyder 2012). It is shown as being addressed by educational administrations slightly below the third quartile (although even in that quartile, lagging well behind the academic staff and students along the same dimension). However, the remaining intersectionalities fall behind significantly. Gender is a single dimension that is immediately visible and the numbers (92%, 76% and 76%) are

likely influenced, at least to some extent, by laws (i.e. *Equal Pay Act 1970*, *Sex Discrimination Act 1975*, *Race Relations Act 1976*, *Protection from Harassment Act 1997*, and the *Human Rights Act 1988*) and political expediency (Arnot and Phipps 2003:8). In other words, the graph demonstrates essentially inauthentic (Fox-Kirk 2017) diversity and inclusion. Inauthentic because the data focuses on numbers and not on context and other intersectionalities neatly concealed behind the numbers (Ruppert 2006). Hack's view (2020:np) is that authentic diversity means "less about setting an expectation of political correctness as it [does] about sharing a common language to respectfully examine [its] onion-like layers of context. It's about existing in a diverse environment where it benefits us to share a language so that we can thoughtfully express, discuss, and understand one another". Gender in isolation is an obvious variable but a detached, binary one and the numbers it generates easily justify institutional complacency in terms of regulatory or policy-driven compliance.

For example, Deem, et. al. (2005) conducted a study of gender equity in European higher education, including the U.K., and found that a number of male managers were of the opinion that full gender equality was *a fait accompli*. The inference is self-evident: "Despite broad political commitments, only a few European countries have followed up with concrete action at the system level to foster social inclusion in higher education. These include Austria, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden and, more recently, Croatia, which started developing a national strategy and policy measures (MacGregor 2019:np). Unfortunately, the graph above does not provide data about the extent to which women are able to access leadership positions in European higher education administrations. The information that is available regarding this issue does not coincide with feminist and more nuanced socio-economic notions of gender relations equality and inclusiveness. In fact, the empirical data from Europe and the U.K. generally replicates the misogynistic findings in the United States demonstrated earlier in this Chapter.

Shepherd (2017) has accumulated data to show that in the European Union (which, at the time, included the U.K.), "only 15.5 per cent of all higher education institutions [...] are headed by a woman (European Commission, 2012)", even though the prevailing evidence suggests that more women executives in post-secondary education tend to generate overall higher KPI rankings (Noland et al., 2016). Shepherd also highlights a "survey of university governors commissioned by the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education [which shows that] equality and diversity 'barely

registered as a concern', with only 3 per cent of governors identifying the issue as a key institutional challenge and only 17 per cent (compared to 42% of staff) believing that it is harder for women than for men to succeed in their organization (LFHE, 2015: 15)". She goes on to point out that "[a]t executive management level, there has only been a 0.4 per cent annual increase in the proportion of female [executive leaders] in English pre-1992 universities between 2005 and 2013 (Shepherd, 2015). Furthermore, "there is some evidence that the proportion of female vice-chancellors may actually be declining" (Bebbington, 2012:120). Davidson and Burke (2004) conclude that progress towards career leadership for women in European higher education is almost at a standstill and, at best, advancing toward enlightened and transformative leadership at a snail's pace, a view that is supported in more recent studies. (Crabtree and Shiel 2018, Morley 2016, O'Connor, et. al. 2015).

Shepherd (2017:82) contends that the reason why female underrepresentation exists in European education management includes *homosociability* (Jesse 1976) in the selection process for positions on executive boards, in other words, 'the 'old boys' network' or the unspoken inclination to select from candidates who more closely resemble the person(s) making the selection decision (Wellman 1985, Tharenou 1999, Morrison, et. al. 1987, O'Higgins, 2001, Kanter 1977, Ibarra 1992, Jesse 1976, Kleiman 1980). According to Shepherd (2017:82) the data reveals that, for the most part, the decision-makers are males reproducing masculinist managerial practices under the cover of numerical gender equivalencies. Gender diversity and inclusion by the numbers is "not innocent, and transformative leadership is value-laden. It has the potential to disguise the corporatisation and values shift in academia by diverting attention to personal qualities, skills and dispositions required for organisational transformation" (Morley 2013:121) which tends toward an androcentric private sector business model (Van den Brink 2011, Roper 1980).

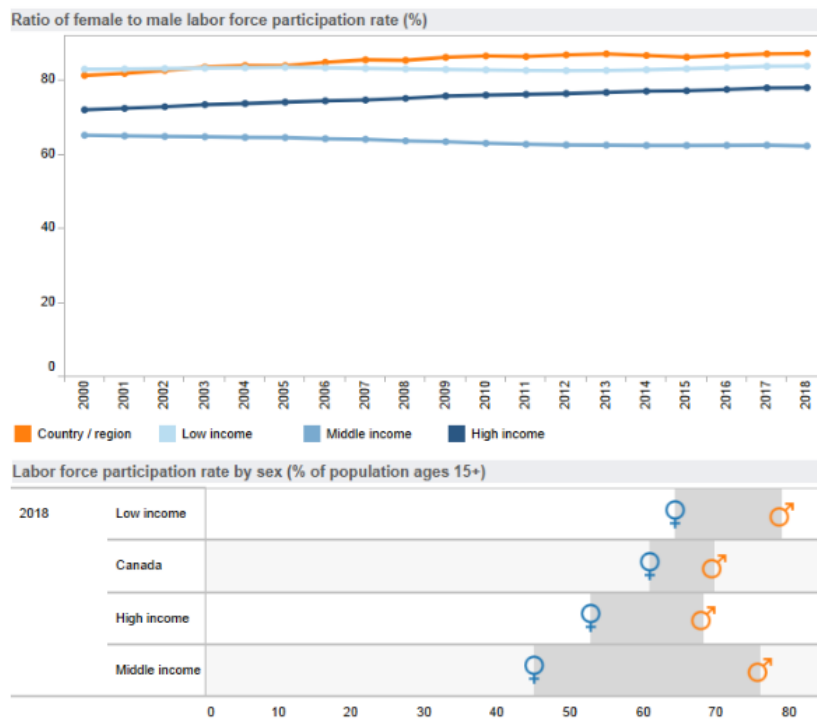
## **1.5 Hierarchal Patriarchies in Canada**

The 2019 *Rozenzweig Report* shows that Canadian women make up approximately one - third (35.1%) of all workplace managers in the Country, and, in 2018, approximately 32.6% of the female managers were at the senior level (Rozenzweig and Company 2019:8). In that same year, women

occupied just 10% of the 532 senior level executive positions within Canada’s 100 largest TSX corporations where only 2.4% were CFOs (2019:10).

Recently in Canada the labour force gender gap has remained relative stable between 2000 and 2018. The graph below from the *World Bank* (2020:np) shows that approximately the same number of men and women have entered the corporate world in this time period, although significantly more women than men fall into the lower to middle income categories Fuhrmans, (2017:np) points out that the wage discrepancy may be the result of a greater number of women entering the service sector of the labour force.

**Table 8: Female to Male Labour Force Participation Rate in Canada**



Source: The World Bank Gender Data Portal (2020)

**Table 9: Employment in Services Participation Rate**

Featured indicators	2000	2018
Employment in agriculture, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	1.7	0.9
Employment in agriculture, male (% of male employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	3.2	2.0
Employment in industry, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	11.4	8.4
Employment in industry, male (% of male employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	33.3	29.4
Employment in services, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	86.9	90.7
Employment in services, male (% of male employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	63.5	68.6
Unemployment, female (% of female labor force) (modeled ILO estimate)	6.7	5.7
Unemployment, male (% of male labor force) (modeled ILO estimate)	6.9	6.1
Wage and salaried workers, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	87.7	88.2
Wage and salaried workers, male (% of male employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	80.7	81.7
Contributing family workers, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	0.4	0.2
Contributing family workers, male (% of male employment) (modeled ILO estimate)	0.2	0.1

Source: The World Bank Gender Data Portal (2020)

Despite an expanding concentration on gender diversity in Canada's private sector, executive boardrooms (MacDougall and Valley 2019), there persists an androcentric bias resembling what has been demonstrated above in other countries (Mitchell 1984, Gilles 1992). Patricia Bradshaw of York University in Toronto and David Wicks of Saint Mary's University in Halifax (2000:197) conducted qualitative research using a data collection method similar to Billing's study in Norway (mentioned earlier in this Chapter) which shows that "[i]ncreasingly, the extent and perpetuation of, what Connell (1987) originally called *hegemonic masculinity* is being exposed in the context of the board room of Canadian corporations". The researchers conclude that, in this country ...

... the inherently gendered nature of organizations (Witz & Savage, 1992) and, in particular of boardrooms has to be discussed in the literature on women on boards ... we are suggesting that it is this operation of masculinity and its hegemonic nature which limits resistance by female directors. The striving for harmony and unity described by writer such as Hill (1995) is a powerful and under questioned dynamic in the boardroom. Until we begin to deconstruct this form of hegemonic masculinity and



understand how it traps women and men and restricts resistance, real change in the boardroom is likely to take longer (2000:209).

