



PALGRAVE STUDIES  
IN LEADERSHIP AND  
FOLLOWERSHIP

# INCLUSIVE LEADERSHIP



NEGOTIATING GENDERED SPACES

EDITED BY  
**SUJANA ADAPA**  
**ALISON SHERIDAN**



# Palgrave Studies in Leadership and Followership

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Leadership has traditionally been defined as a process where by an individual exerts influence over a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. While earlier theories placed the leader at the center of the model, only recently has the other actor in the picture, the 'follower,' become a focus for significant research and exploration. Within this context, however, the follower is still largely seen as a recipient of the leader's influence and power, who is subservient and passive, rather than as an organizational agent in his own right. Palgrave Studies in Leadership and Followership aims to bring the follower-centric leadership approach to the fore. It is based on the premise that followers are largely proactive sense-makers who react in different ways to leadership and to change management. Adding value to leadership theory as well as organizational behavior literature, this series situates leadership in the eye of the beholder, exploring how followers make sense of leaders and leadership, and what impact this has on their own identity, work relationships, the leader and the firm.

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Editors

# Inclusive Leadership

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*To all inclusive leaders!*

# Foreword

## Introduction

Despite the continued interest in female leadership, both in theory and practice, the number of women in high leadership positions remains disappointingly low. The recent *Forbes* list of the most powerful people in 2016 reveals that only two of the ten people deemed most powerful are female (Angela Merkel, Germany's Chancellor, and Janet Yellen, the chair of the Federal Reserve). The entire list of 74 contains only six women. In its almost 90-year history, the *Time* person of the year has only been given five times to a woman. Does that mean that women still do not make it to powerful positions, or are still perceived as less powerful? Or both?

Even when women make it into top-level positions, the discourse around them is often highly gendered, an example being 'trousergate' involving British Prime Minister Theresa May wearing a pair of leather trousers at an interview and being labelled 'out of touch' as a consequence. While one might agree with this statement, an item of clothing is less likely to be the focus of discussion for male political leaders (though, in fairness, opposition leader Jeremy Corbyn is also a target of cloth-related comments). Hillary Clinton has been equally targeted during her election campaign for being too male and too female. Recognizing all the

inequalities and double standards surrounding what women leaders face when they get dressed each morning, fashion writer Robb Young explores 50 women leaders and their “power style” in his 2011 book. Young argues that “power dressing” is an apt metaphor for the ambiguities and potential controversies wrapped up in women’s dressing, and highlights how women both succeed and fail at using their image in their careers and causes.

Research has consistently shown that the stereotypical leader is still male. The “Think-Manager-Think-Male” (Schein 1973, 1975) bias has been repeated again and again in different countries for over more than 40 years. While there is a little movement toward the direction of less-gendered stereotypes (but see Braun et al. 2017), probably due to changed ideas about leaders (see Eagly et al. 2003, on transformational leadership violating the gender role less), it still seems that most people think of men first when they hear the word ‘leader.’ For example, Schyns et al. (2013) found using a drawing exercise that 55% of participants drew a male leader as opposed to under 6% who drew a female leader (others drew neutral images or symbols). In addition, there is evidence that standard organizational processes act against women who attempt to move ahead. For example, Exley et al. (2016) found that in ambiguous career situations, when women were not sure what was expected in negotiations, or when expectations were “murky,” women—more than men—experienced a backlash that hurt their future career prospects. As a result, simply asking women to “lean in” and be as assertive as their male counterparts may work to exacerbate existing gender inequalities given inequities in organizational systems (see Bligh and Ito 2017).

There is also evidence to show that women are evaluated less positively for showing gender congruent communal behaviour, while men are rewarded for gender incongruent communal behaviour (Heilman and Chen 2005). That is, when women help others, they confirm the stereotype; however, when they do not do so, they violate the stereotype and are “punished.” Men, on the other hand, are not punished for not showing communal behaviours but are rewarded if they do (Heilman and Chen 2005). Similarly, Hekman et al. (2016) found a backlash effect for women when they supported diversity by hiring other women or minorities:



Their evaluations go down, while white men receive higher evaluations for doing the same. This is interesting when thinking about changing images of leaders: Does that mean that women will also not be rewarded with leadership positions when they conform to the changing leader stereotype?

Research into the glass cliff (Haslam and Ryan 2008; Ryan and Haslam 2005, 2007; Ryan et al. 2011) shows that even women who are making it to the top are disproportionately promoted into precarious positions. That is, they are appointed when a company is not doing well, either to show ‘radical change’ or perhaps because men are less likely to take such a position given they are more likely to have a choice. In such positions, of course, the likelihood to ‘fail’ is much higher than in leadership positions in a company that has been doing well.

There are still areas of leadership where women find it notoriously hard to make progress at all, even well into the twenty-first century. For example, in the popular sport of football (soccer) female managers are almost entirely missing, although it is unclear why female managers would not be equally qualified for this job. In politics, the potent combination of media biases and voter stereotypes have proven prohibitive for gender equality (Bligh et al. 2012), with nations making the most progress usually instituting gender quotas to resolve systemic underrepresentation. Across industries, nations, and different sectors of society, women have broken the proverbial glass ceiling, but only rarely in the more powerful, wealthy, and feminized sectors. Stated differently, even in industries dominated by women in the non-profit and educational sector, it is still rare to see more than a small minority of women leaders who have succeeded in making it through the cracks, and their success is still compensated less than their male counterparts (Eagly and Carli 2007).

Given the picture of female leadership emerging from theory and practice, a book dedicated to a deeper look into the dynamics surrounding female leadership is certainly timely. The authors contributing to this book cover a wide range of gender and leadership related topics. They explore, through case studies, qualitative techniques, and theoretical considerations, the way female leadership is constructed by leaders, followers, and other stakeholders and what that means in different types of

leadership contexts. This book offers an interesting alternative perspective of the gendered nature of leadership, and challenges us to confront the reality of a world in which the glass ceiling may have been broken, but where the path for women who aspire to leadership positions remains fractured and obscure.

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# Preface

Research in the field of leadership is constantly evolving with new approaches and applications in business studies. Implicit in traditional definitions of leadership in Western literature is a white, male leader, exercising power over others. More recent representations of leadership challenge this gendered, leader-centric approach and recognise followers as critical to the process of leadership, and the importance of inclusivity. Inclusive leadership embraces fairness and respect towards a diverse range of talent irrespective of stereotyping; it focuses on values and belonging and places emphasis on high performance through confidence and inspiration. Leaders and followers co-exist socially in the process of leadership, and the influence of followership cannot be underestimated in order to understand the full extent of leadership.

The presence of women in leadership roles has increased in the recent past, yet women are under-represented in leadership positions in comparison to their male counterparts. Women have often been devalued in a leadership context, tainted with a stigmatised status of low power characterised by stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. Furthermore, the association of women with communal characteristics and men with agentic characteristics are pervasive in the maintenance of the gender stereotypes that women take care and men take charge.

How can existing gendered spaces be navigated and negotiated by women and men, as leaders and followers, to foster inclusive leadership

for organisational effectiveness is the challenge we set for our authors, and they have responded in diverse ways, drawing on both empirical and conceptual work to argue their viewpoints. Together, they contribute to a deeper understanding of how inclusive leadership is being or could be practised in different cultural and occupational contexts, taking a gender lens to their analysis and reflecting on the leader-follower dynamics. From the very personal to the theoretical, the chapters explore various perspectives on leadership, followership, gender, diversity and forms of inclusivity.

We have curated the edited volume by collating the empirical chapters in the first half, followed by the conceptual chapters in the second half. The empirical chapters begin with one that engages with the sharing of an individual's personal experience, followed by three that explore the themes emerging from interviews with targeted groups, one of which shows how inclusive leadership may be practised, while two point to the costs associated with the continuation of traditional, exclusive, forms of leadership. The final empirical chapter analyses the public narratives about an elite group of leaders, board directors.

The first of the conceptual chapters interrogates female masculinity to tease out the contradictions women face in the practice of leadership, followed by two chapters which engage with the leader-follower dynamic, drawing on different theoretical frames to advocate for the value of inclusive leadership, while the final chapter argues for a strategic inclusive leadership framework.

Collectively, the chapters deepen our understanding of the multiple dimensions to inclusive leadership and the associated leader-follower dynamics, as well as the costs of exclusive leadership. The authors draw on different methodologies, across different cultures (the UK, Australia and India) and different occupational contexts (media, non-profits, the military, small and medium accounting firms, and corporate boards) to provide a rich holistic understanding of inclusive leadership.

In Chap. 1, Helena Liu builds upon the work of Black Feminist Patricia Hill Collins in theorising on the inclusive forms of leadership. The concept of 'outsiders within' is used to interpret the leadership of a biracial multigenerational Chinese Australian woman chief executive officer (CEO) of a publishing company. Illustrating through the profile of one

leader in particular, who attempted to practise inclusive leadership in the face of her own exclusion in the organisational context and the broader society, this chapter presents the diverse and sometimes ambivalent ways of practising inclusive leadership. The chapter suggests looking towards people who are traditionally denied the title of 'leadership' for an ethico-politics of inclusion that resists the normalised power structures of leadership in order to reclaim self-defined identities, expose interlocking oppressions and redefine what it means to lead.

Chapter 2 presents the case of leadership practices in the non-profit sector in Australia. In this chapter, Theresa Smith-Ruig explores the leadership profiles of ten CEOs from health and community services organisations in Australia. The most common practice engaged in by leaders relates to their ability to inspire staff, or to 'create a story' about the vision of their organisation, which aligns with the focus on empowerment and collaboration aspects of inclusive leadership. This chapter shows how the male leaders demonstrated traits more associated with the communal or feminine orientation to leadership, again in line with inclusive leadership principles. The analysis of key findings raises the question whether the values-based nature of the non-profit sector lends itself to more inclusive leadership styles.

