'CERES' Challenges, Innovations and Transformative Practices Within & Across Higher Education.

A biographical narrative account to accompany the keynote by Curtis Tappenden, entitled:

Making it up! Navigating the 'maverick' self in higher education teaching.

1. Who am I?

Rewind.

Artist in the making. (a poem about childhood, by Curtis Tappenden)

In the private world of the moulded soldier,
Powdering the face to look much older,
Boy! In a man's world, just staring from within,
Distorted, glued-up cockpit window of an Airfix bomber in the bin,
Underdeveloped, pasty waif, the type you ram the salts in!
Moping every day, refusing to play rough games with a tough boy-scout;
For fear of being rumbled or letting the secret out:
That I'm not like other boys, you see,
Preferring to paint along with 'Nancy',* than scrumping up a tree.

Long-time losing hours gaining, skills with a brush when it was raining,
And how it rained for days on end, when plastic macs were the latest trend,
And the binmen all went out on strike; spent hours perfecting stunts;
Jumping over rubbish sacks on a Raleigh Chopper bike.
And I could feel the heat of summer warming, creating a pink and fluffy topping,
Whisking powder into milk as the Angel Delight was forming.

You're not like other boys, they said, there's something rattling around your flares
Or is it in your head?
And it's amazing what sinks deep down, daring to be different, the signs shout loud:
So early on the signs were breaking, this loner-boy who caused concern was simply
An artist in the making!

(*Nancy refers to the popular 1970s Italian-American artist and television presenter, Nancy Kominsky, whose practical art series, 'Paint along with Nancy' was broadcast on UK daytime television between 1974 and 1978).

I have spent time recently reflecting on who I am, being struck by how important the formative childhood years have been in defining my identity. My family could be described as typically working class, my dad was the 'breadwinner', my mum looked after the family and undertook domestic duties. The poem above exemplifies growing up in the 1970s, a childhood assembled into a focused collage of images clipped from the era. They are sentimentally remembered and hold a comforting power over me. Each image holds currency; important symbols of freedom, presenting a life which had little regulation and much creative expression, and these traits I now realise were to embed the future values of my working life. No one was going to tell me how it should be lived out in the face of others, nor tell me the rules for living as I perceived it and wanted it to become. My educational start was not best either, where the curriculum disrupted my chosen creative preoccupations. So instead of embracing the systems of learning laid before me, I used the time profitably to invent collage magazines, write and draw comics, create a stock of related items for sale at school, and I ran a miniature scale model corner shop which I turned into an off-licence (this was ahead of its time by about 35 years!). It was part of my own world, it was magical, all-encompassing and fulfilling, it expressed who I was as a person and most importantly was laying the foundations of who I was to become in my adulthood. I recount a description of my pursuits back then taken from a section of a research interview:

I created a travelling funfair out of carefully crafted card. It was beautifully decorated in folk art style, and I extended this to a travelling circus with a full fleet of lorries, animals and the big top adapted from a brilliant red oversize silk scarf. I toured the circus around a hundred-foot lawn in the long summer months of the school holidays. I had a passion for the life of travelling showmen, their lifestyle, the rides and acts, as well as puppetry and magic. I would borrow books on illusions, theatre and circus from the library, as well as books of mystery and horror- Hitchcock and Poe- or the subversive wits of Roald Dahl and Dr Seuss. I would perform magic tricks in shows to my family. I also established and recorded fantasy bands as four track recordings which involved two basic portable cassette recorders, a microphone, and the inside of a washing machine drum to create an echo and reverb chamber and marketed these recordings through my own record label. I recorded my tracks onto cassettes which I sold as singles and albums to fellow school friends and others in the establishment who got wind of what I was up to. It was minorly successful, profitable, and I expanded my business into other products and comics. Unfortunately, the time it took to run my business was time I should have been using to study at the grammar school, and not surprisingly, my progress at the school dipped. I went from being a borderline '11+' accepted student (the selective test offered to prospective grammar stream pupils was known as the 11+) to a below average student.

It was my first jolting realisation of the tension that I would experience for my ongoing academic life- a life of choosing to creatively outwork my purposes (which I considered as part of life's rich education) within my working contexts- as I strove to find my identity within it.
I had lived happily until the age of 14 in my own created world, no real need for friends or approval, and I was good at art and watched people, places, and events like a hawk. Despite being told not to procrastinate, daydream or over-indulge, I never gave up my pursuits which would cumulate over many years and eventually lead me into some trouble and being branded a 'maverick'.

According to **Charles Baudelaire**, a key figure in late 19th century and early 20th century decadent literary movement and whose essays were published for academics in the latter 20th century (1964), I might perhaps have been classed as a young, fledgling 'flâneur', one who strolls the city to observe its dynamics and experience it, as a detached, gently cynical, passive observer. In his essays, Baudelaire discusses Edgar Allan Poe's novel, 'Man of the Crowd' and it has become key to the definition of the politics of the post-revolutionary public space, and a broader influence on my thinking around educators defining their spaces and pedagogic empowerment within the educational, institutional spaces they inhabit. It is a notion I will revisit later in the metaphorical, social context of being a player in a shared carnival parade.

I also liked the freedom of choosing to be and work with others, this too a childhood trait, but it became stronger in my teenage student years and compelling in my adult teaching and its constrained environments. In discussion with a fellow academic, I discovered the powerful discourses of **Henry Giroux** (1992), early readings of a man who openly professed resistance to the neoliberal principles that run many Western institutions of Higher Education (HE). 'In 2012, neoliberalism was confirmed as the dominant political philosophy across the world' (Radice, 2013, p. 408). He suggests Neoliberalism, also termed New public Management (NPM), is founded upon 'four processes of change in the political economy of capitalism: privatisation, deregulation, financialisation and globalisation', and 'is a combination of Stalinist hierarchical control and the so-called free market, in which the values, structures and processes of private sector management are imposed upon the public sector.' Radice cites the major impact of this as a shift from professional to executive power with a key focus on performance, which is regulated by measured, quantitative targets and financial incentives. The repercussion of these changes was to turn university education, feeding business professions, culture, and politics, into the provision of marketable skills and research outputs for the 'knowledge economy', where knowledge is defined as a marketable commodity, rather than learning through collective social endeavour (Jary and Parker, 1998; Levidow, 2001; Robinson and Tormey, 2003). Giroux's resistance internalised resistance against this management, stating that as self-reflexive, critical progressives 'teachers need to reach into their own histories and attempt to understand how issues of class, culture, gender and race have left their imprint upon how we think and act' (Giroux, 2001, p. 241). His encouragement to educators to become cultural workers and border crossers was and still is emancipatory, the language rich enough to inspire the desire to seek new ways of learning both inside the academy and outside of it. Having an equally 'free-market' mind to not be measured in certain ways, reinvent the methods of assessment, redefining the individual and their skills and values in the working world.