The long-term prediction made by Professors Bradshaw and Wicks at York has proved to be accurate in some private sector areas. In 2019, the prestigious Toronto law firm, Osler Hoskin, published its *Fifth Annual Comprehensive Report on Diversity Disclosure Practices* with statistical data identifying women in leadership roles by TSX-listed companies. Its authors (MacDougall and Valley 2019:8) report that they “continue to see almost no increase in the proportion of female executive officers. In addition, [they] note a gradual decline in the year-over-year rate at which women are being added to company boards”. The data from Gallup shows that the tendency is heading in the reverse direction, even women prefer males to females in leadership positions. As of 2014, 25% of women indicate a preference for female leadership in the workplace compared with 14% of men. Therefore, it does seem that gender identity influences social interaction in the college workplace. Below is a measure of central tendency with respect to Question 5 in the survey.

**Table 10: Mean Scores of All Genders - Survey Question 5**

**Comparative central tendency and measure of dispersion ratings among genders on the extent to which gender influences their lived experience of social interaction.**

*Survey Q5. My gender influences my experiences of ordinary social interaction*

1 - Always	2. Most of the Time	3. About Half the time	4. Sometimes	5. Never
------------	---------------------	------------------------	--------------	----------

		Q5: My gender influences my experiences of ordinary social interaction.					
		Total	Always	Most of the time	About half the time	Sometimes	Never
			A	B	C	D	E
Q3: I consider myself to be ...	Total Count	286	37	79	43	109	18
	a man (including a transman)	101	12	20	12	50	7
	a woman (including a transwoman)	181	24	59	31	57	10
	gender queer or gender non-conforming	1	1	0	0	0	0
	non-binary	1	0	0	0	0	1
	other	2	0	0	0	2	0
	transgender	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Average	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.7
	Median	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Standard Deviation	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.8

Standard deviation from the mean is small suggesting that the mean is a valid reflection of the attitudes in question 5 (Goddard, 2001). Both males and females believe that gender influences social interaction at least some of the time at work but twice the number of women were willing to suggest that the influence is “always” present. From the foregoing, one might reasonably infer that, in Ontario college middle management, men tend to take for granted the habitus of their own binary and masculinized gender presentation without question or modification attributable to social pressures outside the workplace networks to which they belong.

Some would argue that the assumptions made by men reflected in this statistic are, in fact, ‘doing gender’. The idea, according to West and Fenstermaker (2002) in their book, *Doing Gender, Doing Difference* is that the performance of gender is a social construct which has the appearance to everyone of being categorically and unequivocally ‘natural’ and expected. The statistic above tends to support the suggestion made by the authors of the book that men do not easily challenge their own gender performances. Individuals in the workplace social networks to which these men belong are evaluated by others in the network in terms of how well they fare in the accountability structure imposed upon each and every member of the network by both workplace and the greater societal expectations.

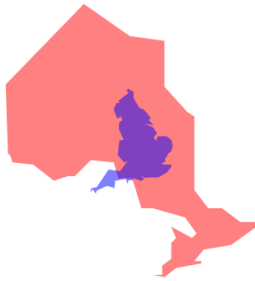
## SCHEDULE K: PANOPTIC VIEW OF THE ONTARIO COLLEGE SYSTEM

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### 1.1 Research Logistics

The geographic landscape for the research portion of my study is vast and it has the most varied topography and geology of any Canadian Province. For those who reside in the U.K. and who may review this dissertation, perhaps without being entirely aware of the geographic disparity between the sizes of England and Ontario Canada, the image below offers a perspective:

**Figure 14: Comparative Land Mass - Ontario / England**



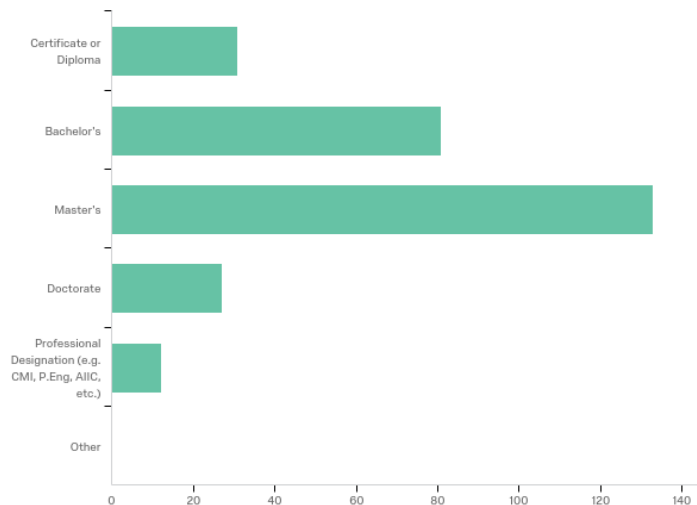
**Source: Map Flight.Com (2019)**

Ontario is approximately 8.3 times larger than England with a land mass of over 1m square kilometers compared to England's 130,000 square km. The 24 public colleges in Ontario are scattered across the Province serving its entire population with most facilities located in the south-east and least in the north-west. The northern half of the Province occupies 90% of its land mass but only 6% of its population. The 15 colleges that participated in the study can be found in each of the Province's four, geographic quadrants. The distances travelled and associated expenses involved together with time taken to accommodate distances and individual timetables of the interviewees was daunting. The college settings varied between extremely rural with relative desolation created by the huge distances from other communities and the density and urbanity of

Canada's largest city, fourth largest in North America, Toronto Ontario at the other end of the geographic spectrum.

Given the distances separating the furthest colleges from the rest, it might be reasonably expected that the social dynamics of the managerial college sub-cultures would shape and be shaped, to some extent, by the Province's cultural geography and the demographic complexion of the local constituency in which each institution is situated (Sauer 1925, Gregory and Urry 1985). Surprisingly, this was not the case at all. In fact, it is of interest to note that a commonality among virtually all the colleges investigated is the advanced education of their target populations in which one discovers a noticeable and even somewhat disconcerting cultural homogeneity which, in a much broader, nationwide context, has not escaped the purview of other Canadian researchers (Angus 2013). One quickly intuits an undercurrent of white, hegemonic neocolonialism among all those who chose to participate. Relatively few survey or interview participants held less than a bachelor's degree, several had Masters credentials and a number of survey respondents and volunteer interviewees possessed Doctorates or other professional designations in various academic or scientific disciplines. One female interviewee is both a lawyer and holds a PhD in the social sciences.

**Figure 15: Education Profile of Study Participants**



**Source: Qualtrics (Author) © 2019**

Race and educational accomplishment equate with a predominantly white, middle-class social background which was also remarkably similar among the 32 interviewees; social background is a component of the set of practices instilled by the habitus, the latter of which, of course intersect with gender. While the logistics proved to be formidable, hugely time-consuming and at times even frustrating, the goal was to produce a valid and replicable portrait of the target populations under investigation sufficient to demonstrably address the research questions that are the backbone of this dissertation; it is my contention that the goal was, in large measure, achieved.

## **1.2 Colleges Across Ontario**

Most of the Province's colleges were built between 1965 and 1973, "in response to a greatly increased demand for post-secondary education during those years" (Cantor 1992:170). Their impetus was derived "from very different socio-cultural roots ... and were designed to provide educational services in concept with the particular needs of the community or region, and the political and economic priorities of the time" (Dennison and Levin 1988:6). Their origins can be located in a pressing need identified in the early 1960's by the Province's (then) Education Minister who sought out and eventually obtained a combination of public and private sector funding for them, the first one being Centennial College in Toronto - one of the colleges researched in this study.

Consistent with the federal government's immigration policies, they have grown in size, populations, and number, attracting a significant percentage of international students worldwide. However, their growth rate has not kept pace with the Province's university system. Public colleges in Ontario lack the pedigree and therefore the aspirational lure held by Ontario's higher-profile and long-established universities. Distinct from colleges across the country, these more selective institutions in Canada tend to "foster cohesion among high status groups, maintain connections with the top echelons of the occupational structure, and channel students into lucrative careers" (Martin 2010:4). A bachelor's degree or higher from a Canadian university is presumed by many to enhance the possibility of a better standard of living through higher employment wages, job security, greater access to occupational networking and professional standing (Bowen and Bok 1998). Nevertheless, as Cantor points out, "the Province's community colleges resemble their

British counterparts, in at least one important respect, namely the pride they take in their ability, based frequently on necessity, to respond quickly to newly identified needs whether by employers, the education service, or provincial and federal governments. An obvious example is the way in which, in many parts of the country, the community colleges are responding to the needs of recent immigrants by modifying their curricula and services” (supra. 173). None of this would likely have happened in so short a period of time had it not been for the vision, perseverance, determination and effort of the Province’s Education Minister in the early to mid-part of the 1960’s.