In Chap. 3, Derek McAvoy and Kevin Burgess investigate the structural and individual impediments faced by women seeking access to the highest organisational leadership echelons in the UK military. Their findings reveal a complex, dynamic interrelationship involving context, structure, agency and networks. The recursive relationship among these four components represents a rich mixture of cognitive interpretation, risk taking, opportunity recognition and the use of scarce resources. This chapter posits that female institutional leaders, despite the efforts to support their advancement, continue to face an exclusionary environment.

Another example of a failure to practise inclusive leadership is identified in Chap. 4, where Sujana Adapa and Alison Sheridan explore how owner-managers of small and medium-sized accounting firms in India practise leadership. Adapa and Sheridan find that the owner-managers of small and medium-sized accounting firms encourage or create exclusive gendered spaces in the organisation of work practices and lack core competencies associated with inclusive leadership.

In Chap. 5, Karen Handley, Anne Ross-Smith and Sue Wright analyse and compare the commentary about profiles and career pathways of newly appointed female and male directors, using publicly available data. The findings from this chapter reinforce one of the axioms of institutional theory, that is, the notion of isomorphism or homophily: the concept of like associating with like. Board director archetypes based on traditional masculine stereotypes are continuing to be reproduced, reinforcing a narrow and exclusive form of leadership.

In Chap. 6, we move to the conceptual chapters. Alison Pullen and Sheen Vachhani consider ‘female masculinity’ as a way of teasing out the tensions and contradictions implicit in current approaches to feminine leadership and the ways that they stress the competitive advantage of women in the workplace. In order to advance leadership thinking, Pullen and Vachhani argue that ‘feminine leadership’ requires being read as a contradictory site which promotes flexible and ambiguous portraits of gender and leadership. The authors conclude that closer attention to feminist ethics, especially a turn to understanding femininity and leadership as relational, allows us to explore and promote the possibilities of an ethical openness to otherness.

In Chap. 7, Heather Round focuses on how leaders and followers co-construct the creative identity which in turn impacts organisational outcomes. Overlaying this is the concept that certain gendered behaviours are more likely to facilitate the co-construction of the creative identity. This chapter demonstrates how leaders and followers, on an ongoing basis, construct a subjectively meaningful workplace and then act accordingly.

Chapter 8 elicits the complex interplay of structural factors that reproduce inequality in organisations. Drawing on Acker’s work, Jennifer Rindfleish demonstrates that they are so entrenched they have formed ‘inequality regimes’ that are highly resistant to change. In this chapter, she considers the characteristics of a healthy leader-follower dynamic, one that is open and authentic and focuses on merit, fairness and transparency in order to foster and enhance workplace equality.

In Chap. 9, Arash Najmaei makes the case that gender inclusivity is a fundamental yet ignored aspect of the strategic leadership paradigm and demonstrates how inclusivity can significantly advance the boundaries of

strategic leadership paradigm. This chapter explicitly points to the need for a more advanced view of how and why strategic leaders matter in building inclusive organisations and societies.

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## Series Note

Leadership has been defined as a process that involves exerting influence on followers (Yukl 2012). It is also said to consist of power dynamics in which leaders are bestowed authority and legitimate power by the organization, largely because of their technical, human, and conceptual skills (Katz 1955).

Earlier theories of leadership such as trait theory, or charismatic theory, placed the leader at the centre of the model. Followers were seen as recipients of a leader's influence and power, rather than as organizational agents in their own right, akin to devotees revering the leader as a God-like figure (Gabriel 1997). From the role-based perspective of a follower in a hierarchical setting, even the word 'follower' implies that the agent is subservient and passive (Katz and Kahn 1978).

More recently the 'other' actor in the picture, namely the follower, has become the focus of significant scholarly work (Baker 2007; Bligh 2011), including the follower's perception of the leader (Antonakis et al. 2017; Gottfredson and Aguinis 2016). 'It is now widely accepted that leadership cannot be fully understood without considering the role of followers in the leadership process' (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014, p. 88).

Based on the assumption that the identities of both leaders and followers are socially constructed, interlinked, and can transform each other

(Meindl 1995), this series intends to bring to the fore the follower as a largely proactive sensemaker who reacts to and shapes both leadership and organizational change. This merits deeper study, because the multifaceted and ever-changing follower identity is possibly more complex than was once thought (Collinson 2006).

Gaining deeper insight into followers' identity, sensemaking, and co-construction of leadership is essential for the advancement of leadership knowledge (Brown 2012) for several reasons:

- Followership determines how leaders are perceived (Carsten et al. 2010).
- Followership identity predicts how a follower will follow, which affects both individual and organizational outcomes (Dasborough et al. 2009).
- Followership predicts how a follower will lead (Koonce 2013).

This book series follows seven different perspectives of key components in the follower–leader dynamic. Each volume consists of empirical and conceptual chapters on leadership and followership, interspersed with a few chapters by practitioners in the first-person narrative style.

Each volume editor has chosen a specific aspect to explore in order to expand the full range of understanding of how followers shape leadership dynamics, largely from two levels of analysis:

1. Follower identity and behaviour at a micro level
2. Follower relationship with the leader at the dyadic level

What distinguishes this series from books in this domain is the distinct international appeal: The volume editors themselves span five countries (America, France, Australia, Canada, and India), and the research contributions are from scholars from all over the world. In fact, many of the volumes—such as on Authentic Leadership and Followership; The Dynamics of Role Modelling in the Workplace; and Inclusive Leadership: Negotiating Gendered Spaces—explore this topic specifically from international and diversity perspectives. This series also has a strong interdis-

ciplinary appeal, with the volumes drawing on perspectives spanning gender studies, philosophy, and neuroscience.

I have had the privilege of working with some fine scholars, who have worked diligently over the last few years to produce volumes, some of which are described below:

1. ***Servant Leadership and Followership: Examining the Impact on Workplace Behaviour*** 978-3-319-59365-4

**Editor: Crystal Davis**

Providing a deeper understanding of servant leadership and followership theory, this volume contributes to the literature on servant leadership and selfless service through the lens of the servant as a follower. The collection brings together both empirical and conceptual research from around the globe that showcases servant leadership from the viewpoint of the follower.

2. ***Distributed Leadership: The Dynamics of Balancing Leadership with Followership*** 978-3-319-59580-1

**Editor: Neha Chatwani**

Challenging the current definitions of leadership by exploring more inclusive and holistic paradigms, this volume contributes towards the current discourse on distributed leadership by examining this as an inclusive form of leader–follower engagement. Qualitative and quantitative studies showcase the dynamics of followership in distributive leadership, covering several themes such as collective decision-making, leadership identity, roles, and demographic composition of groups in a variety of settings and human development processes.

3. ***Inclusive Leadership: Negotiating Gendered Spaces*** 978-3-319-60665-1

**Editors: Sujana Adapa and Alison Sheridan**

Questioning traditional perceptions of a leader as white and male, this volume presents leadership from a gender equity lens and includes topics such as feminine leadership, leadership legitimacy, and co-creating creativity between leaders and followers. With contributions from scholars in Australia, India, and the UK, this volume also touches on diversity within these countries, for example Chinese migrants in Australia and Indian women accountants in Australia.

#### 4. *Authentic Leadership and Followership: International Perspectives* 978-3-319-65306-8

**Editor: Dorianne Cotter-Lockard**

Authentic leadership, albeit controversial, is a well-accepted form of leadership. Given that the characteristics of authentic leadership and followership are largely context specific, this volume explores leader–follower dynamics in different cultural contexts. This volume is divided into two broad themes: global perspectives, including chapters from the Middle East, Mexico, and South Africa, and conceptual perspectives, including chapters ranging from early career relationships to an existential perspective. The foreword to this volume has been written by Prof. William L. Gardner, a foremost expert on Authentic Leadership.

To conclude, this series situates leadership in the eye of the beholder, exploring how followers make sense of leaders and leadership, and the impact this has on follower identity, work relationships, the leader, and the firm. ‘Leadership is really not about leaders themselves. It’s about a collective practice among people who work together—accomplishing the choices we make together in our mutual work’ (Raelin 2015, p. 96).

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# List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACNC	Australian Charities and Not-for-profit Commission
ACOSS	Australian Council of Social Services
ACSC	Advanced Command and Staff Course
AICD	Australian Institute of Company Directors
AMP	Australian Mutual Provident Society ( <i>formally known as</i> )
ASX	Australian Securities Exchange
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAAC	Chartered Accountants Action Committee
CCO	Chief Creative Officer
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CInO	Chief Innovation Officer
EHRC	Equality Human Rights Commission
ESO	Executive Stock Options
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GICS	Global Industry Classification Standards
IAS	Indian Accounting Standards
IBM	International Business Machines
ICAI	Institute of Chartered Accountants of India
ICWAI	Institute of Cost and Works Accountants of India
IL	Inclusive Leadership
IPO	Initial Public Offering
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler

**xxx**      **List of Abbreviations**

LPI	Leadership Practices Inventory
M&A	Mergers and Acquisitions
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NPM	New Public Management
RAF	Royal Air Force
SLP	Strategic Leadership Paradigm
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
TMT	Top Management Teams
TTCT	Torrance Test of Creative Thinking
TWHP	The White House Project
UK	United Kingdom
WGEA	Workplace Gender Equality Agency
WOB	Women on Boards
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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# 1

## Leadership from the Margins: Practising Inclusivity with 'Outsiders Within'

Helena Liu

### Introduction

Proliferating prefixes of community-, shared-, peer-, thought- and self-leaderships in our culture have created the impression that anything and everything is leadership. This observation has led critics to suggest that leadership is an illusion of beautiful, seductive images constructed by theorists and practitioners to capture our desires and sell development programmes (Grint 2010; Liu and Baker 2016; Sinclair 2007; Śliwa et al. 2012). The inherent emptiness of leadership, however, provides a space where power can be exercised to decide whose interpretation of leadership matters most (Kelly 2014). As I have argued elsewhere (Liu 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Liu and Baker 2016), our enduring romance with leadership is in many ways a romance with white elite class masculinity. The subtle gendered, raced and classed ideals of 'leadership' mean that

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we have a tendency to venerate leaders for individualism, competition, aggression, rationalism and pragmatism, and to discount relationality, generosity and inclusion. Those who contravene the hegemonic models tend to be denied the mantle of leadership.