Throughout his career my father, a police officer now retired, always seemed to do things the way he wanted to, he played the game of life at work and at home in his way which was amusing because at times his behaviour disregarded the law. As such he became an early paternal role model, although his absence, working hard every hour he could and not giving much time to his family might have exacerbated my childhood behaviour. It was recounted as follows in a research interview:

I believe I was born like this and had no reason and no need to change things and I did not understand the expected rules of the game. This was even extended, at senior school, to not understanding the rules of sports, such as cricket, rugby, football, basketball, hockey, and even field athletics. It seemed like other boys at my gender-selective boys' school had already been taught how to play by friends or even family members, such as their brothers or dads. As a result, I was

humiliated by peers and bullied by a teacher. My dad didn't teach me, as a police officer he lived for his job, loved working hard, and quickly climbed the ranks of promotion within the police service. But I believe it came with a price to his family; that his wife, Pauline was left with the task of raising the children, which for me, was about 14 years. I respected the man who was seldom present and built his ways into my personal ethics. 14 years of not being, or not having been taught the rules of the game, I'd say the rules of the game of life, as played on the field of society.

Field, used in the final sentence is an important word to consider from the narrative above, a key theoretical term used by French sociologist, **Pierre Bourdieu** (1980) in his interpretation of societal structure, its hierarchy, constant struggle, and the personal internalisation of social position, as it is perceived in context. We are all in the field where individuals compete for position and status and those with the highest status and therefore the greatest influence dictate the rules of control. In my later discussion of what defines a maverick I shall align the work of key theorists to help navigate the complexities of identities and behaviours, but highlighting and matching theoretical importance to realisation of who we might be in our formative years is vital at this point in my story, and Bourdieu spoke to my realisation of self and perceived position in society, and his work began my interest in wanting to align and map key theorists to my understanding of my identity relating back to my formative years and the impact it has had on my academic career.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) applies concepts of **capital**, **habitus** and **field** to help comprehend position and role and their effect on social relations, and the struggle for resources in a working context. The power exercised by an individual to gain control and trade a position can be drawn from formative experiences and traded as capital within a group environment. My childhood experiences arguably carried forward cultural preferences and affiliations located in my family and upbringing, as represented symbolically in the texts above, and these became distinctive when interpreted against various positions and statuses. **Power and control** and my negotiations with them became emerging themes.

With a mind for Giroux's crossing of borders and finding my place in the field ascribed by Bourdieu, further research led me to **Michel Foucault's** interpretations of the dynamic relationships emerging from discourses, useful to help assess embedded practices being created by differences between management rules and their ways of operating. In disagreement Foucault suggests they generate counter-discourses, which push back in resistance. His can be argued as a collection of power/knowledge discourses formalising the articulations of its managers, educators, and students. Discourses generate the way HE is run as discursive spaces, which are in the field of contestation that Bourdieu has discussed. For Foucault power is established in, and exercised through, power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980), which situates truth at the centre of individual and collective initiatives of rule and enables counter-discourses to oppose dominant discourses. Collective truth can be recognised in societies' general politics through discourses that establish value judgements – our reckoning of what is true or false, right or wrong – and it is not sovereign in its exercise of power. Foucault is therefore strongly suggesting the legitimate position of challenge at the heart of management decisions and educational practices.

Power, according to Foucault is broken down, measured, and regulated through the systems established within institutions. The fabric and practices of institutions embody 'discipline', and disciplinary practices become the expectation, which regulates behaviour. Foucault terms this 'capacity-communication-power.' When, however, it is applied to less didactic teaching methods, the

teacher-learner relationship enables greater emphasis on 'blocks of capacity-communication-power' (Foucault 1982a, pp. 218-219) – greater negotiation of the rules – and power relations become reformulated and regulated. Foucault's identification of power through discourse is visible across tiers of management and educational delivery, but his theory moves away from the ideas of dominance and coercion suggested by the field, recognising that discourse does not need structural representation (as argued by Bourdieu) to be effective. Foucault's notion that 'power is everywhere', negotiated and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth' is therefore subjectively realised by the individual (Foucault and Rabinow 1991; McHoul and Grace, 1993). Our realisation of self in context and how we negotiate our place within it is the truth which establishes us, makes us what we are, and removes the power from hierarchical dominance. In short, I interpret these power discourses as situated, productive, making things happen and making people.

Forward.

I have always wanted to do things my way and never really considered it wouldn't be an option, and in the early days of my teaching career I assumed autonomy in the art and design sector was the natural default in studio/classroom management. Who we are matters hugely to what we do, an essential characteristic to enable authenticity in role, personal career development and empowerment of teacher and learner in the educational environment. My navigational compass was based on my art school experiences, on the lecturer who was so hung-over at his Monday lecture that he paid a student his going, daily rate to take the lesson, a considerable sum of money. There was no lesson planning, no formal assessment of these sessions; complementary studies as they were known 'softly' influenced and expanded the creative mind and assisted students to be curious and innovative in their practice. When I started 'peer' teaching (a scheme to offer young practitioners working in industry the chance to teach students not much younger than themselves), institutional structures in the sector were still not especially rigorous, and I was offered no training to teach nor a framework upon which to build a robust method of meaningful assessment and it didn't align to other tutors' methods either. My passion for my subject as an illustrator and graphic designer, and my desire to grasp any opportunity to disseminate what I knew carried me forward and students did indeed learn. I was considered a young success. My pedagogy was organic, cherry-picking what I wanted to do, and dodging what I didn't want to do and I bravely marched to my own tune right up to my first Further Education Ofsted, where I delivered the lesson plan to the class in Jamaican Patois, engaged the enthusiastic learners and picked up my first (of many) grade 1, 'Outstanding' credits.

2. Caught out!

My story continues:

I'd been spotted carrying the bongos and guitar from the boot of the car.
'Oy!! Curt!!. Are we doing poetry today, Curt?'
The students were excited at the potential prospect – a 'Curtis' session meant maximum creativity and an ever so slightly 'off-piste' approach. I had been integrating and promoting poetry as and wherever I could, following a successful action research project undertaken for my postgraduate teaching certificate, where I was able to offer our less academic student catchment an attractive, non-intimidatory and meaningful way to explore the critical nature of words in relation to their art practices. I enjoyed teaching it, engaged students in co-presentation of academic papers at conferences, and was exploring my own poetry performance – its rhythms, colour, composition as it related to my own drawing and painting practice in the working world. This, I keenly tested at regular slam poetry nights in Brighton and London and on a short tour with one of America's top slam poets at that time. I was also planning to co-host a student outreach research workshops with celebrated British poet, John Hegley, and celebrated stand-up comedian, Milton Jones, at our university with the blessing of the Pro Vice Chancellor, who heralded my work as 'trailblazing'.
My head was rising high in the bluest of skies, my heart soaring across space! I felt creatively invincible and full of unending opportunity for myself and the students attending a creative writing group I was hosting at the time; I believed we could shatter the imposed ceilings of education, push on through to new boundaries, exploring new avenues in pedagogic practice, with no rough edges or residual splinters left behind in students' learning experiences. I felt heady, ambitious, and liberated; I could do whatever I wanted – hold -fast, hold-tight, whoosh, woo-hoo, way to go! It was all totally exciting and relevant… or so it felt… at that time… inside my head, inside the moment.