William Davis, who had been Education Minister in a prior Conservative administration, eventually became the Premier of Ontario in 1971 (CBC Digital Archives). But, because of his historical familiarity with the education system in the Province, he possessed intimate knowledge of the relatively dismal statistics for those who had completed high school but, for various reasons, did not proceed to University. In fact, only about 10% of high school graduates in Ontario at the time were in a position to advance to studies at university. The rest “either got a job or got married and started a family. Other options just weren’t readily available” (Paikin 2017). Reforming the Province’s post-secondary educational system to address this phenomenon became his priority as Premier. Rapidly advancing technology in all private and public sectors combined with a growing shortfall in the critical mass of workers formally trained and ready to fulfil the demand for highly skilled labour in new technologies across the Province became a serious concern which foreshadowed intractable problems for the government (Meadows, et. al. 1972). It was foreseen that, ultimately, the provincial economy could suffer if something were not done to remediate the situation (Fleming 1972).

Universities were not the answer. Galway points out that “(t)he university was viewed as inappropriate to deal with these problems, at least exclusively, both because of the inherent character of the university and because of the expense involved in using the university to deal with such demands” (Galway 2000:2). A number of studies and government-funded investigative commissions were engaged for the purpose of providing options to deal with what was most surely becoming a crisis in the provincial education system (Ontario Department of Education 1968) . These initiatives were driven in large part as a result was a report tabled by Minister Davis (as he then was) in the spring of 1965. In his report to the provincial assembly, he called for the creation of a number of colleges across the Province that specialized not in the traditional university

curricula but rather in what he termed applied arts and technology. Part of his speech reads as follows:

In this new age of technological change and invention, it is essential to the continued growth and expansion of the economy of our Province, and of our nation, that adequate facilities be made generally available for the education and training of craftsmen, technicians, and technologists . . . to achieve our goals ... we must invest not only in buildings and machines; we must also invest rising amounts in research, and in the education and training of our youth. The value of our natural wealth is great, but in the present-day world, there are even greater riches in the knowledge and skills of men (Davis 1965).

The speech was met with resounding approval by the conservative majority government of the day and, as a result, an Act of the Provincial government was quickly passed, without tendentious debate, in 1965. The legislation was originally introduced as Bill 153 amending the Department of Education Act so as to create specialized community Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology ["CAAT"] throughout the Province (Ontario Department of Education 1967). The intent behind the initiative was to convert and redefine existing vocational institutes that were, by all accounts substandard, dated and, to that extent, inadequate, by broadening their educational mandate from a focus on certain, hitherto narrow technologies to include a significantly more expansive curricula based upon the following principles:

1. they must embrace total education, vocational and avocational, regardless of formal entrance qualifications, with provision for complete vertical and horizontal mobility,
2. they must develop curricula that meet the combined cultural aspirations and occupational needs of the student,
3. they must operate in the closest possible cooperation with business and industry, and with social and other public agencies, including education, to ensure that curricula are at all times abreast, if not in advance of the changing requirements of a technological society, [and]
4. they must be dedicated to progress, through constant research, not only in curricula but in pedagogical technique and in administration (ODE 1967:12).

As discussed earlier, Ontario's CAATs occupy a distinct niche, separate from the Province's university system. Indeed, across North America, they have evolved to represent an historical tradition of offering education and training to "students who for many reasons could or would not attend university, while also meeting the educational, economic, and social needs of the diverse communities in which they were located" (MacKay 2014:10). In keeping with the CAAT principles mentioned above, community colleges across the nation, including Ontario, tend to be practical and career-oriented rather than focussing on more academic and professional programmes typically found at Canadian universities. In Ontario's colleges it would not be unusual to find diverse skilled trade programmes ranging from radio broadcasting to police foundations to hair styling, HVAC systems and installation or even land surveying (Ontario Colleges 2019).

In terms of college administration, the CAATs were designed to be internally governed in a manner quite unlike the bicameral structure of their university counterparts in which a Board of Governors and senate are key elements of the governance structure. Instead, the so-called "industrial" model predominates throughout all the colleges in Ontario. Typically, this top-down form of governance is one in which the highest level "management decisions (are) made without consulting faculty, and in which the professional autonomy of faculty (is) de-emphasized" (MacKay 2014:10-11) thereby allowing for less distinction between faculty and internal administration. Skolnick suggests that "...those who designed the CAAT system clearly evidenced a unitary frame of reference" (1988:89-90). Faculty members can more easily occupy middle management positions in the governance structure of the CAATs and the opposite is true as well. In sum, "(t)he Board of Governors (BOG) of each college (is) the institution's primary decision-making body, and the administration (carries) out the BOGs directives" (MacKay 2014:11)

### **1.3 Ontario College Students**

Today, Ontario, the Canadian Province with the highest population, is heavily invested in wide variety of college programmes (Ontario Colleges 2019), especially those appealing to the Province's well-known multi-cultural immigrant population. The education system in Ontario generally has been subject to a rise in internationalization (Buckner 2017) brought about by the nation's extremely liberal immigration policies (Goldstein 2019) and student mobility. For example,



over 353,000 international students came to Canada in 2015 for the purpose of pursuing higher education (Colleges and Institutes Canada 2018). Frieson points out that “(m)assification of higher education has significantly increased the absolute numbers of students capable of enrolling in post-secondary ... programs outside of their own countries” (2009:14) and Canada has earned a solid reputation for offering high-quality education at very competitive prices when compared to other countries with similar educational facilities (Coughlan 2017). “Since the late 1980s, Canada has consistently been a high-immigration country, at least relative to the U.S. As a result, the proportion of Canadians born outside the country hit 21.9 percent in 2016” (Keller 2018:n.p.). The Province oversees 24 public colleges geographically covering 850 disparate teaching locations in excess of 200 communities, providing approximately 4,500 diverse programmes, “including undergraduate and graduate certificates, diplomas, degrees, collaborative and joint degrees, co-ops, and apprenticeship programmes” (Thorsell 2015:75). Legusov (2017:1) points out that “[f]rom institutions that primarily trained skilled workers and tradespeople for local communities, they have evolved into complex educational organizations that fulfill multiple functions, with the education and training of international students quickly becoming one of the most important”.

#### **1.4 Student Internationalization**

The earlier mentioned internationalization of Ontario college campuses including all of those investigated for this study is noticed by anyone spending the briefest amount of time in the institution’s public areas: for example, hallways, cafeterias, libraries, student commons, pubs, and bookstores. The expression “internationalization” has a bifurcated meaning. In one context it is properly defined as “the specific activities undertaken by an institution of higher education in order to fulfill the specific goal of increasing the international dimension of the institution and/or generating revenue (Galway 2000:3). Unquestionably, all 24 CAATs in Ontario host sizeable proportions of international students (ibid.) and in that sense the word internationalization conveys a double-entendre. The word also refers to what Ontario colleges are aggressively promoting in the form of advertising, program structure, ESL, and other institutional support systems to attract students from other nations. Students from other countries represent a significant revenue source for all of the colleges because the annual tuition international students must pay is much higher than for Canadians taking the same program of courses at the same institution. College programs

vary in length unlike the university system. Therefore, the actual tuition paid by an international student depends a great deal on his / her program selection. Some programs include work-integrated learning, thereby providing students on visas enrolled in such a program the opportunity to work and earn money to assist in paying the tuition assessed by his / her college. Tuition fees can vary from approximately CAD 2,000 (1,163 BP) per year to CAD 18,000 (10,470 BP) per year, depending on the college and program of study. Living costs must always be added, especially in the case of international students who are unable to re-side with Canadian relatives. Those costs, which are approximately the same for Canadian students residing away from home, usually amount to about CAD 12,000 (6,980 BP) per annum for a full, two-year diploma program (EduCanada: n.p).

But the expression internationalization certainly refers to the students themselves who are foreign to the Country but enter to earn a diploma from a Canadian college because of the reputed quality of Canadian educational standards and, although not in-expensive, comparatively less costly tuition and living expenses than in some other countries with comparably developed education systems. A report from the Canadian Bureau for International Education points out that:

The number of international students has risen 84% between 2003 and 2013, and most precipitously since Canada introduced the Canadian Experience Class as part of its new immigration policy changes [that] have allowed for an increase in the number of international students being admitted into Canada's post-secondary institutions by streamlining application processes and revising policies regulating off-campus work and post-graduation work permits" (Deacock, et. al. 2016:1)

Some students remain in Ontario after receiving their college diplomas if their presence in the Province is part of a larger family immigration plan involving permanent residence as landed immigrants. Others return to their own countries with their Canadian diplomas which hold a significant cache` in many foreign jurisdictions (Frenette and Frank 2016).