This chapter draws on the work of Black feminist, Patricia Hill Collins, to theorise on inclusive forms of leadership that are practised by those on the periphery of organisations and society. Locating her work in the experiences of Black women in the United States, Collins (1986) explores the sociological significance of people who occupy a marginal status and bear a unique standpoint on self, family and society. As ‘outsiders within’, Black women are sensitised to the interlocking systems of domination and their violence that often elude insiders, and seek to resist oppression through redefining themselves and their cultures (Collins 1986, p. S14).

Collins’ work suggests the potential for leadership to be practised within an ethico-politics of inclusion by studying the attempts to lead from those relegated to the margins. Demonstrating the power of Collins’ theory to transfer across different forms of marginalisation, I draw on her framework to analyse a study of Chinese Australian leaders and their practices of inclusive leadership in the face of their own exclusion in organisations and Australian society. Illustrating through the profile of one leader in particular, this chapter presents the ways another group of outsiders within can work to reclaim self-defined identities, expose interlocking oppressions and redefine what it means to lead.

The chapter first outlines Collins’ ‘outsider-within’ theory and discusses its implications for leadership studies. It then introduces the study of Chinese Australian leaders and offers the case of one participant to illustrate the diverse, and sometimes ambivalent, ways inclusive leadership is practised. This chapter concludes with the claim that to develop radically inclusive forms of leadership in relation with followers, we may look beyond the spotlights into the margins towards those who are practising leadership otherwise. The margins may serve as liminal spaces in which leadership practices that subvert exclusionary white masculinist norms can be practised.

## Outsiders Within in Leadership

Patricia Hill Collins' (1986) landmark theory of 'outsider within' has made a lasting intellectual and political impact on critical sociological inquiry. A key achievement of this conceptual contribution was that it subverted the taken-for-granted marginalisation of Black women's voices in the social sciences by articulating the sociological rationale for studying their experiences and other such forms of knowledge that were often overlooked (Baca Zinn 2012).

In developing the outsider-within theory, Collins (1986) reflected on the history of Black women's lives in the United States and the intimate yet marginal positions Black women have held as domestic workers in white households. She proposed that this balance between being 'insiders' of white families yet ultimately remaining 'outsiders'—the *outsider within*—offers Black women a unique standpoint from which to understand the self, family and society (Collins 1986).

The sustained exclusion of Black women's voices in sociology has historically produced solipsistic knowledge where white lives, interests and identities have been allowed to define what is considered normal and legitimate social science (Bonilla-Silva 2012; Grimes 2001; Leonardo 2009; Levine-Rasky 2013; Sullivan 2006). Collins (1986) challenged the devaluation of Black women's subjectivity and drew on the rich examples of Black women's art, intellectualism, community and culture to demonstrate the processes by which Black women assert their full humanity in spite of their dehumanisation in the wider society.

Collins (1986) offers three dimensions of Black feminist thought that bears importance for sociological analyses: (1) Black women's self-definition and self-valuation; (2) the interlocking nature of oppression; and (3) Black women's culture. First, Collins establishes that externally-defined stereotypes of people of colour pervade our cultures. Controlling images like the 'angry Black woman' are designed to denigrate Black women's assertiveness and mitigate the ways they may threaten the status quo. A key dimension of Black feminist intellectualism is to develop self-definitions of their identities and their own standards for evaluating Black womanhood beyond racist stereotypes.

Second, Black women's marginalisation in both the Civil Rights and the Women's Rights movements raised their awareness of the interlocking nature of gender, race, class and other axes of power. Their experiences revealed that the struggle for racial equality can overlook the patriarchal domination between Black men and Black women, while the struggle for gender equality can reproduce white domination and racism. From this perspective, social justice cannot be won on single axis issues. Also understood under the term intersectionality, Black feminist thought pioneered the analysis of simultaneous oppressions, turning their attention to the links between multiple systems of power (Collins 1986, 2012; Crenshaw 1991; hooks 1984, 2012).

Third, Black feminist thought has advanced social research that centres the lived experiences of Black women, illuminating their cultural practices around sisterhood and solidarity (Collins 1986). Embedded in the outsider-within theory is the assumption that one cannot separate the content of thought from the historical and material conditions that shape the lives of its producers (Collins 1986). In detailing the shared experiences and wisdoms of Black womanhood, Collins can be seen in some ways as deploying strategic essentialism (Spivak 2012). Strategic essentialism refers to the idea that social groups may philosophically reject the idea of stable, homogenous identities, but act as though they are for political purposes (Spivak 2012). The outsider-within theory articulates a shared identification for Black women around which they may unite and find solidarity among others who are marginalised (Mirza 2009; Nath Chakraborty 2004).

While the outsider-within theory was originally advanced to reclaim the epistemic authority of Black women and their intellectual activism towards social justice, the last three decades have shown the value of this theory in interpreting the experiences of other subdominant groups as well (Alimahomed 2010; Baca Zinn 2012; Baca Zinn and Thorton Dill 1996; Faifua 2010). Outsider-within identities can be found among groups of people who occupy spaces of unequal power attached to specific histories of social injustice (Collins 1999). The theory can thus help illuminate similar struggles for self-definition and self-valuation among marginalised people, while recognising the diverse histories among outsiders within that equip them with unique sets of oppressions and privileges.



Despite the influence of the outsider-within theory in sociology, Black feminist thinking in general is underutilised within leadership studies. The leadership literature remains predominantly confined to single axis perspectives of gender (for exceptions, see Bell et al. 1993; Essed 2000; Jean-Marie et al. 2009; Nkomo 2011; Parker 2005). Although research on gender and leadership has critically extended our understanding of white women's experiences as leaders in particular, we have yet to develop equally nuanced understandings of non-white people's experiences with leadership (Nkomo 1992; Ospina and Foldy 2009). Yet when race is left unacknowledged in studies of gender and leadership, despite focusing on the identities and experiences of white leaders, this silence reinforces the invisible dominance of whiteness as representing the human norm (Dyer 1997; Liu and Baker 2016; Sullivan 2006).

To apply the outsider-within theory to leadership scholarship would call for taking seriously the practices of groups who may be attempting to lead by their self-definitions and self-valuations, yet are externally denied the sanctified title of 'leadership'. To understand their exclusion from dominant ideals of leadership would also require analyses beyond the individual level to the systemic interlocking structures of power that have entrenched our historical association of legitimate leadership with white elite class masculinity (Grimes 2001; Liu 2015; Nkomo 1992; Parker 2005). Therefore if white elite class masculinist values of individualism, competition and aggression continue to characterise the 'sacred nature of leadership', so-called post-heroic values of relationality, collaboration and inclusion will prove to be unviable (Grint 2010, p. 103).

Accordingly, the outsider-within lens suggests that a necessary precursor to inclusive leadership may be to look towards marginalised groups and their alternate practices of leadership in order to challenge our dominant leadership ideals. Following Collins' (1986, 1999) argument that outsiders within need to be understood within the context of their social history and location, the next section outlines the history of Chinese immigration in Australia to show how dominant discourses of what it means to be Chinese Australian guided a study on the leadership identities of people who identify as such.

## Outsiders Within Among Chinese Australians

Following the Federation of Australia in 1901, Australia legislated a racial hierarchy through the White Australia policy, which limited the arrival of non-European immigrants and endorsed their deportation (Curthoys 2003). To shore up hostility against the growing number of Chinese immigrants who had first begun migrating to Australia from the Pearl Delta region of South China since the mid-1800s, controlling images of the 'yellow peril' appeared in public discourses (Ang 2003; Tan 2006). These images produced stereotypes of Chinese immigrants as smugglers, gangsters and licentious opium smokers, which served to construct the Chinese as a menace to an otherwise moral white society (Kuo 2013).

Since the abolition of the White Australia policy in 1973, contrasting discourses of a multicultural national identity have become increasingly widespread in a landscape of post-war immigration and globalisation (Jayasuriya et al. 2003). However, many scholars argue that the outward celebratory commitment to cultural diversity is predicated on an established hierarchy between white Australians and ethnic others (Banerjee and Linstead 2001). Under state-sponsored multiculturalism, Australians are encouraged to 'express and share their individual cultural heritage'; however, they are cautioned that they can only do so 'within carefully defined limits' while maintaining 'an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia' (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989, para. 4–5).

Whiteness thus remains at the centre of Australian multiculturalism and in the present neoliberal context, ethnic minorities are increasingly seen in terms of their economic value to a parochial and protectionist Australia (Ang 2003; Banerjee and Linstead 2001; Hage 1998; Jones 2003; Stratton and Ang 2013; Walsh 2012). Banerjee and Linstead (2001, p. 705) posit that multiculturalism serves as 'an alibi against racism as well as a criterion of cultural capital through the consumption of difference without any apparent interrogation'. Multiculturalism is hence not what Australia *is*, but what it *has* (Hage 1998).