I shared my thoughts around the plan with the contextual studies coordinator, with whom I would be team teaching in the more theatrical lecture theatre space, and she was enthusiastic. An aspiring, younger academic, she came from a performance art background. It was surely going to be 'win-win'. In my mind I was already entering the great proscenium, stage-left! Such a great space for ambition and something a little bit different, and I was already mentally encouraging different behaviour when I decided to pack the musical instruments into my car the night before. We never do art and design with musical instruments, but now I could foresee a chance, I was imaging it occurring in my head – running a version as though it had been filmed! At the time I had been studying Critical Pedagogists

and was inspired by their stories, especially Paulo Freire (1967) and his poetry and drawing work with peasants. I loved how he engaged them, inspired and taught them to read and write in an empowering way and how, as a result, he taught them to take possession of their lives and become powerful. It resulted in the confiscation of the drawings by officials. How cool is that? I loved the subversion in such dangerous antics, and I wanted to be subversive!

Around mid-morning, as we retreated from the energised environment and ethereal haze of chalk dust, a more astute student who had been tracking my professional progress as a poet/performer beyond the university, suggested that we might perhaps increase the competitive element in a fun, collaborative way, to spur each other on by hosting a poetry slam as a grand finale to the day. I didn't hesitate to say yes, nor did I consult my colleague. A resounding yes, and student-led too had to be okay, so 'off-paper' the plan was immediately and unquestionably changed. From here on, I made it up and had dared to change a lesson plan.

My colleague didn't say anything about the verbal or visible changes (not that I handed over an amended plan!). Musicians tuned up and 'wannabe' thespians and rock stars were rehearsing and spotting around the open stage, bustling with preparations. I hadn't noticed my colleague's mid-afternoon departure. Her later return was to inform me that I had been reported to seniority.

'I can't work with you, you're a maverick!' a calm exclamation,
'… and I have reported you to the course leader'.

My error? I had left the lesson plan with something we hadn't agreed, and what if it all went wrong, and our day project failed in its outcome? I wasn't too bothered and suggested that we were at art school to experiment, try new ideas, change the plan if necessary, especially when it is an excellent idea suggested by a student, and anyway, if it all goes wrong, blame me, and tomorrow's another day. The students had shared their enjoyment in a critical way and found meaning in what they had been doing, I know this because they had evidenced it through their use of sketchbooks and written notes – the conventional way we do things. In these sorts of experiences, it is not unusual for them to step out of comfort zones, discover new things about themselves and how they work as teams. They learn, through teacher encouragement and by pushing themselves. As I had expected that afternoon they pushed through the ceiling. My colleague didn't disagree but in the moment of
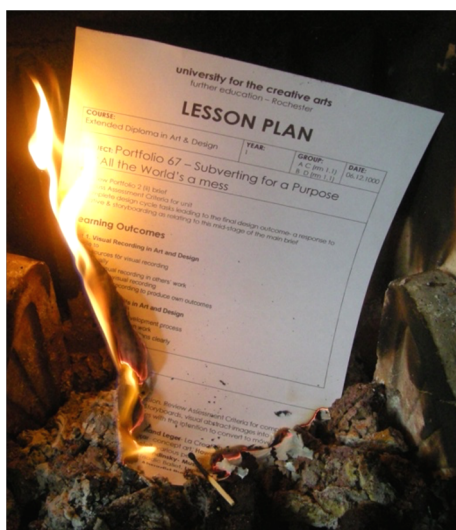
challenge, it was me who had been profoundly changed by words and actions. Hers!

For nearly twenty years I had made assumptions that we all thought the same, believed in similar pedagogic practices to achieve the same creative goals. It had never been made explicit until now. I had been naïve to make assumptions and now I had to do something.

The informal, personal incident text (partially cited above) is reflective, developed from a responsive jotting known in research as a 'memo', a term adopted from readings around grounded theory and thematic analysis as research methods (Charmaz, 2003, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The memos

prompted deeper considerations of my character and professional attributes in relation to the working educational context. I began to ask:

What is a maverick? Do they exist and if they do how can they be defined in the HE sector and how do they navigate their way through the neoliberally-managed university structures?

3. It's only natural (Finn, N.; Finn, T. 1991. Crowded House)

My desire to shed inhibition and feel natural in my classroom behaviour started to emerge as an overriding quest. I needed to find out who I wanted to be, or rather, who I felt I was, regardless of context, and I needed to teach in a way that was being naturally exercised within the working constraints of the educational institution. But how could I construct this to my advantage, and get away with it? I also set about the difficult task to defining the maverick and examine myself for qualities and behaviours which might qualify my colleague's judgement.

A burgeoning need to understand the rules of behaviour, especially in the professional context led me to the symbolic interactionist, **Erving Goffman**, who suggests in the *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) that we are always creating versions of self to save 'face'; our interactions are modified to suit the context, and in this, strategies are created tactics delivered.

Face is an individual's understanding of how they present in public. It enables an understanding of others as all parties seek to understand their interactions (Goffman, 1955, p. 213-231). 'Line' is the term given to performative strategies employed within interactions, where maintaining face protects interests. The strategies and descriptions which help to construct identities, Goffman terms 'face-work' (ibid., p. 216), and I am applying them to reason and interpret behaviour as it alters rituals and allows new rules to be established.

Realising that I wanted to be one who understands his identity, is aware of behaviours to present and protect face and make up rules alongside those that already exist, I looked deeper into **Goffman** and it became clear that he was addressing a world based on 'tacit' rules that are very well known and understood, and when applied, this universal understanding helps to show how some 'break' rules only to replace them with new rules. My theatrical interests fuelled an interest, where Goffman uses metaphors of stage and performance to explain theories as outlined for presenting self, saving face, and managing impressions in social contexts. The individuals' performances allow them to establish control, and this could mean manipulating the rules through managing impressions and performances. The rules, measured by performance are constructed and change when defined in context but in their construction, actions do not appear anarchic or lawless. They neither adhere to nor admonish expectations and by applying Goffman, the behaviours exhibited are those of a performance acted out in situations that are not governed by sets of rules and offer an empowering sense of autonomy.

Craig Hammond refers to the **'strategy'** and **'tactic'** theories of **de Certeau** (1984) to gain understanding of the kind of resistance being practiced by those who wish to counter constraining neoliberal management. Hammond considers the transformative, creative and collaborative potential of education through the democratising of knowledge and the learning experience. In his book, *'Hope Utopia and Creativity in Higher Education',* (Hammond, 2017) draws influences from philosophical, social and political thinking in the work of the theorists: Gaston Bachelard, Roland Barthes, Guy Debord, Henri Lefebvre and Ernst Bloch, whose Marxist ideals were 'of unorthodox

nature' (2017, p. 6). Hammond seeks to implement 'radical everyday praxis' (ibid., p. 7) by making a collaborative connection of these to the work of Critical Pedagogists, Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren and bell hooks. His constructions identify strategies and tactics in the theorists which he uses to frame and underpin educators' complex, creative autobiographies which are employed to empower their pedagogical practices in a more radical way.