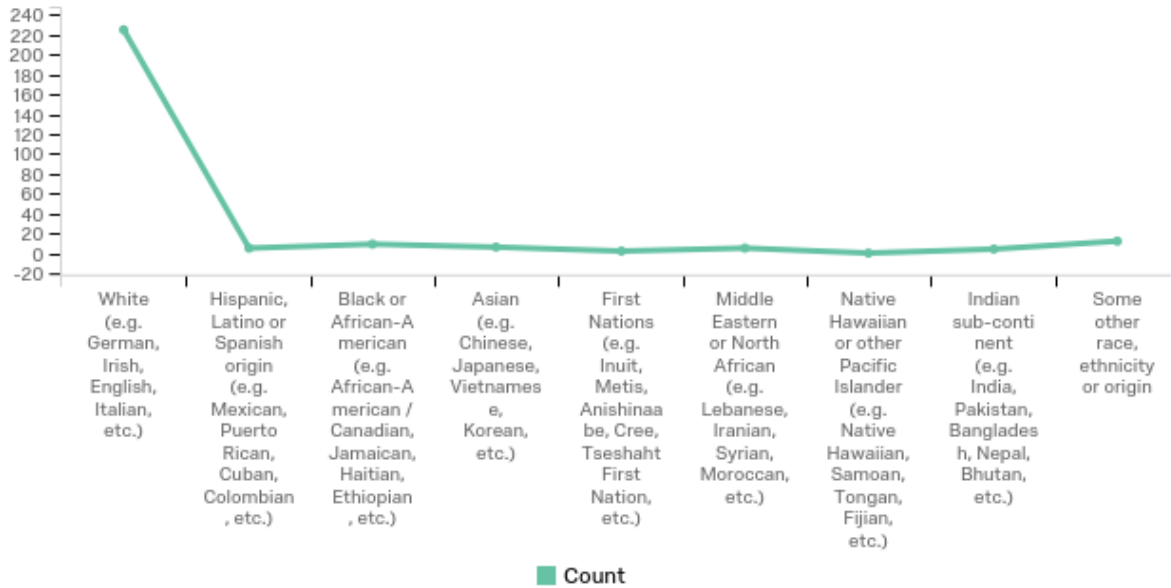
The growth of international student entrants in Ontario colleges varies, depending up-on geographic location in the Province, from 110% to 3,246%, and from an actual enrollment of only

24 students in 2009 to a total of 5,365 students in 2015 (CBIE 2016). International student growth far exceeds that of domestically funded students there-by profiling the stark reality that it is international students who are, in fact, taking up the slack created by a decline in domestic student enrolment - in North America, including Ontario, especially among males (Marcus 2017). According to a report by Pricewaterhouse Coopers “Ontario colleges will have to cut staff, increase tuition, deliver more education online and receive more government funding if they are to survive a decade of declining enrolment” (Chiose 2017:n.p.).

One Centennial College professor who also happens to be the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) chair, has been quoted as saying that the “influx of international students in Ontario’s colleges and universities is a result of ‘funding shortfalls’” as a result of the decline in domestic student enrollment across the college system in Ontario (Maru 2018:n.p.) It is this internationalization factor that is almost exclusively responsible for continual growth in student enrolment and therefore the ongoing survival of a number of the colleges in Ontario including some of those visited (ibid., Basen 2019). For example, “(t)he 3,087 international students enrolled in St. Clair College’s summer semester (in 2018) make up 80 per cent of the total student population” (Maru 2018:n.p.).

Contrast this statistic with a stark observation made by a black interviewee at the same college who is and was manager in the college’s administration at the same time and who was interviewed for this study in 2019. She spoke of her frustration at never being awarded a sought-after position despite repeated attempts. She mentioned that “(e)very time that position was awarded to someone ... they were white. Sometimes they were female but always white females” (SW6). The graph below demonstrates that approximately 84% of the managerial employee survey respondents in this study self-report as “white”.

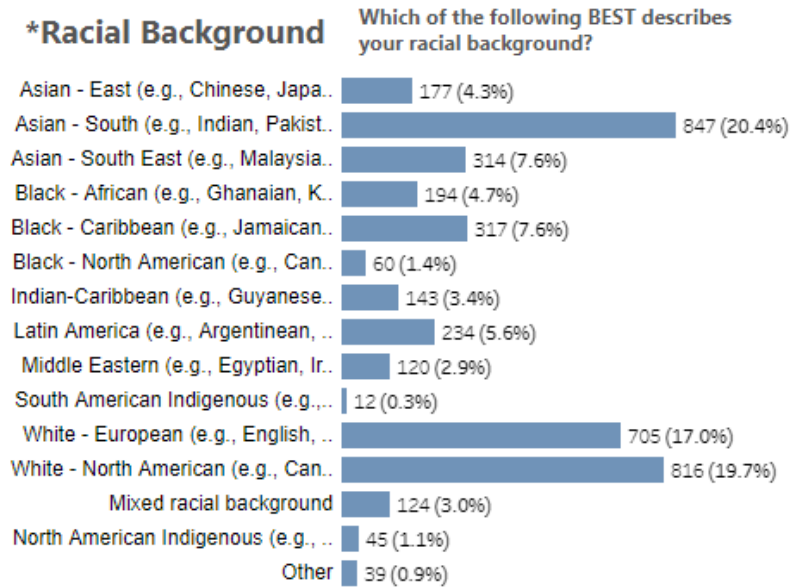
**Figure 16: Racial Profile of 308 Survey Respondents**



**Source: Author (Qualtrics Survey Data)**

In contrast the racial profile of the college student populations is predominantly non-white. The graph below from Humber College (one of the colleges investigated in this study) is typical. Approximately 63.2% of the students attending the college have racial backgrounds other than white.

**Figure 17: Typical Racial Profile of Student Population in Ontario Colleges (Winter 2018)**

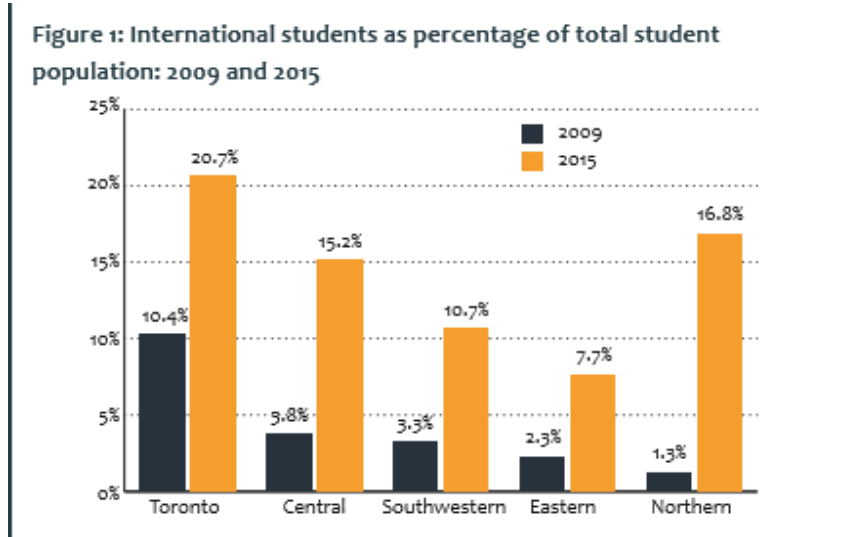


**Source: Humber College Student Success Survey, April 2018**

Ontario is particularly attractive to students from India and China who wish to attend its colleges because of a 2009 government initiative called the Student Partners Program (SPP). These incentives have made Ontario (when compared to the rest of the nation) the preferred and, in fact primary destination for international students. “Ontario-bound international students show a growing tendency to study in the college sector, with over 50% of new entrants attending a college in 2012” (Williams et al., 2015:3). Given those statistics, it was no shock to observe that the student population of every institution visited exhibited an overwhelming presence of non-white students in contrast to what was routinely observed in the administrative offices of those same colleges.

The graph below shows the dramatic rise in the number of international students entering the Ontario college system between 2009 and 2015 as a percentage of the total student populations in each of the quadrants studies in this dissertation directly brought about by both federal and provincial government initiatives and the internationalization efforts of each of the colleges in Ontario on an individual basis.

**Table 11: Ontario College Student Population Index**



Note "total" student population includes international students and those funded under the Ontario Government's General Purpose Operating Grant (GPOG).

**Source: CBIE (October 2016)**

As mentioned above, this is in marked contrast to what was observed on the other side of the hallways and corridors in every college studied. The demographics of the college administrative personnel are very much different from that of the student populations in those same colleges.

### **1.5 Ontario College Employees**

The racial and ethnic composition of the college administrative personnel serving international students is shown above. Approximately 84% of the 308 survey respondents in this study consider themselves to be racially "white". Therefore, it was exceptional to observe other than white personnel assisting multi-racial, non-white students or otherwise occupied in the administrative functions of the college. Opening a hallway door and entering into the administrative offices of any

of the institutions investigated felt uncomfortably like crossing the border between one country and another with the student 'Help Desk' the metaphorical and spatio-temporal border security barrier. Remarkably, even in the offices of international student induction and support where one might have expected an administrative policy directed toward over-the-counter student assistance staffed by persons with more racial diversity, overwhelmingly those assisting behind the counter and those in charge behind glassed office doors were found to be "white" whilst, among the students requiring assistance, it was inversely proportional.