In the last few years, the disproportionately low representation of people of Asian descent in positions of leadership has featured as a topic of public interest and debate. In July 2014, Race Discrimination

Commissioner Tim Soutphommasane suggested that a ‘bamboo ceiling’ may exist in Australia.<sup>1</sup> Although people of Asian descent comprise 12 per cent of the Australia’s population (Colebatch 2012), they represent only 1.9 per cent of the executives in Australia’s top 200 companies (O’Leary and Tilly 2014, p. 2).

A key impetus for this attention on racially diverse leadership in Australia is the imperialist discourses of globalisation that have emphasised the economic rise of Asia and expressed concern over how Australia can ‘seize the economic opportunities that will flow’ through trade partnerships (Commonwealth of Australia 2012, p. ii). Replete throughout the rhetoric of the bamboo ceiling is an emphasis on how organisations may better *use* ‘Asian talent’ (a term that depoliticises and individuates race into a personal capability) in the service of organisational profit and performance (O’Leary and Tilly 2014, p. 10). Even within ostensibly pro-diversity discourses that extoll the organisational benefits of racially diverse leaders, Asian people are constructed as docile bodies to be put to the service of corporate profit and performance (Liu 2016).

My biography informed my choice to conduct a study focussing on leaders who identify as Chinese, which currently represents the largest subgroup of Asian Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012). This focus allowed me to draw on our shared experiences and standpoint to facilitate dialogic engagement (Clough 1994; Denzin 2009). Four participants were initially found through existing professional networks, with additional participants engaged through snowball sampling, based on their attribution by the earlier participants as leaders and on their self-identification as Chinese and Australian.

In total, I conducted interviews with 21 participants (14 identifying as men and 7 as women) for the study between April and December 2014. Sixteen held middle to senior management positions in corporations, four held positions in government and one headed a social enterprise. While each interview lasted between an hour and three hours with a total of 29 hours and 45 minutes of formal recorded interviewing time, our time together usually involved extensive informal discussion over coffee before our interview, followed by dinner or lunch. The formal interviews began with a life history approach—‘tell me about your background,

your childhood, where you went to school and your memories growing up’—and then proceeded in an informal, unstructured way, allowing informants to choose which aspects of their life and career they wished the interview to concentrate on.

The diverse makeup of participants offered a vivid example of the plurality of those who are often lumped together under the homogenising banner of ‘Chinese’ in Australia. By including everyone who self-defined as Chinese Australian, participants reported diverse backgrounds, including those born and raised in mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, the United States and Australia and ranging from third-generation Chinese to recent migrants. At the same time, common patterns among the participants revealed the ways this homogenising categorisation shapes their standpoints (Ang 2014; Tan 2003). They recounted shared experiences of racism, while also acknowledging the disparate experiences of Chinese Australians across cultural, linguistic, class, gender, sexual, age and generational lines (Collins 2000).

When examining the participants’ identities from an intersectional perspective, it became apparent that not all Chinese Australians could be considered an ‘outsider within’ by virtue of their ethnic minority categorisation. Although each participant recounted various experiences of exclusion, the outsider within is not a decontextualised identity category to be claimed by anyone (Collins 1999). This was most evident among the recent first-generation migrant participants who came from middle-class families in China. Many arrived in Australia to undertake postgraduate degrees before moving into corporate roles after their graduation. While these participants nevertheless reported profound feelings of being an ‘outsider’, such as with language barriers or encountering mockery of their accents, the outsider-within status is necessarily embedded in social locations with histories of social injustice (Collins 1999).

The outsider-within identity was thus more resonant among multigenerational participants who lived in Australia during the White Australia era. I will now illustrate how the outsider-within identity emerged through the case of Andrea (pseudonym for the participant), a self-identified female, biracial CEO of a publishing company, and her attempts to practise inclusive leadership.

## Andrea

Andrea grew up as the eldest of three siblings in Western Sydney. Her father migrated from Hong Kong in his 20s and her mother arrived as a post-war refugee from Italy. Andrea recalls how a biracial family in Sydney was seen as alien by their community during the era of the White Australia policy. She was confronted with destabilising feelings of otherness, not only through her own experiences, but also that of her family:

*When I was younger I had very fair hair. My mother's blonde, she's got white blonde hair, green eyes, she's very fair. So when I was growing up my hair was light brown. My sister and my brother were much more Asian looking compared to me, so they got teased at school and I didn't. Never ever. ... In the suburbs in the '60s and '70s ... it was very unusual to really see anyone other than Caucasian people living in Sydney suburbs. ... My father tells stories of people who used to abuse my mother, call her names because she was married to a Chinese man. All of that used to happen in the '60s so it was very difficult for them. ... My sister, I remember when she was about five or six, she went to the bathroom after school one day and covered herself in white baby powder. Mum said, 'What are you doing?' She said, 'I want to be like Andrea'. Because I had fairer skin and I didn't get picked on and she used to get picked on.*

Although Andrea described being protected from racism due to her appearance as a child, she eventually experienced first-hand the sense of having otherness marked on her body in her career. In particular, she draws on the memory of being passed over for the editorship of a high-profile Australian women's magazine:

*I remember having a conversation at the end of my career as an editor with a publisher—who was a woman—about [the magazine]. They were looking for an editor, and I honestly believe that the reason I wasn't given that role was because of race. There was a real issue around [that] an editor needed to look like the audience and believing that the [magazine's] audience was extremely kind of a white, middle-class audience, which is interesting because twenty years earlier they actually had a male editor. So they could have a male editor, but they couldn't have—you know.*

Even after the White Australia policy had been abolished in 1973, Andrea's work in the media industry illuminated the white normalisation inherent in our culture. Normalisation refers to the ways in which whiteness 'silently imposes itself as the standard by which social difference is to be known' (Levine-Rasky 2013, p. 45). Thus despite our seemingly celebratory commitment to cultural diversity, critical sociologists have argued that whiteness remains at the centre of Australian multiculturalism (Banerjee and Linstead 2001; Hage 1998).

Normalisation is seen in the way markers of race are only applied to non-white people in everyday discourse, so that white people are not racially defined (Dyer 1997; Levine-Rasky 2013; Sullivan 2006). Being seen as unraced is a form of privilege, as white people are commonly accepted to speak for the commonality of humanity while raced people can only speak for their race (Dyer 1997). Andrea reproduces this normalisation herself when she points out that the publisher who passed her over was a 'woman', when she meant that she was a white woman. In the Australian context, whiteness is a given. Andrea began to realise this when she felt she was judged unfit to represent women readers because of her Asianness.

Although Andrea does not explicitly draw on the language of interlocking oppressions, her interview suggested a sense of being caught between the fault lines of gender and race. She recognises the assumption that men can be seen as legitimate leaders in a female-dominated industry and rise to the editorship of a women's magazine (also known as the glass escalator phenomenon; Williams 2013), but to her surprise, found herself excluded from the definition of an 'Australian woman' and denied the privilege of white normalisation.

Andrea further articulates the impact interlocking oppressions has on her marginalisation from leadership roles when a dominant single axis view means that gender is taken to be tantamount to 'diversity':

*One of the biggest problems with boards is that the Chair often wants to bring somebody else on who is like them and of course the people who are like them are white, middle-class men and so bringing on a white middle-class woman is already a big step. You bring on a different race and a woman and it's like, 'Oh my god, that's a huge step too much'. There are so few women from diverse backgrounds on these boards. ... When you see the women that they're taking, the background's the same. They all have the same degree, they're all from the*

*same kinds of companies and they are roughly the same age as well. They actually look the same. It's a really interesting thing. Diversity has to be more than gender. But I think for the time being that's about as diverse as boards are going to get.*

The outsider-within theory recognises that knowledge cannot be separated from the social and historical context of its production, calling on sociological theorising to seriously consider the cultural practices of outsiders within (Collins 1986). In a similar way, Andrea sees her leadership practice as being interwoven with her personal identity. She credits her marginal position as a biracial woman in developing more relational and transparent approaches to leadership that can seem foreign or unfavourable to her white male peers. Specifically, Andrea highlights her inclination to openly and regularly share details from her personal life with her employees:

*I learnt really early on, certainly during my days [as an editor], that if I talked about real experiences, either real experiences with people I work with or real experiences with people at home, that the response to that was more powerful. So people were much more interested if I wrote about something personal than if I wrote about something generic. ... I thought about not being as personal when I became the CEO ... my chairman said to me, 'You know, you might want to be careful what you write about'. I said to him, 'I'm never going to be, and I won't be, a white, middle-aged man CEO, I'm just not going to be that person. This is who I am so if I'm going to write articles about things like leadership issues, I'm going to write about my own experiences'. It's about being true to what I do. So I actually made a conscious decision to actually buck the trend of CEOs pulling back and not writing about anything personal and not speaking about anything personal.*

With a career in the media industry, Andrea demonstrated an acute awareness of the power of controlling images (Collins 1986, 2000). She expands on her earlier narrative about her difficulties of being recognised as an Australian woman, due to her race:

*I'm absolutely convinced that there is still a public persona issue around television. I've spoken at [industry functions where] the audience were Asian women, and they were asking me questions around media and saying that there are not many women who look like them [in the media]. ... They said that their*

*concern was that their representation as a race was in crime shows as criminals or the wives of criminals. That's it. That's the problem with the media representation of Asian women and Asian men ... it's a huge issue.*