4. Outsider Insider (Jester in stripes)

Working in the institution makes you an insider, but my leftfield inclinations and 'maverick' actions made me very much the outsider. Both outsider and insider, then. Being on the outside is fine until you need to be heard, understood, or you need to make a difference, and this is where the research picked itself up to address the questions. **Becker's** outsider literature (1963, 1970) although addressing criminality, not education, reinforces identification of those who do not conform, but is largely redundant here, where correct practices are assumed by the majority deciding the rules. Giroux (2000), however, reinforces resistance in his discussions of cultural workers, who challenge authority through counter discourses to contest them in social contexts. To understand how 'mavericks' might challenge rules of governance, adhere to those they find favourable, or create new rules that are accepted and understood in the educational social context, I moved to explore and apply theory that would consider outsiderness in a more respected way, recognise the contradictions of being orthodox and unorthodox, choosing to adhere to or break the rules through a considered construction of strategies and tactics; the bringing together of power struggle, resistance but also empowerment and achievement. Clues in my personal narrative became clearer; my character playing the role or roles, making myself up to suit the contexts and it being outworked in practice and performance in spaces. Personality and role are aspects explored through the carnival metaphor

in **Mikhail Bakhtin's** carnivalesque theory (1984) which offers an important space to interpret the nature of performances in a suitable, legitimate theoretical place. His theory considers the performer creating new rules and negotiating them against existing rules and pushing the boundaries within working structures and management directives. This liminal space is explored and negotiated through carnivalesque, a processional metaphor for various individual acts drawn together as a collective.

Bawdy mediaeval folklore narratives are the basis of carnivalesque, the witty creations of French priest and humourist, Francois Rabelais. Bakhtin adopted Rabelais's 16th Century novel *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to survey subversive 'popular-festive forms' in culture played out in rituals in the socially-driven contexts of the marketplace and carnival alternatives to established power structures are enacted in an ordered and orderly procession with freer expression. Bakhtin locates common folk in the carnival where they offer power in expressions of creative energy with 'a carnival sense of the world' (1984, p. 196). Carnival participants shake-up and democratise rigid, authoritative understandings of value and language and release a plethora of voices and meanings.

My own fixation with the character of the jester became a personal alter-ego, driving an imaginary narrative and drawings (see above) which empowered me to make up my own ways of teaching and

managing classroom practices. The jester has difference, is seen as different, acts in different ways and, most importantly, is acceptable in fulfilling a unique role. Often fluid and flexible, but not unrehearsed, the jester occupies a powerfully influential position for a time, being allowed close audience and counsel with the king as well as the minions- the creation of a unique role with unique practices which become important when applied to hierarchical power structure (NPM is hierarchical), as they democratise power and dissipate hierarchies.

5. Tools for the job

The research was conducted over many years, a complex construction of experiences carefully drawn from similar working educators in HE, from which I chose eight, me being the eighth. Finding participants came via word-of-mouth, colleague recommendation, reading and internet searches, where I identified people whose approaches to teaching practices reminded me of my own, who were personally-driven, apparently risk-taking, or because their work stood out in some highly personal or autonomous way. My assumption was that these could be categorised as 'maverick', but I realised this would need to be tested. Their participation was decided after a sharing of my own story which appeared outside of the nom. Each selected participant was offered a time to decide whether they felt they held any similarity with or connection to my own thoughts and experiences. All research is flawed but I admitted to the potential of this being research created where the researcher was also participant. Capturing the data of all participants as narrative interviews was important to the interpretation of the participants' stories, and the understanding that the interviewer – interviewee relationship played a significant role in interpreting them using aspects of **Schostak's** 'inter-view' method (Schostak, 2006). Conversations involve participants listening to the lives of others as they are narrated, identifying 'points of challenge […] and drawing out the implications for political and ethical struggles' (ibid., p. 2). With both parties sharing an interest in, and being inside the subject, the conversation opens itself to an honesty which sets the researcher up for deeper analysis, realisation of new themes and offers potential insights which would not otherwise have been discerned. Using inter-view, the questions are not prearranged and what followed was my recognition that each participant displayed characteristics that resonated in some way with my own pedagogic practice and led me to create an autoethnographic-constructivist methodological framework. Using thorough methods of thematic analysis I drew across data creating themes and revised sub-themes which eventually formed a definition which I assert to be one of a 'maverick' in HE.

It was a deeply moving, reflective and reflexive experience located in the 'invitation to otherness of those who have views regarding what constitutes 'insiderness' to a way of life and thus an 'outsiderness' (ibid., p. 23). Questions and prompts inside two-hour conversations (as agreed at the time and place of the participants' bidding) constituted the telling of life stories, in themselves powerfully uplifting and compelling. They proved surprisingly cathartic and powerful, addressing issues of self-reflection surfacing as anger and betrayal from incidents in my upbringing, and those of the participants and evidence of autonomous and risk-taking behaviour became apparent from a determination to redeem or counter some of those difficult earlier experiences.

I identified themes inductively through 'latent' coding, theorising according to patterns created. A latent approach led me to identify underlying conceptualisations and create new assumption by building a framework from emerging patterns and analysing them to construct meaning and seek reasons for maverick behaviour arising out of individuals' stories.

It was a positive experience too and the long hours spent cutting and pasting data on the floor, sifting and sorting it into groups was made more palatable by the richness of content.

6. A motley crew

The participants' lives are summarised below, beginning with mine. It is noteworthy that they operate in conventional roles whilst showing a flair for the uncommon or unusual. It is important to reiterate that the participant sample choice was determined by my identification of them, their identification of selves according to initial conversations about the subject of maverick identities, and participants' agreement to being suitable for the study according to email correspondence. They were each given a month to consider my reasons for choosing them and invitation. Full evidence of their lives and their educational roles can be read in my PhD thesis. The link is available in the reference section at the end of this account.

For ethical reasons the names have been changed:

Curtis Tappenden

The author of the research, a senior lecturer at a leading UK specialist art and design university, teaching further education and occasionally lecturing across various disciplines in higher education. His professional practice is diverse: editorial artist for a national newspaper in London, journalist, author, illustrator, poet and performer, and circus artist. His ongoing research interests involve cross-disciplinary, performative pedagogies and critical thinking. His university project work consistently involves students working on 'live' projects with outside agencies.

Professor Wisdom Smith

Entered higher education after a difficult childhood and continued his postgraduate studies in zoology until a Conservative government, elected in the early nineteen-eighties, forced the closure of his department. Smith is an award-winning British poet and critic who has published twenty books, including five collections of poetry. He holds a National Teaching Fellowship, and established the Faculty of the Writing Programme, (in 1996) to include internationally-renowned authors from a variety of disciplines and genres. A doctor of zoology and literature, he passionately defends the breaking down of barriers dividing the arts, sciences and humanities in academia, sometimes employing unconventional strategies to achieve this.