Colleges Ontario offers statistical profile which suggests that, since approximately 2010, enrolment of foreign students at Ontario colleges throughout the Province has increased by over 407.5%, while, at the same time there has been only a 25.7% increase in Province-wide, general enrolment. (Colleges Ontario 2016). In other words, most of the current student enrollments at Ontario's public colleges are both international and multi-racial. Only 36.7% of its current student enrollment identifies as "white" with the large preponderance of student inductees coming from multi-racial and linguistic backgrounds in other Countries.

Since approximately 2005, both liberal and conservative Canadian governments have gone out of their way to ease entry rules for international students. In fact, the Country now has in place Student Direct Stream agreements with seven countries. This means that high-school graduates from any one of the seven countries with which Canada has a Direct Stream agreement, who have the money or guaranteed backing for tuition supported by a \$10,000 guaranteed investment certificate from any one of the five, major banks in Canada, and can successfully master a standard English-language proficiency language test are virtually guaranteed admission to their Ontario college of choice" (Basen 2019:n.p)

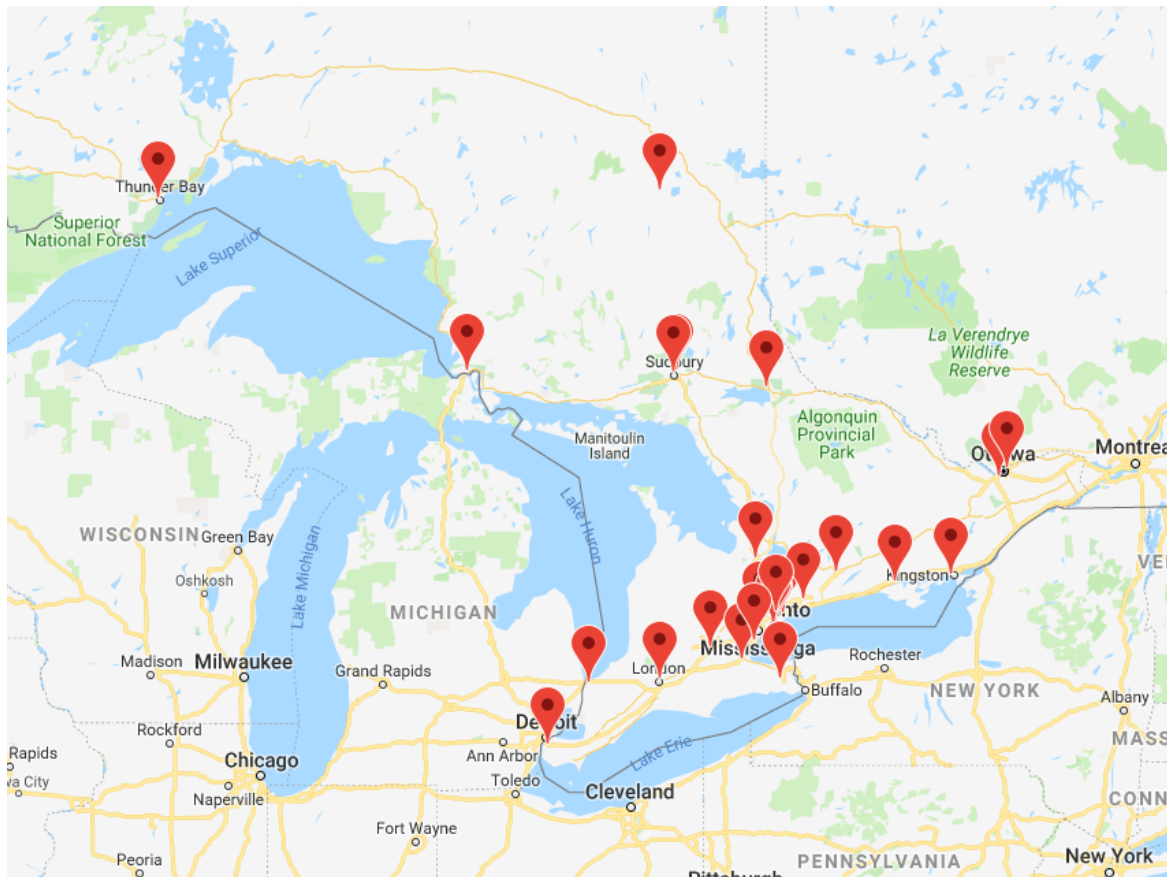
Despite the increasing number of international students, either because of specific programs attracting large cohorts, the government incentives referred to above or perhaps because of unique market strategies employed to attract them, every college in Ontario remains steadfast and connected to its local community (Ramsdell 2016). However, the same sort of diversity brought about by the growing internationalization of the Ontario college student populations cannot be said

of the college administrative staff which, throughout every college investigated for this dissertation, was overwhelmingly white.

## 1.6 The Fifteen Ontario Colleges Studied

As earlier mentioned, there are 24 public colleges in Ontario located variously in most reaches of the Province.

Figure 18: Map of the 24 Colleges in Ontario



Source: Google Maps © 2019



Given the vast distances involved, especially those separating colleges across the more sparsely populated northern regions of the Province from those in more densely populous southern areas, regional cultural differences in the surrounding communities are reflected in all 24 institutions which to some extent dictates the types of programs offered at each college location. For example, 'paralegal' certificate and diploma programs are offered at a number of colleges in southwestern Ontario where the demand for that technology is quite high. There are no paralegal programs offered in the northern areas of the Province because community acceptance of this relatively novel provision of legal services involving minor matters has not reached a sufficient level to support businesses that might be established by college graduates. The result could be unemployment and/or movement away from the community – neither of which bodes well for its inhabitants. However, The *Ontario Expert Panel on Strategic Mandate Agreements* advises that “an institution’s location by itself is an insufficient rationale for distinctiveness. If other classification schemes are a guide, the type of credentials offered, the number credentials of a particular type offered and the degree of engagement in research are relevant attributes of institutional differentiation” (HEQCO, 2013, p. 12). Its willingness to reach out to respond to the educational needs of the geographic catchment region in which it is located as well as corresponding reflection of that receptivity in its programmatic specialization, are characteristics of each institution’s uniqueness and its ability to be sensitive to the requirements of the local labour market. Indeed, the current *Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002* mandates every college in Ontario to be responsive to “local and diverse communities” (OCAATA, 2002, s. 2(2)). That diversity is reflected in the following table which demonstrates the distribution of college programming across the Province by subject-matter emphasis.

The main focus of all the colleges in Ontario is formal training for later employment following graduation. More and more adults are returning to CAATs to upgrade their skills especially in those situations where the technologies they have learned in the past are becoming increasingly irrelevant and / or low paying. Indeed most, if not all, of the colleges allocate a good portion of their academic resources to the special needs of the unemployed and, in recent years, the unique requirements of indigenous peoples, especially in northern Ontario. The colleges here serve an additional purpose in that they place a great deal of “emphasis on articulated academic credit

transfer program pathways to universities. In Ontario, several community colleges now offer degree programs in partnership with universities” (Dennison and Fleming 2012:n.p.).

**Table 12: Cluster Distribution of Ontario College Programming**

Program Mix on a Geographic Continuum					
	College	Program Mix by Field of Study			
		# of Standard Deviations from the Mean Percentage of FT Enrolment for Each Field of Study			
		Applied Arts	Business	Health	Technology
North	Canadore College	0	-1	0	1
	Cambrian College	0	-1	1	0
	Northern College	-2	-1	3	0
	Sault College	-1	-1	0	3
	Confederation College	0	-1	0	1
French Language	La Cité collégiale	1	0	0	0
	Collège Boréal	-1	-1	3	0
South	Algonquin College	0	1	-1	0
	St. Lawrence College	1	0	0	-2
	Loyalist College	3	-1	-1	-1
	Sir Sandford Fleming College	-1	-1	0	2
	Durham College	0	0	0	0
	Centennial College	-1	1	0	0
	George Brown College	-1	2	0	-1
	Seneca College	-1	2	-1	0
	Georgian College	-1	0	1	0
	Humber College	1	1	-1	-1
	Sheridan College	1	0	-1	-1
	Mohawk College	0	0	-1	1
	Niagara College	1	1	0	-1
	Conestoga College	-1	1	0	1
	Fanshawe College	1	1	-1	-1
	Lambton College	0	0	0	1
	St. Clair College	0	0	1	-1
	Mean	38%	21%	14%	26%
	Standard deviation	0.0801	0.0821	0.0898	0.0711
	System total	39%	26%	11%	25%

Source: Hicks, et. al. 2013:11

The following table shows the names of each of the 24 colleges, the year of their establishment and the cities in which they are located.