Her position in the media industry however, gives her opportunities to directly influence those images, even if she has to contravene the directives of her board:

*At [a women's magazine], I actually put a half-Asian model on the cover and I was told not to. Back then I was literally told that Asian models don't sell, Black models don't sell, so during my time as the editor of [the magazine], I slipped in an Asian model on the cover and then also an Aboriginal model and I think I may well have been the first editor of [the magazine] to publish an Aboriginal model on the cover. So we used to play with it all the time. Certainly within the pages of the magazine we tried really hard to use diverse women. So even when I was told I couldn't put her on the cover, we put them through. So we took it very seriously.*

Despite professing to take 'very seriously' a leadership purpose towards inclusive and diverse representation of women of colour in her magazines, Andrea is more circumspect when she speaks to how inclusivity and diversity were reflected among her employees. She carefully avoids any intimation that a deliberate, political approach was taken in her recruitment practices:

*I had one experience, and I laugh about it now, in fact I was laughing about it with one of my former fashion editors a couple of weeks ago. Years ago when I was the editor of [a fashion magazine], without realising, one day I turned around and my entire fashion department were Asian and my fashion director came back from seeing a range of clothes and she said, 'You know what they're saying about you?' And I said, 'Oh no, what are they saying?' And she said, 'You've got to be Asian to be hired by you'. ... Of course, I just used to hire the best people and it just so happened. ... It wasn't until someone said it that I realised.*

Andrea's case suggests the risks for women of colour to be seen as engaging in an ethico-politics of inclusion. Such an approach may call



into question whether or not they are practising diversity within the state-sanctioned mandates and demonstrating their commitment to an implied White Australia (Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989). Thus while Andrea feels some safety in disclosing how she deliberately influenced media representations of women of colour during her past career as an editor, she is more circumspect about suggesting a similar concern for representation among her staff.

## Inclusive Leadership from Outsiders Within

Andrea's case as a self-identified Chinese-Italian-Australian woman CEO provided some insights into what it may look like to practise inclusive leadership from an outsider-within location. Grounded in Collins' (1986, 1999) landmark theory, this chapter has explored the ways Andrea's leadership could be understood through the analysis of self-definition and self-valuation, interlocking oppressions, and cultural practices.

In particular, Andrea acknowledged how her sense of self was shaped by white supremacist ideologies in Australia that valorised white female beauty and white moral superiority through historical colonial and anti-immigration discourses. With her career in the media industry, Andrea embedded her critical awareness of controlling images into her leadership purpose, exercising influence through her roles as an editor as well as through her public profile as one of the few Asian women leaders in Australia to challenge stereotypical representations of Asian women as criminals, gangsters and 'dragon ladies' (Tajima 1989; Uchida 1998). Andrea saw her promotion of self-definitions as producing a more hospitable environment for other Asian women.

Andrea initially held a single axis perspective from which she assumed it would be unproblematic for her to pursue the editorship of a women's magazine. Her rejection from that position dismantled the single axis myth; Andrea's interview alluded to the profound sense of exclusion she experienced when she was reminded by a white woman that she was considered unfit to represent Australian women because of her race. Being confronted with the racial stratification of femininity impressed upon her an awareness of intersectional systems of power, which she demonstrated when she poi-

gnantly articulated the way that neoliberal approaches to 'gender diversity' on company boards nevertheless reproduce racial and class power.

Andrea's outsider-within identity is interpreted in relation to her social history and location as the eldest child with an immigrant father and refugee mother who grew up during the oppressive period of the White Australia policy. Her fair skin and hair as a child offered her a privileged claim on insider status, but that privilege was fraught when she saw its deleterious effects on her family, and also ultimately proved to be temporary. Even while achieving considerable professional success, a persistent sense of marginalisation resurfaced throughout her life, particularly when she was reminded by those in positions of power the ways she contravened the hegemonic white masculinity of leadership in Australia.

That being said, Andrea's experiences cannot be equated to those of the Black women centred in the important work of Collins (1986, 1999, 2000) and other Black feminists (Ahmed 2009; Essed 2000; hooks 2012; Lorde 1984; Parker 2005). Most saliently for Andrea, her class power from her position among the executive ranks mediated the ways by which she engaged with white supremacist and patriarchal systems (hooks 2000). While she reports shaping her departments and organisations to be more inclusive towards ethnic minority staff, or contravening her Board's directive to put only white models on their magazine covers, Andrea embodies a characteristically bourgeois identity as a 'tastemaker' and role model (Bourdieu 1984). Implicit in her interview is the acknowledgement that drawing on personal narratives as a CEO strengthens trust and engagement with her followers, and being one of the few high-profile Asian women in Australia inspires identification, and at times even admiration, from other Asian women.

In conducting an outsider-within analysis, this chapter also brings to light the power dynamics that underpin what it means to practise 'inclusive leadership'. An awareness of interlocking oppressions problematises a taken-for-granted notion of inclusivity as acceptance of diversity or advocacy for subdominant groups. Critical whiteness studies have demonstrated the power of white normalisation, where white people are generally accepted to speak for the commonality of humanity while raced people can only speak for their race (Dyer 1997; Liu and Baker 2016; Sullivan 2006). This tension surfaced when one of Andrea's subordinates

revealed to her a rumour within the organisation that she was biased in her recruitment approach, that ‘you’ve got to be Asian’ to work for her.

Andrea’s case prompts the critical question: who gets to be inclusive? Due to her senior leadership position at the time, Andrea was able to laugh off the rumour of her biased hiring, while co-opting the dominant neoliberal, ‘gender/racial blindness’ discourses prevalent in corporate contexts to claim her decisions were solely based on merit (‘I just used to hire the *best* people’). However, her actions whether intentional or not, highlight the ways women of colour in Australia are scrutinised as potential threats to the white elite class masculinist status quo. Although Australian society under our multicultural policy ostensibly purports to celebrate diversity, the overriding assumption is that this diversity is rightfully controlled by white men (Banerjee and Linstead 2001; Hage 1998). Women of colour like Andrea are ultimately denied the mantle of an ‘inclusive leader’, where her attempts to practise inclusivity in the form of redressing the underrepresentation of people of colour in her organisation and its publications are regarded with suspicion.

## Conclusion

This chapter has presented the case of a self-identified female Asian Australian CEO and analysed her experiences via the lens of Collins’ outsider-within theory. This framework first allowed me to explore the ways Andrea navigated through controlling images of Asian women to secure and promote a self-defined image as a successful corporate leader. Second, it highlighted how interlocking oppressions were evident in the racialisation of her gender and excluded her from the right to represent women in the Australian context where the female norm was assumed to be white. Third, the framework enabled attention to be paid to cultural practices. For Andrea, this meant taking seriously the relational and communicative aspects of her leadership.

However, the application of the outsider-within theory to another social group was not unproblematic. In particular, Andrea’s elite class status and the corporate context in which her leadership took place shaped a different leadership practice to the Black women who inspired and pro-

duced this theory. Inclusivity was couched within more neoliberal practices of diverse representations, while Andrea's analyses of interlocking oppressions during the interview primarily focused on her own ambitions for executive directorships. Black feminist thinking reminds us to hold firm to the radical roots of its ethico-politics (Baca Zinn 2012; Baca Zinn and Thorton Dill 1996; Cho et al. 2013; Collins 1999, 2000; hooks 2012; Nath Chakraborty 2004). Future theorisations in leadership that draw on Black feminism(s) have the opportunity to look for leadership 'in the margins' that may be exercised towards simultaneously disrupting gender, racial *and* class oppressions.

## Notes

1. Tim Soutphommasane's keynote speech 'The Asianisation of Australia?' was delivered at the Asian Studies Association of Australia Annual Conference in Perth, Australia. A transcript of the speech can be found at <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/news/speeches/asianisation-australia>.

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# 2

## Champions for Charities: Exploring Inclusive Leadership in the Non-profit Sector in Australia

Theresa Smith-Ruig

### Introduction

In 2011, the Australian Government announced a range of measures to reform the non-profit sector in Australia, including the creation of the Australian Charities and Not-For-Profit Commission (ACNC). The non-profit sector in Australia comprises more than 60,000 charities (ACNC 2014). According to the Productivity Commission (2010), Australia's non-profit sector is the sixth largest in the world, after the Netherlands, Ireland, Belgium, Israel and the United States, and is larger than the non-profit sector in the United Kingdom and many European countries. According to the ACNC Report for 2015 (ACNC 2016), non-profits had a total income of over \$134 billion, representing 8.3% of Australia's gross domestic product (GDP); donations to the sector totalled \$11.2 billion; charities employed more than 1.2 million people, representing

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10% of Australia's workforce; and there were approximately three million volunteers involved in the sector.

The extent of research into aspects of leadership of senior executives in both private and public sector organisations is extensive and spans a range of disciplinary approaches. Studies of senior executives in the non-profit sector, however, are more limited, especially in the Australian context. Given the economic and social significance of the non-profit sector, it is timely to undertake research into the leadership capacity and practices of such organisations.

The aim of the research reported on in this chapter is to better understand the experiences and leadership practices of chief executive officers (CEOs) of non-profit organisations in Australia. Using Kouzes and Posner's (2003) Leadership Challenge Framework, the research looked at the key leadership characteristics of a cohort of non-profit CEOs. The CEOs were all employed in similar non-profit health or community services organisations, which, according to the ACNC (2014), comprises approximately 43% of registered charities. The research used a mixed methods design to collect a range of data about the CEOs, including semi-structured interviews and a Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) which CEOs completed. The LPI was developed by Kouzes and Posner (2003). The five core dimensions of the Kouzes and Posner framework align to characteristics of Inclusive Leadership outlined by Hollander et al. (2008) and Bourke and Dillon (2016). The common elements in these theories of leadership are collaboration, empowerment, courage and curiosity. The combination of data enabled the development of in-depth leadership profiles for each CEO.