Professor Anna King

A UK citizen who worked fo0r a number of years as President of an Art and Design University in Canada. She proudly defines her journey out of 'working-class' roots. She has been Pro-Vice Chancellor of a UK specialist art and design university, helping to create a new academic structure with the appointment of four academic chairs. King was instrumental in accessing funding for new collaborative programmes between art and design institutions. Art educator, fashion designer and administrator, she also worked with leading UK politicians to found a secondary school academy in South-East England, and has substantial experience in the art and design sector. She is well known for helping to envision institutions, strategic planning and structuring through creative team-building skills.

Dr Kyle James

Director of the Centre for Qualitative Research and Reader in Performative Social Science at the faculty of Media and Communication and Health and Social Sciences at a UK university. He uses tools from the arts and humanities in researching and/or disseminating social science research, what he terms 'performative social science'. His outputs are unconventional and include a short cinema biopic as a research output for dissemination to a wider, public audience. His unconventional approaches are reported widely in the media.

Mary Bond

Coordinates and teaches further education and lectures in higher education Fashion Textiles. Her professional practice is in the fashion design industry, both as a designer of textile fabrics and a fashion-buyer. She has also worked for mental health charities. Her ongoing research interests involve transformative, educative practices.

Carole Morgan

Studied theatre and ran a puppetry company for schools until funding was stopped in the early 1980s by the elected Conservative government. Her career path led to her becoming head-librarian of an art and design institution, dyslexia specialist tutor and higher education tutor specialising in critical pedagogies to assist undergraduate art and design learners.

Professor Alexandr Petrovsky

Professor, Chair of Contemporary Art Practice and Theory and Programme Director of the MA Contemporary Art Theory at an established university in Scotland. He is concerned with methodological inventiveness and working collaboratively using participatory action research methods through co-authoring. He is also a curator, critic for many international art and political publications, the popular press and television.

I.G.

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7. Making it up, making sense!

Four main themes were drawn out of the thematic analysis: ***identities; tensions; power relations and empowerment; and attitudes to education politics/systems***, as identified through the phases of coding in my own story interview and the participants' stories. I am 'the observer and the observed' (Ellis 2009, p. 13) an autoethnographic endorsement and the themes from an insider's positioning inferred by Neuman (1996) as being in tension with dominant expressions of the (HE institutional) culture.

Tabulated, patterns in data emerged, helped by the theorists' writings and were defined under each theme.

IDENTITIES

IDENTITIES (from Thematic analysis)		
1. OUTSIDER **Perceived self-persona within educational context**	Attributed to perceived self- identities mentioned in data : Working class, middle class conservative, gipsy. Feel misunderstood	**Becker:** (1963): outsiders. **Bourdieu**: subject-object as self. For Becker Outsiders are labelled then adopt (sometimes) that Label Bourdieu would offer a habitus version
2. ADOPTING ROLE MODELS **Attribute the importance of:** **Parental role models** **Teacher role models**	Strong theme - attesting importance of role models to personal development towards the formation of their personas. Influenced by others who think and behave similarly & are also outsiders. To adopt behaviours or rebel against them. Similar role models	**Giroux** (2001). Educators' histories affect thinking and action in edu. System (neoliberal) **Bourdieu Habitus/Capital-** carry developmental influences forward.

3. HIGHLY STRUCTURED, STRATEGIC, ORDERLY	Identifying outsiders as 'other'. Evidence suggests they are strategic thinkers with aims, acting as they will alone, & with others when it suits their aims. Happy to work in a structured & orderly way within institutions.	
4. SELF-SUFFICIENT, RESOURCEFUL, ADAPTABLE- AS STRATEGIC	As outsiders they are not always included or exclude themselves, where they feel they do not belong/feel different and find their place. They decide what they can do what they are not allowed to do, and find resourceful ways around, and adapt recognised ways to 'appear' correct. They have very strong values that they are 'determined' to try and achieve	**Bourdieu, Capitals-** Symbolic violence **Goffman** (1952) Cooling the Mark out (defining or being defined). Goffman: adaptation to failure, but your mavericks are not failing… quite the opposite. **Goffman** (1959)
5. WEARER OF DIFFERENT ROLES	Is the role adopted, or essential? Understand themselves as adopting and wearing different roles within the various contexts of education, needing to conform and be seen to conform. They do not conform, but wear the respectable face of conformity which legitimates them. There is a suggestion that the face of the margin actor is also welcomed in a rigid and conformed system, where it moves close to the borders of acceptability but does not cross it.	**Goffman** (1959) Face. The wearing of different faces is discussed within the theatrical metaphor. The theatre is the context, and the face is argued only within the context, where there is no true self. **Bakhtin** (1984) carnivalesque. They take co-participants to liminal territories?
6. OUTSIDER with 'SYMBOLIC' PERSONA	inhabiting own worlds. Some understand themselves within symbolic & metaphorical personas to express creativity and outsiderness, to cope, & enable them to live out their 'maverickness'. A counter argument to Goffman, I argue that some are the same genuine actor on and off the educational stage.(This relates to the TENSIONS theme, also). Evidence suggests reality is lived through metaphor & symbolism.	**Goffman** (1959) Face. **Bakhtin** (1984) carnivalesque

TENSIONS

TENSIONS (from Thematic analysis)		
	An overarching theme of personal struggles causing certain thinking and behaviours. Awareness of a fine line of legitimacy, and evidence of practices suggests this.They emanate from my story & are evidenced in the data.	**Foucault** (1984): subject-object conflicts

POWER RELATIONS & EMPOWERMENT

POWER RELATIONS (from Thematic analysis)		
7. **AS WILLING & WILFUL COMPROMISERS WORKING WITH OTHERS** **Perceived self-persona within educational context**	RULE KEEPERS, RULE BENDERS. Hard to place where they adhere to their roles as responsible educators. **They have a negotiated role** with management and colleagues/students**.** Strong, wilful aims-willing to compromise, work with others, serve students and create & maintain order within education systems. The compromise they accept as part of their practice.	**Bourdieu, Foucault:** structure v agency
8. **USE THEIR POSITION WITHIN THE ARTS, ART & DESIGN SECTOR TO ENABLE THEIR BEHAVIOURS**	**They accept the role because the institution says they should.** The sector (despite encroaching neoliberalism) offers levels of autonomy to practice discreet 'unauthorised' activities, which pass camouflaged under the radar. Allows discussion & more creative adopted behaviours. Pushing boundaries justified by the sector & in accomplishment they build a track record.	**Relates to the sector and neoliberal encroachment on it.**
9. **THEY ARE VISIONARY & CATALYSTS OF CHANGE**	**Dreaming & dynamiting** to bring about change, with catalyst examples.	Possibly Creative destruction?
10. **TAKE RISKS, PLAY GAMES TO ACHIEVE GOALS**	**How do they do it?** All may do this, but shows constant strategic gameplaying & risk-taking to play the system. E.g symbolic adoption of persona & behaviours to outwork- jester and foolishness. Foolish vulnerability- gets students onside & increases respect. Seek recognition in role to legitimise behaviour and allow acceptability, underpinning good learning etc .	**Foucault:** centre/counter discourse. Turning of categories used to oppress to categories for empowerment. **Goffman**(1959)EDUCATIIONAL THEATRE & THE ARCHETYPAL FOOL. **Bakhtin** (1984) Carnivalesque-subversions as legitimate.
ATTITUDES TO EDU. POLITICS/SYSTEM		
11. **KEEN TO WORK WITH OTHERS / NETWORKERS**	Keen to undertake projects, work with others, instigate new projects benefitting students and enhancing their reputation. Evidence shows **insider outsider** nature fluctuates- sometimes favouring supporting the internal systems, other times preferring educational and industry models outside.	**Hammond** (2017) 'Creative Tacticians'