**Table 13: The 24 Colleges in Ontario - Establishment Date, Geographic Location**

Name ↕	Main campus ↕	Established ↕
Algonquin College	Ottawa	1967
Collège Boréal (FR)	Sudbury	1995
Cambrian College	Sudbury	1967
Canadore College	North Bay	1972
Centennial College	Toronto	1966
Conestoga College	Kitchener	1967
Confederation College	Thunder Bay	1967
Durham College	Oshawa	1967
Fanshawe College	London	1967
Fleming College	Peterborough	1967
George Brown College	Toronto	1967
Georgian College	Barrie	1967
Humber College	Toronto	1967
La Cité collégiale (FR)	Ottawa	1990
Lambton College	Sarnia	1969
Loyalist College	Belleville	1967
Mohawk College	Hamilton	1966
Niagara College	Welland	1967
Northern College	Timmins	1967
St. Clair College	Windsor	1966
St. Lawrence College	Kingston	1967
Sault College	Sault Ste. Marie	1965
Seneca College	Toronto	1967
Sheridan College	Oakville	1967

Source: Ontario Colleges.ca ©2019

Two of the colleges, College Boreal (Sudbury) and La Cite Collegiate (Ottawa) are exclusively French speaking and were not included in the study for that reason. One college, Canadore in North Bay, is directly linked to Nippissing University and does not have its own Research Ethics Board [“REB”] nor does it independently approve external research applications. Holmes (2016:11) points out that “[a]lthough most colleges now have some form and process for ethics review and approval in place,

not all have an established college Research Ethics Board, and great disparity exists across the Province in terms of the nature of the governance and administration of research ethics at colleges, particularly in their activities and requirements”. Canadore falls into this exception. Another college, Seneca in Toronto, where the author is an employee, was the subject of a previous extensive research project initiated by the author in 2017. It was determined inappropriate to re-approach Seneca again so soon after completion of the last project. Staffing levels (including teaching faculty) at each of the colleges naturally varies depending upon the size of the college and the population. The largest colleges with the highest staff numbers are located in the southern regions of the Province which also has the densest population.

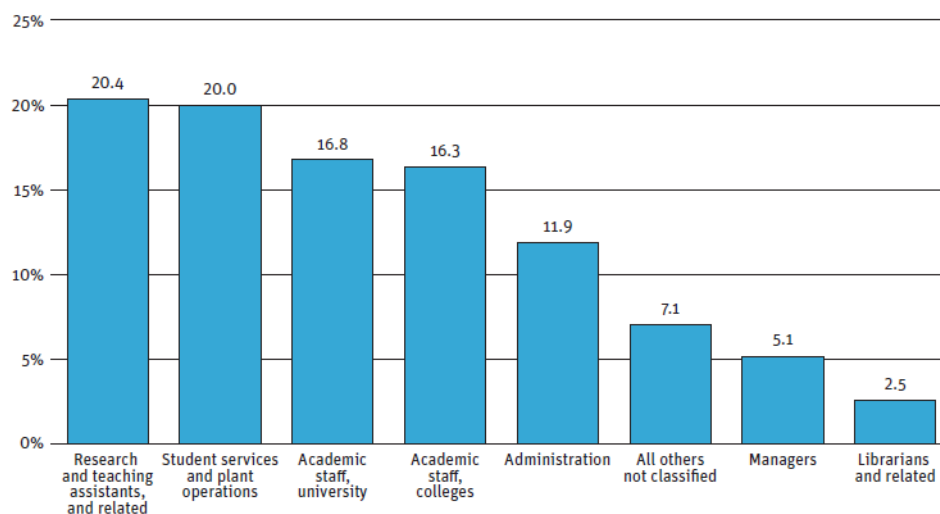
**Table 14: Staffing Levels at All Ontario Colleges as of January 2014**

COLLEGE	FULL-TIME	PARTIAL LOAD	PART-TIME	SESS.	HISTORIC FT HIGH	DATE OF FT HIGH	% FT TO NON FT	% CHANGE IN FT
Algongquin	563	328	743	220	666	1989	0.30	-15.47%
Boreal	109	33	195	22	116	2006	0.30	-6.03%
Cambrian	184	87	119	49	252	1990	0.42	-26.98%
Canadore	119	11	37	11	235	1992	0.67	-49.36%
Centennial	405	190	210	90	UA	UA	0.45	UA
Conestoga	429	216	476	58	429	2013	0.36	0.00%
Confederation	159	0	253	84	250	UA	0.32	-36.40%
Durham	324	78	412	70	325	UA	0.37	-0.31%
Fanshawe	516	222	503	85	576	1992	0.39	-10.42%
George Brown	525	225	450	115	723	UA	0.40	-27.39%
Georgian	265	370	416	44	315	1989	0.24	-15.87%
Humber <sup>1</sup>	595	625	410	110	625	1980s	0.34	-4.80%
La Cite	228	22	353	60	UA	UA	0.34	UA
Lambton	131	76	89	16	150	1995	0.42	-12.67%
Loyalist	132	61	96	12	175	1995	0.44	-24.57%
Mohawk	400	210	37	68	UA	UA	0.56	UA
Niagara	306	106	174	34	306	2013	0.49	0.00%
Northern	78	40	55	13	UA	UA	0.42	UA
St. Clair	258	117	234	106	278	2008	0.36	-7.19%
St. Lawrence	215	284	256	37	UA	UA	0.27	UA
Sault	169	40	84	50	229	1980s	0.49	-26.20%
Seneca	613	729	484	58	UA	UA	0.32	UA
Sheridan	523	461	513	55	523	2013	0.34	0.00%
Sir Sanford Fleming	202	254	446	26	254	1990s	0.22	-20.47%
SYSTEM TOTALS	7448	4785	7045	1493	5904 <sup>2</sup>		0.36	-15.79% <sup>3</sup>

**Source: Report on Education in Ontario Colleges: Threats to Quality Education: Faculty Experiences, p. 34 [Accessed at: [https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2014-04\\_CAAT-A-Report\\_Education\\_FULL.pdf](https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2014-04_CAAT-A-Report_Education_FULL.pdf), January 10, 2020].**

As a percentage of the total workforce in the Ontario education system (including both colleges and universities), the administration component is close to 12%. When colleges are isolated from the graph below, the proportional percentage of the administrative staff is only marginally different and subject to some fluctuation because of positional precarity depending upon the geographic location of the college.

**Table 15: Ontario Post-Secondary Workforce by Occupation (2016)**

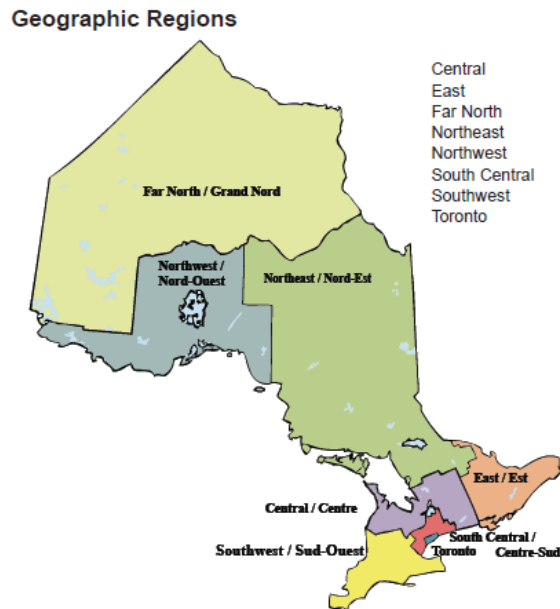


**Source: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives:2018**

No attempt was made to focus on individual colleges in any of the four arbitrarily delimited geographical regions of the Province. In keeping with TCPS: Core 2 ethical compliances (TCPS2 2010), the sampling populations of interest (Lavrakas 2008, Martinez-Mesa, et al. 2016) were segregated by region without mention of any individual college, thus preserving and enhancing anonymity with added protection against indirect identification (University of Waterloo 2010) of any college or study participant. Therefore, this study is exclusively concerned with four, physio-geographic quadrants and the participating colleges within them. The “Far North” was not included in the study because of the lack of colleges present. The geographical areas “East” and “South

Central” are combined into “SE” and Toronto is merged into “SW”. The land mass involved is 1.6 million sq. km. of which approximately 42% is the more desolate region of the Far North and, for obvious reasons, not included as part of this study.

**Figure 19: The Physio-Geographic Regions of Ontario**



**Source: Ontario Presents.ca**

Based upon data from Statistics Canada (Census Canada 2014), the regions and the colleges investigated within can be further understood in terms of general population size:

Large Urban = 100,000 or greater  
 Medium Urban = 30,000 – 99,999  
 Small Urban = 1,000 – 29,999

Small rural indicates a “medium-sized” general population but in a physio-geographic region of the Province that is somewhat remote from adjacent urban centres. The following table shows the colleges investigated in this study, their location, approximate community size and student enrolment. It also demonstrates a meaningful picture of the amount of project time taken-up with each college from initial approach, through REB and institutional approvals to the interviews of participants and individual project closure.