## Gender Representation and the Non-profit Sector

A discussion of leadership (regardless of the sector) would not be complete without considering the role of gender. Blum et al. (1994) suggest that the contextual aspects of industries and organisations can have an important effect on the opportunities for gender representation. A

major contextual factor is the level of female representation in the non-profit sector. In Australia, 83% of the non-profit workforce is female (Productivity Commission 2010). According to sector research, women hold 60% of senior management positions in the community sector in Australia and 51% of board director roles (YWCA, ACOSS and WOB 2012). Whilst there are no statistics on the number of women CEOs of non-profit organisations in Australia, in the United States women represent 45% of CEOs, and represent 21% of CEOs in organisations with a budget of more than \$25 million (TWHP 2009). These figures contrast starkly with Australian private sector figures which show that women hold 12.3% of board positions and only 9.7% of executive positions in the top 200 listed companies (WGEA 2013, p. 7).

Acker (1990, p. 146) wrote that to say an organisation is gendered means 'that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine'. Acker (1990) was arguing that occupations and organisations are gendered, and her work prompted the extensive literature discussion on gendered organisational theory post 1990. Alvesson and Billing (1997) argue that a job has a certain gender symbolism. Whilst not prescribed in any formal job descriptions, culturally jobs are defined as feminine or masculine and 'natural' for women or men to occupy. Guy and Newman (2004) similarly suggest that gender stereotypes are related to industries that possess soft (feminine) or hard (masculine) skills. Researchers argue that non-profit organisations will attract those individuals most aligned with their mission (Lee and Wilkins 2011). Given that the gender stereotypes suggest that women are more likely to take on the role of a caregiver (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001; Gilligan 1982), it makes sense that they are drawn to the helping and values-based mission of the non-profit sector. This supports the notion of the female leadership advantage, where Eagly and Carli (2003) argue that contemporary theories of what makes good leadership suggest that the typical feminine traits of cooperation, collaboration and mentoring are increasingly important. Similarly, Simpson et al. (2010) explain that the special contribution approach which suggests feminine characteristics of cooperation, relationship

building and responsiveness to others are assets and an advantage in the modern workplace. Lewis (2014) also argues that women's 'doing of femininity' is viewed as their natural advantage.

LeRoux and Sneed (2006) and Sayers (2012) suggest that women have a greater chance for career advancement in the non-profit sector compared to other sectors. Referring to cross-national data on gender and non-profit organisations, Themudo (2009), for example, suggests that there is a link between empowerment of women and non-profit participation—the more empowerment afforded women, the stronger the non-profit sector, and the higher the involvement of women in the sector. In their study of women in leadership of non-profit and for profit organisations in the European Union, Claus et al. (2013) showed that whilst women are underrepresented in leadership positions within the European Union non-profit sectors, they are still more likely to be leaders within non-profit organisations compared to for profit organisations. Given the female dominated nature of the non-profit sector, it is therefore worthwhile to explore the leadership practices of CEOs to determine how they have navigated the gendered non-profit sector.

## Theoretical Framework

For several decades now, management and leadership scholars have been grappling with the question of what is leadership. Many definitions of leadership have been proposed, including:

*Leadership is a process by which members of a group are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common goal or vision that will create change, transform institutions, and thus improve the quality of life.* (Astin and Leland 1991, p. 8)

*Exercising leadership has also come to mean providing a vision and influencing others to realize it through noncoercive means.* (Heifetz 1994, p. 15)

*Leadership is a reciprocal relationship between those who choose to lead and those who decide to follow.* (Kouzes and Posner 2003, p. 1)

These definitions are varied, but there are a number of apparent themes: leadership is a process that involves vision, influence, followership and change. It can occur in a group context, and can be two-way.

Scholars have argued that the most effective leadership behaviour to achieve long-term success and improved performance is transformational leadership. Furthermore, they suggest that transformational leadership is best suited to the values-based nature of non-profit organisations (Cheverton 2007; Jaskyte 2004). Bass (1999) argues that transformational leaders have deeply held personal value systems, including values such as justice and integrity. According to Northouse, 'transformational leaders set out to empower followers and nurture them in change' (2010, p. 185).

The emphasis on the value of followers is also highlighted in Hollander, Boyd-Park and Elman's (2008) theory of Inclusive Leadership, which they define as relationships that can accomplish things for mutual benefit. The researchers believe that leadership benefits from active followers, emphasising a two-way relationship. Hollander et al. (2008) proposed that the two-way relationship depends on the four R's of respect, recognition, responsiveness and responsibility. Hollander et al. (2008) argued that Inclusive Leadership is about doing things with people, rather than to people. It is very much a relational leadership style.

Bourke and Dillon (2016) developed six traits of inclusive leadership. The first trait of 'commitment' states that highly inclusive leaders are committed to diversity and inclusion because it aligns with their personal values and because they believe in the business case. Their research showed that leaders expressed a strong desire for 'fairness'. In the second trait, Burke and Dillon (2016) highlight 'courage', which refers to inclusive leaders who challenge the status quo, and who are humble about their strengths and weaknesses. The third trait of 'cognizance of bias' refers to leaders being mindful of personal and organisational blindspots and who can self-regulate to ensure fair play. In the fourth trait of 'curiosity' inclusive leaders have an open mindset, a desire to understand others and a tolerance for ambiguity. The fifth trait of 'cultural intelligence' suggests that inclusive leaders are effective at cross-cultural interactions. In the final trait of 'collaboration', emphasis is on empowering others to work together (Bourke and Dillon 2016).

One theory of transformational leadership that has elements similar to those proposed in Inclusive Leadership, is that of Kouzes and Posner's (1987) Leadership Challenge Framework. The theory is based on research conducted over three decades with thousands of participants, examining and collating the list of actions and behaviours they engaged in during their best leadership experiences. The research also used case studies of what people identified as the actions and behaviours exhibited by their most admired leaders (Kouzes and Posner 1987). The theory highlights five practices of exemplary leadership: model the way; inspire a shared vision; challenge the process; enable others to act; and encourage the heart (Kouzes and Posner 2003). These practices have subsequently been developed into the LPI, a 30-item instrument that can be completed by leaders who must assess how often they exhibit the listed behaviours. The instrument also enables followers to report the extent to which their leaders demonstrate each of the behaviours.

Kouzes and Posner (2003) argued that these practices can be learned and refined over time. Their research demonstrates that leaders who exhibit the behaviours more frequently are perceived as better and more effective leaders by their followers. Kouzes and Posner (2003) found that the five practices explain more than 30 times what is accounted for by: leader age, gender, educational level, ethnicity and nationality; and size of the organisation, function/discipline, industry and hierarchical level. The following is a brief summary of the five categories of leadership practice.

## Model the Way

Kouzes and Posner (2003) argue that leaders know that they must be models of the behaviour they expect of others if they want to gain commitment and achieve success. Underpinning this is the necessity for leaders to understand their own values, beliefs and principles, and to share these with others and, more importantly, live them in practice. In this way, leaders create standards of excellence and set examples for others to follow. In summary, this is about the leader: (a) clarifying and modelling their personal values, and (b) setting an example by aligning actions with shared values. This element aligns with the Inclusive Leadership theory which emphasises 'fairness'.

## Inspire a Shared Vision

Leaders envision the future by imagining exciting possibilities and they enlist others in a common vision by appealing to shared aspirations. Again this aligns with the notion of empowerment in the Inclusive Leadership literature.

## Challenge the Process

Leaders seek and accept challenge. They search for opportunities to change the status quo; they take risks and experiment. This is where new ideas come from and where mistakes can be made. Kouzes and Posner (2003) argue that mistakes are learning opportunities. In summary, this is about the leader: (a) seeking innovative ways to change and improve, and (b) experimenting and taking risks and learning from mistakes. Bourke and Dillon's (2016) Inclusive Leadership trait of 'courage' mirrors this dimension.

## Enable Others to Act

Leaders recognise that achievement of goals requires a team effort. Collaboration and trust are key elements here. Facilitation to allow others to achieve requires empowerment, ownership and responsibility. This depends deeply on the development of relationships. In summary, this is about the leader: (a) fostering collaboration and building trust, and (b) empowering and strengthening others. This dimension aligns with Hollander et al. (2008) key R of responsibility, and Bourke and Dillon's (2016) trait of collaboration.

## Encourage the Heart

Leaders recognise contributions by showing appreciation for individual excellence and celebrating values and victories by creating a spirit of community. Leaders also encourage and support people in challenging times.

This dimension aligns with Hollander's (2008) key R of 'recognition' and Bourke and Dillon's trait of curiosity.

## Research Design

The research used a purposive stratified sample technique, where subjects are selected because of some key characteristic such as gender or organisational position (Patton 1990); in this case the focus was on leaders of organisations. CEOs were drawn from health- or social/community services-based organisations. This exploratory research adopted a mixed methods design involving two stages: completion of a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The author's institution provided the ethics approval to conduct the research. Ten CEOs agreed to participate. The author of this research holds a board director role with a large social services non-profit organisation in Australia. The author's knowledge and experience of this sector thus helped in initially identifying and approaching CEOs for the research, helping to overcome the typical challenges of gaining access to interviews with elite participants such as CEOs (Berry 2002). The author approached the CEOs via e-mail, inviting their participation in the research. These CEOs also assisted in identifying other CEOs who they thought would be interested in participating in the research—hence the snowball technique. The contact details of all CEOs were publicly available through their organisations' websites.