	Working with other agents encouraged – most practitioners do this	
12. **THEY ARE POLITCALLY ACTIVE**	Some participants directly affected by Thatcher- **Thatcher Effect**- affects their attitudes,, their involvement in politics, patterns of socialism aligning to practices of education, resistance to neoliberalism and its encroachment.	**Bourdieu** Habitus / capital-useful here.
13. **THEY RESIST BUT ALSO SURRENDER TO THE SYSTEM**	They actively resist aspects of the system and subvert it in their behaviours, but surrender to it, when it suits. Are they acting in defence? Strategy, resistance?	**Goffman, de Certeau, Foucault.**

EMPOWERMENT (from Thematic analysis)		
1. **THEY ACTIVELY INSPIRE**	In their combined inimitable actions of working within the system and outside of it, they are visibly active, committed and inspire. The key is that they work inside and outside the system. Others inspire but not in the same playful and flexible way as 'mavericks'. Their approach creates inspirational empowerment From self-reports: participants describe being inspired by their teachers, and they describe how they inspire others (students, colleagues).	**Foucault – dividing practices-** subjective expressions create agency and objective expression which produces, according to Foucault's theory, power without conflict.
2. **THEY ARE CATALYSTS WHO EFFECT CHANGE**	Open new possibilities through risk-taking, gameplaying, doing things in their ways. These are accepted into the academy when/if beneficial to the system. They use their flexibility of roles inside and outside of the institution to change practices. Evidence in the data reveal that most have other professional, creative roles and bring them into the academy, although these are common in the sector and not necessarily maverick, but they use their visible role and perception as mavericks to their advantage.	**Goffman** Practices are recognised for their benefits- undertaken with authenticity of role and integrity understood as being ontologically the 'true self'. Evidence suggests this is consistently demonstrated through epistemological practices

8. Making it up!
Rule-keeping; rule-breaking; rule-making

The time taken to analyse the participant narratives shaped three further categories which were used to define the potential mavericks.

1.   Making up the rules

Rule dominance in the HE managerial environment and how the data showed particpants make up their rules.

2.   Compliance

Complying and not complying, what influences these choices, and the internalising of dissent.

3.   Strategies

Thinking, drawing on 1 and 2, to plan and outwork behaviour.

In an excerpt from my journal, I recall my perception of HE teaching and the relationship of rules to practices when I entered the profession over thirty years ago and how the experience still offers me permission to choose my own rules. At that time, I was unaware of education being transformed using a neoliberal business model, nor, in those early days, did I have any concept of the constraint of neoliberal management – 'knowledge economy and knowledge capitalism' (Olssen and Peters, 2005) – and I was allowed to pass on what I knew with little understanding of, or training in, pedagogic practices. Fortunately, I had an aptitude to teach and good mentors to guide me, and out of ignorance I applied my creativity and flexible approach to the subject to make up the rules of art and design teaching. It was a world away from the structures of management and styles that now dominate, and which have changed educational attitudes and practices beyond recognition. I consider the pros and cons in a reflective journal extract:

HE is not the same place I joined over thirty years ago, or at least this is how I interpret it. Back then the assumption was that my role in teaching was to pass on my skills to students keen to learn them, and at the very end of the year, assess progress. My monitoring of student progress was almost non-existent and project briefs weren't mapped to an assessment framework, or not that I knew of anyway; briefs were merely covering aims and objectives, and the level of accomplishment scored the grades, which were not effectively moderated either. I can confidently say that I simply made up the rules of teaching my subject, and in my part-time role this was common practice with tutors. There was a lot wrong with this system, few rules existed that I had to actually follow, but the students followed the projects creatively and flexibly and progressed their learning into the working world. Grants and funding streams kept students afloat, and the government paid tuition fees. There would always have been something to complain about within the system, and I'm certain that beyond my ignorance managers tightly managed the purse strings and creatively administered budgets, yet education in a space to indulge, still felt like unconstrained learning, with no concern for the world of commerce, either costed to education or concerning the students' futures in the working world. It is a much tighter system that I now work in. I attend the meetings, take notes, plan the lessons, do as I am told and seek to provide the data asked for, but how I get there is my business, and I still enjoy making up the rules. When I am asked to do things a certain way, I do them my way and just don't say anything. What matters is that the results are good and that the students have achieved what they were meant to. I change the lesson plan and still seek alternative ways to teach, just as I did all those years ago. I am bombarded with emails on how I should do things, have forms to fill out to track my progress in a particular way, but I am as passionate now as I was back then, just with more knowledge and experience, and I'll continue to work things out in my way.

Despite the dominant rule of neoliberal management in the HE sector, and many doing as they are told within their role to fulfil the capitalist aims and ambitions of HE, evidence revealed that some educators manage their roles in the institutional context by making up their own rules, and in so doing create a resistant counter-narrative through discussion and action of what Foucault terms 'regulated communications' (1982a, pp. 218-219). I entered a very different career role to the one I now outwork in an institution that was not then heavily regulated and which did not seem to let students down despite little tracking or tutor responsibility to reach or maintain targets. What is apparent is that this kind of approach is not without purpose or structure and I recognised that

'mavericks' are merely seeking an alternative to make up the rules based on experience, to do things which they know are correct, despite being told otherwise. The theorists' works reinforced and supported the notion. Foucault's expression of there being power in knowledge (1984) and sharing the knowledge in pedagogic contexts backs up the participants' (all experienced, mid-career professionals) desire to engage in the learning process in a personal way, but responsibly and with clear aims. Wisdom Smith makes up the rules of running his department based on Lewis Hyde's gift economy (1983). Gifting as a system of management subverts the capitalist ideologies running our education systems, and these have proved to be an inspirational and inclusive motivation, and an alternative to creating wealth to run a department. In Bourdieu's terms this kind of 'capital' is not one being traded by those in power, and it becomes powerful as it repositions educator players in the field to get a 'feel for the game' using 'practical mastery' to flexibly manage where such practice only 'obeys certain regularities' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 64).

Being intuitive

Another aspect is being intuitive. Not exclusive to 'maverick' educators, but not dismissed where it has enabled non-compliant (maverick) behaviour. Its expressions include not following the lesson plan (Mary Bond), loosely sharing thought-up options with students (Wisdom Smith), daydreaming to realise inspirational aims (Kyle James) and abstract thinking to plan unique non-standard lessons (I.G.). Such a radical approach has highlighted that mavericks are happy to push boundaries where they believe that others in HE wouldn't dare to. Intuitive learning might rightfully then be put in the maverick category as being a marginal, uncommon approach.