**Table 16: The 15 Participating Colleges, with Metrics**

<b>College</b>	<b>Ontario City, Geographic Quadrant City Size and College (Student Enrollment)</b>	<b>REB Application Date</b>	<b>Individual College Project Completion Date and Hours Involved with Each Institution “[ ]”</b>
Cambrian	Sudbury (NE) Small Urban (4831)	2018-06-18	2019-06-28 [75]
Centennial	Toronto (SW) Large Urban (22000)	2018-11-30	2019-05-22 [94]
Confederation	Thunder Bay (NW) Small Urban (12000)	2018-06-19	2019-06-14 [112]
Fleming	Peterborough (NE) Small Rural	2018-11-25	2019-09-23 [127]
George Brown	Toronto (SW) Large Urban	2018-12-01	2019-05-16 [134]
Georgian	Barrie (SW) Medium Urban	2018-12-13	
Humber	Toronto (SW) Large Urban	2019-07-30	
Lambton	Sarnia (NW) Small Rural	2018-11-25	
Loyalist	Belleville (SE) Small Rural	2018-06-02	2018-12-11 [210]
Mohawk	Hamilton (SW) Medium Urban	2018-11-24	2019-04-04 [195]
Niagara	Niagara Falls (SW) Small Rural	2018-04-30	2019-04-11 [106]
Northern	Timmins (NW) Small Rural	2018-03-26	2019-04-18 [38]
St. Clair	Windsor (SW) Small Urban	2018-05-19	2019-03-28 [164]
St. Lawrence	Kingston (SE) Small Urban	2019-03-09	2019-10-17 [35]
Sheridan	Toronto (SW) Large Urban	2017-10-25	2019-02-21 [394]

**Source: Author and Hicks, et. al. (2013:11)**

## 1.7 College Faculty vs. Management

It is of some assistance to begin this section by isolating and then, with reasons, excluding the organizational sub-cultures which are not subject matter of investigation in this study. The populations of Community (or Public) Colleges in North America are primarily comprised of students, academic faculties, and institutional administrative personnel. Depending upon the business model of each college, peripheral support staff including technical and grounds maintenance, food services, security, custodial and janitorial functions can be outsourced contractually. It was determined that, because of the nature of the study itself, these sectors of the typical college organizational structure were not appropriate for investigation. Nor were students directly involved, again because they fall outside the technical, demographic and, ultimately, the conceptual parameters of my research which was focussed exclusively on the use of cultural capital to gain and legitimate positionality within an organizational administrative hierarchy.

The teaching faculties which occupy a very large and significant component of any college population. In Canada, career paths followed by the college teaching faculties are different and typically less internally competitive than at the university level. At the latter, the current focus tends to emphasize research and publication with less priority given to actual classroom teaching (Cote and Allahar 2010). The university tenure track from adjunct instructor through to full professor with incremental emoluments along the path is well-established and incentivized by higher salaries, greater prestige, and access to positions at higher ranking institutions as one moves up the academic ladder.

Conversely, community college faculties in North America, including those in Ontario, mainly direct their skills and daily efforts toward teaching, related student support and administration; the sometimes vilified 'publish-or-perish' element is of considerably less importance in the path to tenure as are the internecine struggles and competition for position in the field. "The professors are hired to teach, and that is where their focus lies" (Education Corner 2019: np), and while tenure is always a goal, that level of long-term security can be achieved with arguably far less stringent research requirements, approbation, and academic upgrading expectations. As Otte Rosenkrantz (2013:1) points out:



(b)ecause release time for research activity is not currently addressed in the Standard Workload Formula (SWF) as governed by the Faculty Collective Agreement that applies to all 24 colleges (Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, 2009), professors who want to engage in their own applied research activities tend to do so for the most part on their own time – after work, on weekends or during sabbaticals.

The so-called “industrial” model predominates throughout all the colleges in Ontario. Typically, this essentially top-down form of governance is one in which the highest level of “management decisions (are) made without consulting faculty, and in which the professional autonomy of faculty (is) de-emphasized” (MacKay 2014:10-11). At lower levels, however, there is less distinction between faculty and internal administration. Because of this unitary frame of reference, faculty members can more easily occupy positions in the governance structure of the CAATs<sup>321</sup> and the opposite is true as well. While the teaching faculty is primarily involved in the job of instructing students and developing curricula for their courses, they do become involved in actual college administration, especially at mid-levels. This sometimes involves more extra-curricular work for less pay and in the recent past, faculty-members have engaged in strike activity precisely because of that disparity (Ghebresslassie 2017). Ultimately, in some schools and in some circumstances, this has resulted in a lack of meaningful, time-consuming input with respect to organizational structure and governance over the affairs of the various teaching faculties. Instead, faculty members, in the time available, must focus their concentration on teaching responsibilities in a consistently professional manner, on well-balanced faculty relations and on personal attentiveness to student needs, all of which are important requisites for tenure. There is little time left over for taking on administrative or quasi-managerial roles on a part-time basis. For a number of instructors in faculty roles, this is a matter of acceptance or stoic resignation, depending upon one’s point of view. Community college professor Robert Jenkins (2016:np) suggests the following:

For the most part, we like what we do and have no desire to go anywhere else ... (T)he reality is that teaching at a community college — especially on the tenure track — marks you as more or less permanently unfit for a position at a four-year institution, in the eyes of many university professors and administrators. So not only is the “starter job” mind-set likely to be a nonstarter with a search committee but “moving up” is actually highly unlikely.

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<sup>321</sup> Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology.

Taken on balance, academics, of course, are managers of sorts, but college administrations in Ontario, for the reasons indicated above, tend to be similar to the typical university model and likely comprised of non-academic professionals possessing expertise in human resources, financial affairs, facilities management, marketing, international recruitment, student services and much more notwithstanding the “unitary” idea conceived by Minister Davis many years earlier. Despite the long-standing, putative advantages of a decentralized, flattened, and organic management structure (Burns and Stalker 1961, Khandwalla 1977, Deal and Kennedy 1982) college, bureaucracies in Ontario, as mentioned above, tend to be more aligned with an androcentrically focussed, hierarchical, industrial model (Caruana, et. al 1988) with strong, centralised leadership. Unfortunately, this loose dichotomy sometimes creates a problem of student perception in some schools. “A hierarchy of academic staff supported by ‘non-teaching’ staff results in a hidden agenda for students, suggesting that academic ‘professional’ staff are in some sense more highly regarded” (Lumby 2001:30). Student reactions aside, for the most part “academics have largely complied with managerialist imperatives ... the basic message of which can be simply understood as saying ‘this is awful but apart from moaning or quitting there is nothing we can really do about it’” (Pugh 2019:1197).

Ontario college managerialist structures are therefore generally characterized by a neoliberal Weberian top-down governance style (Fesler 1965:263) with an emphasis on strategic planning, especially as it relates to funding, student recruitment, vision, and mission conceptualizations. A certain amount of decentralization is involved, hence the necessary creation of the “middle management” category that is discussed from a theoretical perspective in Chapter 5. Joseph (2019) describes institutional “decentralization” in the following terms:

Decentralization is a type of organizational structure in which daily operations and decision-making responsibilities are delegated by top management to middle and lower-level managers. This frees up top management to focus more on major decisions.

Status is not strictly patrimonial (Charrad and Adams 2011) within the organization, nor is it strictly arranged according to an unyielding militaristic chain of command cascading downward from the executive level. Within the management structure in most colleges we find more “diffuse deference behavior by lower toward higher status groups” (Delaney 1963:468, Charrad and Adams 2011) and a significant amount of time spent on team building that is directed toward joint decision making for, not least, the social capital-building advantage of various position-holders within the administration (Nakamura, et. al. 2011). With respect to “diffuse deference”, Rooney (2016:383) makes the point that:

Academic structures are usually more collegial and involve a greater degree of democratic compromise in decision making. Control is diffuse throughout the ... college as a whole and within individual ... departments. This organizational structure has interesting implications for management and governance within the academy, mainly concerning who, if anybody, is really in charge.

In the foregoing, there is also, perhaps, a reflection of cultural trends in the greater community in addition the growing recognition that diversity within the organization seems to work best when leadership is not strictly hierarchal (Marlow and Wilson 2011). Slade (2018), for example, argues that virtually most forms of hierarchical organization are obsolete. She claims that the only assured way to stimulate the engagement of employees and managers alike is to develop and operate on the basis of a flattened or horizontal organizational structure. “In flat organizational structures, employees are more empowered, operated with a greater degree of managerial independence and are expected to take responsibility for a range of traditionally managerial decisions in their daily routines” (Ingram 2019:n.p.). Moreover, in the college system, powerful unions (themselves tending to be stereotypical crucibles of heteronormative habitus), collective agreements, diversity policies, human rights legislation, employee-centric regulatory agencies, and the provincial government itself, which holds the purse-strings, operate in unison, ostensibly with a concerted view toward ameliorating attempts at rigidly patriarchal, top-down management practices. However, as the study findings show, not always successfully.