The first stage required each CEO to complete the LPI instrument. Nine completed the LPI and one failed to return it, in spite of a reminder. As stated previously, the LPI comprises 30 items to which participants had to indicate the frequency of the behaviour using a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 representing almost never (displaying the behaviour) and 10 representing almost always (displaying the behaviour). There are six items relating to each of the five categories of leadership behaviour. The maximum score attainable for each of the five categories thus ranged from 6 to 60, with the latter score indicating the behaviour was exhibited almost always. The LPI has been tested for reliability and validity by Kouzes and Posner (2002) and further confirmed in subsequent research. The reliability (Cronbach alpha) coefficients for the LPI range from 0.75 to 0.87



for the five categories of leadership behaviour (Kouzes and Posner 2002). Kouzes and Posner (2002) also found that the LPI has good face validity.

During the second stage of data collection, semi-structured interviews were carried out with the ten CEOs, each lasting approximately 60 minutes. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews obtained information from CEOs on a range of issues, including demographics, career history and their experiences of leadership. Semi-structured interviews are a common technique used by leadership researchers (Simpson et al. 2010; Sinclair 1998; Wacjman 1998).

The interview transcripts were manually content analysed by the author, who studied each interview in detail, coding the data by themes (Kvale 2007) relating to the research objectives and with the Leadership Challenge Framework in mind.

The results of the LPI questionnaire were also collated and analysed by the author to determine the most common leadership dimension practised by participants. Given the small sample size, detailed statistical analysis was not considered appropriate to report on.

## Results and Discussion

The sample comprised two females and eight males. The average age of participants was 50, with the youngest CEO aged 39 and the oldest aged 65. The two female participants had partners, but no children. Of the eight male participants, seven had a partner and children. All ten participants had an undergraduate degree, and seven had completed post-graduate studies (including one participant with a PhD). The median length of time participants had served as CEO of their current organisation was six years, ranging from less than one year ( $n = 3$ ) to 24 years ( $n = 1$ ) at the helm.

All participants commenced their careers outside the non-profit sector: two in management consulting (males); three in accounting (1 female and 2 males); two in education (1 female and 1 male); two in the corporate sector (males); and one participant in politics/government (male). The motivation to move into the sector was strongly driven by personal experiences, religious beliefs or the desire to make a difference. Once the

participants joined the non-profit sector, they tended to do so at senior levels. This meant their career progression was quite rapid and gave the participants increased responsibility, 'freedom' and 'power' relatively early in their careers. They valued such freedom highly. The focus on power though, aligns with the masculine notions of leadership (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001). As participant 2M commented:

*I had enormous freedom and that's always been something that attracted me. It would again, when I was rung up about this job, this fact that it was the job in charge of the organisation and able to shape the organisation. Take it where, as CEO, I thought it needed to go, is what attracted me to it. So it was social justice motivation but great, in the end, for power. ... I like being the boss, I like being in charge of things.*

## Leadership Challenge Framework

Of the nine CEOs who completed the LPI, six (2 females and 4 males) scored highest on 'inspire a shared vision', two scored highest on 'enable others to act', whilst the remaining CEO scored highest on 'encourage the heart'. Six out of the nine (1 female and 5 males) CEOs recorded 'encourage the heart' as the lowest scoring item. The following section summarises the CEO LPI responses in conjunction with the data obtained during the interviews.

### Inspire a Shared Vision

This was the most common category of leadership practice engaged in by participants. The CEOs discussed how they felt it was important to 'create a picture' or 'communicate a story' about what the vision of the organisation was, and enlist people in achieving that vision. Both the men and women interviewed discussed the notion of 'creating a vision'. The fact that they recognised the need to 'enlist' their staff in achieving the vision aligns with the emphasis on empowerment and collaboration in inclusive leadership (Bourke and Dillon 2016; Hollander et al. 2008). The behaviour is also in line with 'communal' characteristics often pre-

scribed to female leaders (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001). It is illustrated by participant 1M who stated:

*So as a leader having a vision, [is about] being able to articulate how we collectively will achieve that vision and what we have to do today, tomorrow and next year to get there. Creating frameworks within which people can act and be successful ... I think they need to be communicators and storytellers. They need to be able to articulate this vision and not just with a fantastic spreadsheet. That would have been my favourite, but in other ways to inspire others to follow and motivate them to be a part of that vision.*

Participant 3M similarly commented:

*I think a leader has to inspire people and he or she has to inspire them to do things that they wouldn't normally do; jump off the cliff with them.*

These two quotes demonstrate that the men are clearly displaying more 'transformational' or 'participative' leadership styles commonly attributed to women. As outlined at the start of this chapter, such characteristics are associated with the female leadership advantage (Eagly and Carli 2003; Simpson et al. 2010).

## Enable Others to Act

This was the second most common leadership practice dimension. As participant 3M commented: 'Okay. Well, I'm a great believer in empowerment. I employ people who are smarter than me'. The types of behaviours in this category suggest that leaders need to demonstrate a strong people-orientated style of leadership. During the interviews, some participants admitted to being more task-oriented (rather than people-orientated) at times. For example, participant 1M recognised the importance of empowering staff, but noted that he did have some shortcomings in that area:

*Now I didn't do that by mollycoddling people. I certainly believe in results, in effectiveness but I also believe in empowering people to be successful. Probably my shortest suit is praising people and I do get that feedback. I'm always looking*

*for more and that does tire some people out who need more constant personal reinforcement. ... I do value staff. I value people. ... But I'm not as warm and fuzzy.*

This quote is characteristic of the task-orientated style typically associated with male models of leadership. In contrast, one of the female leaders (participant 4F) displayed more of the people-orientated style typical of female leadership with regard to her team, stating it was important to 'build trust and mutual respect with them'.

## Model the Way

'Model the way' was the third highest ranking dimension reported by the leaders. During the interviews, CEOs were asked to define their core values and what motivated them. All participants (n = 10) referred to their values in terms of 'social justice' and 'making a difference in the community'. These two types of motivation can be aligned to the 'justice orientation' proposed by Kohlberg & Goslyn (1969) (as cited in Jaffee and Hyde 2000) and the 'care orientation' proposed by Gilligan (1982) (as cited in Jaffee and Hyde 2000). The justice versus care orientation aligns to the focus of inclusive leadership which emphasises the value of 'fairness' and consideration of others (Bourke and Dillon 2016; Hollander et al. 2008). Inclusive leadership also emphasises the relational and identity-based dimensions of leadership as explained by Sugiyama et al. (2016). The social justice motivations of participants can be linked to the identity-based dimension, whilst the care orientation links well with the notion of relational leadership.

This research suggested that there were gender differences in how the leaders expressed their motivation, with the two women displaying the care orientation, as expressed by participant 8F:

*My motivation is about making the world a better place in which to live, and that's very much driven by the not-for-profit sector.*

Two leaders (one male and one female) mentioned how knowing a close friend or family member with a serious illness/disability led them to

pursue related work in the non-profit sector. This motivation also aligns with the care orientation. As participant 4F explained:

*Well I—you know, I'm very driven around probably—like I said earlier—the fact that I've been impacted by how life can change and I was—became more aware of needs in the community through that—through a personal experience.*

In contrast, a number of the male leaders (n = 4) demonstrated they were driven by a desire for ensuring social justice (clearly demonstrating the justice orientation). For example, participant 2M stated:

*Well, I think a strong driver for the roles that I've played has been an intense interest and motivation in social justice. Which probably comes from my upbringing, including my Catholic childhood. I think that an orientation with social justice was drilled into people of my era in the Catholic education system. ... I have this driver of interest in, I don't know, the public good, I guess—certainly, social justice. This wanting to be of some support and assistance to people that are referred to as underdogs. A bit of a desire to be a champion in that area. To use the fact that I am white, middle class and male to the advantage of people. Because I do think being white, middle class and male in Australia gives you enormous privileges. I saw in a, almost subversive sense, that I could use that to advantage.*

Participant 6M similarly noted:

*There's a passion for social justice and wanting to make sure that society is as fair as possible, and what I find is that I am happiest in roles like these and I'm a better person to be around. So I like it, I'm good at it and it taps into my values, so it's a nice fit and I'm just happier. I'm happier and the people around me are happier.*

Three participants (all male) indicated that their faith or religious upbringing influenced their values and motivation. This fits within the justice orientation as well. For example, participant 5M said:

*Well values first; I am a person of faith. That faith I practice in a very practical way, and it's a view that I have capabilities because of what was invested in me*

*by my parents and those around me, and I should now be applying, and am applying those talents through my organisational and policy work on ensuring those at disadvantage have the opportunity to invest in them.*

The gender differences in moral orientation found here differ from those of Jaffee and Hyde (2000) who found no real gender differences in moral orientation in their meta-analysis of the literature.

The leaders noted that it was important to model their values to employees as a means of demonstrating accountability and authenticity and also of building respect. The latter was one of Hollander et al.'s (2008) four Rs of inclusive leadership. Participant 3M explained the importance of modelling his values:

*I think staff have to know that the values are consistent right throughout the whole company and they can't be selectively applied. ... I mean, I tell all my staff that I've done all their jobs that they've done, so it's not as though I've been parachuted in from, say, the Water Board or some church or something or other. I mean, I've actually done all the rotten jobs. I've wiped the bums, I've sat in the gutter with the guys, I've done all that stuff, so I know how hard their work is; I value and respect it.*

## Challenge the Process

This was the fourth most common category of leadership practice. During the interview, participants were asked to identify a time when they had to think outside the box or undertake a particularly challenging task, and how they handled this. All the participants could identify a time during their careers when they had to complete such a challenging task. Some participants enjoyed undertaking such challenges: as participant 8F admitted: 'I actually like stepping outside my comfort zone, and so this gave me an opportunity to move into an area that I hadn't previously trained in'. As indicated earlier, this dimension aligns to Bourke and Dillon's (2016) Inclusive Leadership elements of 'courage' and 'curiosity'.