Liminal space and jestering

Is it possible to operate in a personal way according to one's own rules in a university context where rules and policies are established by management and expected to be heeded? 'Mavericks' navigate spaces to challenge the overbearing nature of management with more playful, pedagogic approaches, and they are not always fully respected or considered to be correctly working in line with management. This can be interpreted as not culturally acceptable having not moved through the correct 'rites of passage' (Gennep,1960; Turner 1967) and as a result, their actions are not understood. Interestingly, their behaviours are allowed where results produced in the learning are acceptable. It is the methods of teaching and learning that are not openly endorsed, being neither in nor out of what is considered correct. It is ambiguous. Working in the liminal space is a maverick finding where it provides the means to make up the rules, and unwritten permission to do so exercising acceptable, playful or 'foolish' attitudes within the teaching context. Explored through Bakhtin's carnivalesque theory (1984), the context of the classroom is defined as a place of democracy in sharing power and of realising that there are many individual performances and conversations, which collectively operate in the liminal space. It is the opposite of being instructed in the rules from a single, overarching managerial source. This finding is critical in establishing a place to consider making up rules as an act presented from behind a carefully constructed guise known as 'face' and interpreted by a group or in a unique, personal way termed the 'region' (Goffman,1959). I am developing the exploration of liminal space by positioning it within my own understandings of how to gain strength to be playful through character construction, e.g. that of the jester. Living out of the metaphor and interpreting the symbolic meaning within empowering pedagogic practice is an experience I realise I share with I.G. who puts on the 'Baron' as a permission to play and push a 'line'

of acts (Goffman, 1959) across the boundaries of HE contexts and to act with greater flexibility. Where it is risky is when there is a misunderstanding of intention, or where the context is wrong, and I have realised this to have been a strong possibility on the day I was accused of being a maverick.

Compliance

Mavericks defined in the study have shown themselves to exhibit both compliant and non-compliant behaviour and evidence reveals their attitudes in choosing how they behave, as rooted in past experiences (Bourdieu, 1984,1992), judgements of selfhood in constructing their own identities and expectations put on them by others (Becker, 1963, 1970). They internalise their dissent (Foucault) and powerfully outwork it in positive ways, which can change the lives of those working in HE and alter the way things are done. Relating to habitus theory in the field (Bourdieu, 1984) it enhanced my understanding.

Having always felt like an outsider prompted me to consider whether others displayed these characteristics too. Being told I was a maverick is what caused me to pursue my inquiries. Feeling that being working class impedes ambition to managerial levels caused Anna King to adopt innovative strategies to change power relations under her management. For some participants negative parenting caused rebellion and the adoption of counter-attitudes, but parents also positively instilled confidence and a desire to change participants' circumstances. The effect on choosing to comply with the rules or not comply is profound, based on vivid accounts, especially where teachers as role models confirm the finding that unpredictable and anti-conformist behaviours (Hammond, 2017) have been reproduced, and impressionable behaviours reveal that mavericks behave as they do because other mavericks showed them how to. Goffman, terms a special relationship between teacher and student as 'idealisation' (1959) and this is shown in Carole Morgan's underlying principles of trust and aspiration in the classroom, but also has further reaching implications in Wisdom Smith repeating his tutor's practice of mixing academic disciplines (not encouraged by his university management) to enhance cross-departmental learning and create a successful catalyst for university-wide curricular change on his terms.

Strategies

Having identified maverick characteristics and how they were established, I considered how they behave in their institutional, educational contexts to ascertain an effect on neoliberal HE environments. All educators manage their roles and pedagogic performances very differently to be effective in teaching and learning, but I return to the liminal concept as an allowable space. Alexandr Petrovsky and Wisdom Smith actively seek to occupy a gap between their insular academic practices and education established outside of formal HE institutions. These include community learning, learning online or training in the workplace, closely aligning these sites to Henri Giroux's (2000) notion of educators as cultural workers crossing borders. Petrovsky is critical of the meaningless of neoliberal HE systems and language that cannot be pinned down or held accountable to vacuous practices. I call the strategy employed to position mavericks in the space *insider-outsiderness,* as it suggests being in a liminal space, but it transcends metaphorical associations being converted into robust strategies as catalysts for change. I.G. takes his quirky pedagogic practices into community art schools (Turps) which do not have to compete with targets and tracking to be recognised, whilst remaining firmly established as a necessary and quirky educator in a neoliberal-run institution. Wisdom Smith has shown the constructive nature of insider-outsiderness, teaming with supermarkets to promote students' learning, then to fund his department, bought resources and

teachers, and ultimately operated autonomously of central management. Having established a framework, he paired external science and arts sponsors to mixed science and humanity student groups to produce a stunning catalyst model for academic writing which has been adopted by management. This is a clear example of maverick strategies eliciting powerful change in management practices.

Less obvious nuances were found in the participants being pragmatic, orderly in their practices and carefully structuring their actions. They tell of working with others to set out (their) rules and agreeing to come under established rules when it is right to maintain credibility and hold what Goffman terms the 'party line' (1959). But they also counter this with game-playing and with taking risks which could affect credibility. The astuteness of strategic planning helps to mitigate the risk of 'tactics', a noteworthy example being Wisdom Smith's poetry stunt when he sought approval of the Vice Chancellor before causing a calculated, morally-driven upset. Kyle James has outlined his intentions of moving people's expectations and challenging their attitudes with performance methods that do not match those commonly used in the health sciences department, and Anna King actively sought to break down dominant management hierarchies.

Mavericks and empowerment

In defining mavericks I reveal a strong desire to be empowered and to empower. Playing the field of power in HE, vying for position and seeking to enhance lives are necessary. Wisdom Smith has shown this to require a collective coming together, sharing the discourse, and being prepared to make changes and take risks together. Carole Morgan has shown specifically how the desire to empower others, take risks with conventional library practices, and go ahead without necessarily seeking permission to do so, can be effective and even change practices under institutional management. Empowering lives through learning is not maverick, it is every educator's duty to do so; it is how it is navigated through risky or unconventional strategy and tactics that seems to define it. At the point of direct contravention to the rules and where responsible behaviour is being questioned, the maverick plan can stall, a classic example being where I allowed students to walk the high (it was low!) wire at the circus.

9.   What next? In conclusion

This paper unearths real issues occurring in the HE sector and highlights problems for those who wish to determine their own approach to working within the system, or develop new transformative practices by way of intricate strategies to present a face that fits into a perceived role but might be masking unconventional practices in the actual role. The critical pedagogists provide a frame for maverick exploration, especially Henry Giroux's discourse (1992) which reframes educators as cultural workers who are resistant to managerial expectations and whom he defines as working under constraint and in contestation but also looking beyond institutional confines for the power to outwork their professional roles.