## SCHEDULE L: SYSTEMIC IMPACT OF THE COVID 19 VIRUS

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*The impact of COVID cannot be ignored and I have felt an obligation to briefly review my main research themes in the context of current research addressing the larger organizational consequences of the pandemic. My comments are not designed to present a separate study in itself but rather simply to demonstrate my limited but general awareness of the issue and, indirectly, to point to and situate further novel and still largely unexplored areas of post-doctoral study involving evidence-based research and theorizing on the various organizational impacts of the crisis.*

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### THE SYSTEMIC IMPACT OF COVID-19

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I began work on my dissertation in October 2017 – long before anyone could have conceived of the horrifying life’s drama that has been a worldwide COVID crisis. I was fortunate enough to have completed all my data collection by December 2019 just weeks before news of the virus’ spread became a daily television and internet spectacle. Paradoxically, the lockdown here in Canada was of great assistance in the development of my project because it allowed for much greater and more flexible time available to write-up my thesis. However, the impact of COVID cannot be ignored and I have felt an obligation to briefly review my main research themes in the context of current research addressing the larger organizational consequences of the pandemic. My comments are not designed to present a separate study in itself but rather simply to demonstrate my limited but general awareness of the issue and, indirectly, to point to and situate further novel and still largely unexplored areas of post-doctoral study involving evidence-based research and theorizing on the various organizational impacts of the crisis.

Working from home already had been an incremental Canadian trend, with workers in many industries migrating from their brick-and-mortar offices to home or other virtual environments (Regus 2017). The COVID pandemic accelerated that trend suddenly and exponentially (Alon, et. al. 2020). Bourdieu recognized the disruptive impact of *hysteresis*, “itself shaped by the configuration

of power relations” (McDonough and Polzer, 2012: 359). It is described as social environment in which, through a calamity, the habitus and the structural field have become dislocated and disjointed, “in particular when a field undergoes a major crisis and its regularities (even its rules) are profoundly changed” (Bourdieu, 2000: 160). According to Hannah Graham (2020:450), taking practice online as a consequence of the COVID pandemic “raises significant sociological issues of intersectionality and inequality. [Workplace and economic] precarity, risk and harms are experienced unevenly. There are age and gendered differences, including [situations] where working from home is in conflict with concurrent caring and home-schooling responsibilities”. In one study [Georgiadou and Gonzalez-Perez (2019):] cited by Georgiadou, et. al. (2019:13) it was found that:

For example, female employees argued that previously asking to work from home was often associated with the responsibilities of care and motherhood. By contrast, requests from men to work from home were assumed to imply a need for more space for them to be able to concentrate and hence produce more.

Among heterosexual couples, for example, research done by Blair-Loy 2008 and Stone 2008, independently, found that women more than men tend to assume the responsibility for typical household and child-rearing obligations. This is consistent with the findings in my own dissertation. The consequence could be that, whether by choice or compunction, women who, for financial or other reasons, find themselves locked into this situation do not return to their previous employment positions, and instead opt for ‘at home’ virtual occupations [...] These issues and changes, their meaning and collateral consequences, urgently warrant sociological analysis” (Graham 202:451). It seems certain that the consequential exchange value of human and cultural capital undergoes a radical alterity in times of upheaval such as that brought about by the COVID pandemic (Myles and Pinto 2020).

Bourdieu understood that the concept of “capital” could be extended well beyond the Marxian notion of power viewed through the lens of differential economics (Desan 2013). Cultural and social capital, for example, represent salient, reproducing, and self-augmenting forms of symbolic domination that situate holders in super-ordinate domains of power in relation to others practicing in the field (Schmitz, et. al. 2018). Those agents possessing significant ‘career capital’ (Iellatchitch, et. al. 2001) through a long-established history of employment in a particular institution easily can

be seen as having the requisite knowledge and skills to manage administrative environments from remote and virtually connected social networks efficaciously. Elsewhere, I have discussed the androcentric ontology of the Province's public college system.

In the long-standing patrifocal and micro-political social environment of Ontario's community colleges, the data I gathered suggests there is a gender advantage to being male or, at the very least, being masculine in gender presentation. My dissertation includes mention of the historical antecedents of the Ontario public college system was established in the 1960's by experienced tradesmen who became the teachers of young male, high-school graduates for whom the university path was not a viable option and learning a trade became essential for economic independence and survival. My findings show that the Ontario college system remains a fundamentally masculinist domain supported by a predominant cohort of women at the middle management level. As I have suggested throughout my dissertation, this is likely one explanation as why the 'old boys' networks' continues to thrive systemically despite so many women occupying medial roles in typical college administrations. Schmidt (2020:np) cites several psychological studies which conclude that the type of male bonding characteristic of the 'old boys' networks' becomes even more strong and cohesive in times of crisis and isolation. "The moment feels heavier and so do the conversations. Some men said their friendships have begun to look more like those of their wives and girlfriends. For the first time in their lives, they're going on walks with male friends just to catch up". The obvious question then becomes whether 'culturally tightened' (Harrington and Gelfand 2014) agential practices attendant on the physical return to school administrative environments will reflect a resurgence in the symbolic domination implicit in these masculinist, neoliberal patriarchies.

Unfortunately, others hampered by physical distancing, and the inequalities implied by occupational segmentation and less onsite experience may face radically different outcomes in terms of human alienation and morbidity as a result of COVID lockdowns, especially among those who must balance their daily remote workplace routines with at home childcare and other related domestic responsibilities. For example, Anu Madgavkar, et. al. (2020:np) have found that in the broad industry sector "overall, women's jobs and livelihoods are more vulnerable to the COVID-19 pandemic. The magnitude of the inequality is striking and [they] estimate that female job loss rates due to COVID-19 are about 1.8 times higher than male job loss rates globally, at 5.7 percent versus 3.1 percent, respectively." Follow-up on intersectional research in the Ontario college system

should be engaged to determine whether plenary statistics such as the one above are reflected across this narrow field of employment and whether the data itself shapes the social structure of workplaces in higher education.

The intersection of racial and ethnic capitalism (see: Frideres 2009) is another variable which must be considered in light of the profound social changes abruptly triggered by the pandemic (Cookson and Milne 2020). As I have shown in my dissertation, because they are already vulnerable, marginalized, racial and ethnic minorities face numerous intersectionalities that result in social disadvantages for the most part not experienced by the majority of the white population. In Canada and elsewhere, the “myth of Black immunity to COVID-19 is detrimental to promoting and maintaining preventative measures” (Laurencin and McClinton 2020:398) and this will have an impact on systemic workplace receptivity as college administrative environments begin to repopulate. According to Laster Pirtle (2020:504), “(r)acism and capitalism mutually construct harmful social conditions that fundamentally shape COVID-19 disease inequities because they (a) shape multiple diseases that interact with COVID-19 to influence poor health outcomes; (b) affect disease outcomes through increasing multiple risk factors for poor, people of color, including racial residential segregation, homelessness, and medical bias; (c) shape access to flexible resources, such as medical knowledge and freedom, which can be used to minimize both risks and the consequences of disease; and (d) replicate historical patterns of inequities within pandemics, despite newer intervening mechanisms thought to ameliorate health consequences. Interventions should address social inequality to achieve health equity across pandemics”.

But despite the admittedly grim forecasts above, the outlook is not entirely bleak. On a brighter note the data suggests that more epistemocentric, flexible and digitally adaptive intellectual capital appears to be increasingly valued at a premium “(a)mong the more specific leader-subordinate activities that will be important to consider in relation to COVID-19 is how broad assessment and performance management appraisal systems will function” (Antonakis, et. al. 2017). For example, “without being able to directly monitor subordinates in the way that office settings allow, there may be a shift to more attentive, results-focused assessment, which prior research shows to be generally effective” (Kniffin, et. al 2020:13, Campbell 2013, Pritchard et al., 2008). This more optimistic, non-gendered view of the future calls to mind my own hopeful

prediction written whilst working on my MBA in 2016 but what I might suggest is an appropriate conclusion to this final segment and this dissertation:

Notwithstanding inroads, women occupying executive positions are still expected to exhibit leadership characteristics associated with male heteronormative, mythopoetic stereotypes. But hope prevails (LeGates 2001). Leadership on a global stage is transformational (Aman 1996, Bass and Riggio 2006, Alimo-Metcalfe 2012) and transactional (Walumbwa, et. al. 2008). Increasingly, strategic primacy is accorded to synergies implicit in accessing “broad-based intellectual capital” (Stewart 1998:58) to enhance organizational performance. As multi-cultural, resource-based firms evolve toward participatory, gender-blind diversity management (Smithson and Stokoe 2005), visionary executives are becoming cognizant that an emergent, transnational, gender-neutral and knowledge-based organization stimulates strategic capabilities beyond traditional, vertically aligned structures (Smith-Doerr and Croissant 2011). This spawns opportunities to transform hierarchically differentiated, invisibly privileged architectures into relational ones replete with the complimentary benefits of gender diversity. The aspirational universality of organizational leadership itself – although not necessarily a centerpiece of the feminist polemic (DiCarlo Currie 2016) – will progressively embrace female talent as a resource-based competitive advantage, intensifying as firms venture inter-dependently into McLuhan’s global village. Perceptive, epistemocentric, leadership focussed upon merit will become increasingly recognized. Meanwhile, a critical mass of competent female talent, replicating and supplementing masculine axiological and semiotic codes, will advance the feminist struggle for gender parity in the workplace, society and beyond (Gasparini 2018:67).

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