The neoliberal system attempts to align a wide range of interpretations of the meaning of university, its knowledge production, research and transference through 'knowledge economy and knowledge capitalism' (Olssen and Peters, 2005). Under neoliberal constraints there is order and mavericks can find a means within this system of addressing educational benefits of knowledge acquisition and research. Education can link to business in a capitalist world, but it needs to be balanced, so mavericks and maverick behaviour needs to be there to assert alternatives to the ideology.

I argue from the literature that educators are held accountable for their efforts in the workplace and put under increasing pressure to conform to models that do not uphold or promote the best

interests of HE. To survive in the competitive global markets, universities must now run as businesses, trading students as commodity and currency, treating them as customers and returning them to markets of employability to perpetuate capital interests and wealth.

The sheer complexity of possibilities that exist in institutional HE is nuanced in practices and tricky power relations with colleagues and students as they take place beneath hierarchical levels of systemic management. Attempting to understand the rules and the reasons for their existence, and then realising that the rules alter as contexts change, makes it very hard to define exactly who a maverick might be, what makes a person maverick, and how their behaviour affects others. It is possible that no educator does exactly as they are instructed all the time, so does this mean that everyone is potentially maverick? With so many variations the term 'maverick' might never be truly defined.

Finding commonalities, affirming them in our shared stories, understanding them through theoretical knowledge and constructing our identities based on collective characteristics is now vital. It is important to resist neoliberal management ideologies which do not promote the best interests of education, even to 'evangelically' pass on to colleagues and students what it means to understand the representations and roles of self, communicate clear intentions, work strategically and, as far as possible, do what is meaningful with integrity and refuse and dismiss what is meaningless. Behaving in this way can help us to access a critically reflective and cathartic approach to who we are as educators and who others are to us, as we work together navigating shared educational goals.

A final summation and definition of educational mavericks:

Mavericks are compliant and non-compliant

Mavericks are compliant and non-compliant, choosing to uphold the rules or create their own as they align to carefully worked-out strategies of purpose (strategies will be discussed later). To work inside the system requires an adherence to it, and data has showed a willingness to work with the rules, to establish the right face in role, to change role to match expectations and perform according to them, and then – with credibility established – work where appropriate to a personal agenda. So, mavericks work alone, and they work with others. At management level there were examples of gaining permission from the Vice Chancellor to perform an unusual and potentially upsetting act. This identifies an important finding that mavericks engage in resistant behaviour (opposing the rules) and often do so by including others, even persuading others to adopt their behaviours. Discourses of power establish the resistance, confirmed in Foucault's work, where systems or networks of societal relations create power and resistance and not a relation between oppressed and oppressor, where individuals are not just objects of power, but form a resistance to it.

Mavericks are outsiders and succeed through role models and risk-taking

Feelings of rejection and self-rejection affect compliance as found in data. One result of rejection has been interpreted as outsiderness, coming out of childhood experiences and a perception of self that ultimately positions mavericks differently in relation to colleagues. Bourdieu's habitus theory (1980, 1986) endorses my belief that outsiderness and feeling 'other' are strong determinants of the maverick character and have much to do with upbringing and background. I have never forgotten the importance of my role models: my father making up his own rules despite being a chief police officer, nor the inspiration of teachers who did things differently. This is a strong shared theme, and it turned the HE practices of Mary Bond, Carole Morgan, Anna King and Wisdom Smith on their heads.

Mavericks reproduce the behaviours of their role models where they recognise success. In the most successful cases, such as Smith, integration of departments and autonomy of funding creates a catalyst not instigated by management, and now successfully implemented across a university. Holding a role in senior management that is established on the notion (from a mother) of being working class. This is not maverick, but feeling that working class individuals could not deserve the position of management engendered behaviours is worked out through risk-taking strategies with workers at a lower level. Thus, a desire to make up the rules could side-step management level and be implemented in the HE environment. At a lower level, Bond and Morgan (in my study) transferred the passion and energy experienced through parental role models (some positive, some negative experiences) to nurturing their students. This is not necessarily a maverick attribute until coupled with risk-taking and uncommon practices.

Mavericks intuitively make up the rules and play them out in liminal spaces

Evidence is strong concerning practices which follow personal intuition, of daydreaming, having vision, working in the moment based on a confidence of knowledge and experience and making up the rules as a result. Revising lesson times, abolishing formal, targeted lesson plans, and shelving successful models to try new ones are all examples. To achieve success, my participants talked about doing so in 'spaces' which were legitimately accepted, although not officially endorsed. This confirmed my early belief that management were willing to occasionally accept transgressive behaviour, where it does not harm their objectives and where it brings success to them. A good way to describe this concept is through metaphor and Bakhtin's (1984) carnivalesque theory. The carnival as a playful event for the enjoyment of all, a procession where all performers have different roles and none is better or greater than the other is crucial to it being accepted, where its principles are not chiefly hierarchical. They are all necessary and are allowed to behave as they do in this 'liminal' space, a place explained by Gennep (1960) and Turner (1967) as being uncomfortable and transitional where, for a time, status is changed for an individual or social group. This 'rite of passage' for those not fully initiated in transition to a legitimate space is culturally understood and accepted. Constructing a character offers permission to make up the rules, instils personal confidence and offers boundaries for the character construct. I used the Jester (metaphor and alter-ego) to help me to come to terms with how I feel and behave and to problematise and connect difficult concepts and establish theoretical perspectives. It also confirmed the importance of constructivism as part of my methodology.

Mavericks work in transition; they feel uncomfortable, confident that they know who they are, but unsure of how others might perceive them or react to them. Attributes such as single-mindedness, wilfulness, persistence, vision, foolishness and game playing, alter-ego, creativity and performative pedagogies, team working, pragmatism, empowerment and equality can be developed in the liminal space. They are protected by liminality and can outwork their ambitions there, returning to the acceptable ones when it is necessary to do so. Occasionally having freedom makes it more palatable to do as told, and I believe these to be reasons why they constantly make themselves up or are made up by others.

Mavericks are strategic in the HE context

The consolidation of mavericks performing in role, making up the rules and exercising varying levels of compliance and non-compliance is in strategic planning and outworking through tactics. Mavericks meticulously plan their courses of action, with a full awareness of their environment. This is

supported by Foucault's power/knowledge theory (1982), that they act to harness power where they have the knowledge to engage in it and use it to advantage. Understanding the nature of the ongoing paradox of being a part of the system but also working against it, coined in my work by the term 'insider-outsiderness', where Smith and Petrovsky identified their work in partnering the HE management, but also working with outside agencies. Petrovsky identified this as a way of breaking down the meaninglessness of language and practices being operated under neoliberalism. At the time of interview these practices were less common than they are now.

Mavericks empower

With strategies in place, and by getting others – students and colleagues – onside, mavericks succeed and change others' lives; I dare to suggest they empower them. Data in my study reveals no issues of mavericks in HE being deliberately destructive, and their motivations and values were strongly articulated as drivers of maverick intention. The best examples of maverick practices created catalysts for improvement that were praised and implemented within the frameworks, which vitally demonstrates why mavericks need to be accepted and even encouraged.

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