The following quote further illustrates how leaders viewed their leadership as a result of challenging experiences. Participant 4F revealed both masculine ('driven', 'strategic') and feminine ('creative') traits in her comment:

*They would say that I'm driven, passionate, that I'm very strategic in that we operate, and with discipline but also they would talk probably about my—that I'm very creative and lateral in thinking. So challenge the status quo; is there a better way? Always looking for us to set a new benchmark—yeah, take things to the next level.*

## Encourage the Heart

This was the lowest score of all five categories, and therefore suggests it was the least frequent behaviour exhibited by the CEOs. Hollander et al. (2008) emphasised that 'recognition' was one of the four key R's of Inclusive Leadership. Whilst participants did not rank this practice the highest, they still gave examples of the behaviour, as can be seen by the following comment from participant 3M:

*I believe really strongly, and I tell all the staff this, that employees give their boss their best time of their life. ... The employer has to recognise that and make work as enjoyable and as stimulating as possible, and so that's what I've always attempted to do.*

This behaviour (demonstrated by a male) is in line with the communal characteristics of feminine leadership (Eagly and Johannsen-Schmidt 2001).

## Conclusion and Implications

Before the key conclusions can be discussed, it is important to recognise that the research does have a number of limitations. One limitation of the study is small sample size, although the size is in line with other similar qualitative research projects concerning non-profit leadership. Sherlock and Nathan (2007), for example, based their study on the learning experiences of non-profit association CEOs on interviews with 12 CEOs. Hoye (2006), in his study of the leadership of Australian voluntary sport organisation boards, limited his study to only six organisations. Parris and Welty-Peachey (2012), in their study of servant leadership, limited their research to one case study organisation. Thus this study is not designed

for generalisability; however the fact that all CEOs were employed in the health or community services non-profit sector helps to control the organisational context. Furthermore, the use of the mixed method design helps to add depth to the data collected. The limited number of women included in the study also means that the ability to identify gender differences in the sample is restricted.

Another limitation of the study is that it only draws on self-reported data from the participants and is not supported by the evidence of others, such as subordinates. This limitation is a common problem of elite interviewing (Berry 2002; Welch et al. 2002).

Despite these limitations, the research has been useful in providing insight into the area of leadership in the non-profit sector that has received limited attention to date in Australia. Few, if any, studies have looked at the types of leadership practices engaged in by CEOs. Rothschild and Milofsky (2006: 137) argue that to understand the non-profit sector 'we must understand the substantive values and ethics that people hold'. A clear theme to emerge from the research is the strong values possessed by the leaders that has driven their interest in, and continued involvement with, the non-profit sector. The study showed that the women leaders discussed their values/motivation from a caring orientation, whilst the men's motivation aligned with the justice orientation (Jaffee and Hyde 2000). Both of these orientations align with communal characteristics of leadership. The strong values-based motivation of the leaders also conforms with Hollander et al.'s (2008) notion of Inclusive Leadership which emphasises 'fairness', and is centred on inspiring staff to adopt those values.

This research demonstrated that the leaders recognised the importance of being able to express their values in relation to setting a vision for the organisation and to inspiring staff. It is about the alignment between individual values and organisational action. Frumkin and Andre-Clark (2000) recognised the need for values-driven dimensions for non-profit programs, rather than the traditional business-driven strategies. They argued the core strategy of non-profits is their ability to 'allow people to demonstrate commitment to social ends and values' (Frumkin and Andre-Clark 2000, p. 142). This point was succinctly made by one participant in the study:



*I think you need continually to believe in what you're doing. Without that it's really hard to keep the application and level of work that's required. ... It's an aligned interest. I feel validated by our achievement, which also is what the organisation needs. ... If you can get that self-interest to align with the organisational interest by creating a vision where they see that the success and performance in their role actually is valuable for the bigger picture, then you've got the best of all worlds working.*

Handy (1992, p. 10) commented, 'a leader shapes and shares a vision which gives a point to the work of others'. This research supports Handy's observation, demonstrating that a majority of leaders recognised that they needed to create a 'picture' or 'story' of the vision to enlist staff in achieving it. The research findings are similar to those of Bradshaw (2002) who suggested that the leadership function in non-profits entails the creation of the organisation's story, 'a good story is one that is a compelling, integrating, visionary, one that has transformative potential' (Bradshaw 1998, as cited in Bradshaw 2002, p. 475). It would be useful in further research to examine how CEOs of non-profits 'communicate' the 'story' of the organisation's vision and mission to staff in order to engage them. As Schmid et al. (2006, p. 182) argue, 'the real test of a leader is whether he or she can transmit that vision to followers, articulate it to them clearly, and mobilise their support'.

Whilst this research confirmed that the two female leaders displayed many of the communal characteristics of leadership, it was interesting to note that the male leaders also adopted these behaviours. According to Eagly and Carli (2003) and Simpson et al. (2010), the special contribution approach to leadership suggests that 'femininity' is recognised as an asset and a potential advantage for women in the workplace; however this research suggests that the approach is not just an advantage to women, but a feature of the non-profit sector, and may well be necessary for men to display in this sector. Perhaps the female dominated nature of the sector, combined with the values-nature of non-profits, means that male leaders need to adopt more feminine or inclusive leadership styles?

In relation to practice, this research demonstrates how the Leadership Challenge Framework may be a useful tool that senior managers and

leaders in the non-profit sector may use to assess their own leadership practices. Such results could be used in executive development programs to identify potential areas for individual improvement.

Given the limited sample size, there is potential for expanding on this research. It would be useful to conduct a much larger study of the leadership practices of a cross-section of non-profit leaders in Australia across a range of industry areas. Such research could be further enhanced by including senior managers in the study who could also complete the LPI (observer) questionnaire in relation to their leader. Kouzes and Posner (1987) developed the LPI (follower) questionnaire which asks those who directly report to the leader to complete the 30-item instrument by indicating the frequency by which their leaders engage in the five categories of exemplary leadership. This would provide more detailed evidence on the extent to which inclusive leadership (which emphasises the two-way relationship between leader and follower) exists in the sector. Furthermore, the role of gender could be explored in much more detail in future research. As the social and economic importance of the non-profit sector increases, it will be useful to expand our knowledge of the types of people leading such organisations.

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# 3

## Female Leadership Within the Military: The Influence of Neoliberal Institutionalism

Derek McAvoy and Kevin Burgess

### Introduction

Despite the recent increase in the numbers of women assuming leadership positions in both public and private institutions, the UK military continues to significantly defy the trend. This phenomenon with respect to the military invites deeper consideration of the current knowledge and beliefs about what enables, and inhibits, females attaining leadership positions within the military. Universal definitions of leadership (Batmanghlich 2014), let alone female leadership, have proven problematic. A useful way to get around this definitional problem is to shift the focus from trying to identify core leadership concepts (which may or may not endure over

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time) to exploring how leadership is expressed within a specific historical period. Given the potency of context as a variable (Elie-Dit-Cosaque et al. 2011; Miller and Kaptchuk 2008; Weber and Glynn 2006), a key merit of this suggested approach is its acknowledgement that contextual shifts incrementally alter the terrain that women leaders must navigate within institutions to gain access to influence, power and resources. For the past four decades the macro-contextual variable which has brought about the greatest changes in the fields of politics, economy, social relations, culture and social science (Callewaert 2006) has been the implementation of neo-liberal ideology.

Neoliberalism's labour market reforms have, relative to the total workforce, increased gender inequity (van Gellecum et al. 2008), as demonstrated by factors such as average lower wages and greater and lost employment opportunities due to unpaid caring for children, the sick and the elderly. Despite this finding, the rhetoric of neoliberalism is one of gender neutrality whereby 'the career-open-to-talents is part of its agenda of organizational restructuring. A few women have reached elite positions in neoliberal organizations' (Connell et al. 2009, p. 332). Evidence in support of this claim is that, in the current decade, around one third of senior roles within UK government departments are held by women (EHRC 2011; Ernst and Young 2016). As noted earlier, the exception to this position is the military arm of the UK's Ministry of Defence (MoD) which, despite having been exposed to the same gender equity policies as other organisations, has barely shifted in the percentage of women who progress to its senior roles. It is important here to distinguish between the terms 'defence' and 'military'. The former consists of both civil servants and uniformed staff (also referred to as armed services), whereas the latter refers only to uniformed staff. Even after adjusting for women constituting only 10 per cent of the UK military (MoD 2016), the number of female military officers holding senior roles is well below what would be expected, allowing for proportional adjustment. Just why the military has defied this general trend to greater gender equity in leadership roles is not well understood. Investigating this phenomenon is therefore likely to provide insights into the issues



and critical implications pertinent to female leadership, not only in the military but also in other contexts.

## Insights from the Relevant Literature

### Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is first and foremost an ideology. 'Ideologies are systems of widely shared ideas and patterned beliefs that are accepted as truths by significant groups in society' (Steger and Roy 2011, p. 11). Neoliberalism is largely an economic ideology, founded on classical economic theory. It advocates the privatisation of state enterprises and institutions, and the maximisation of competition and economic deregulation to favour the private business sector (Harvey 2003; Steger and Roy 2011). As an all-encompassing ideology, it has been a taken-for-granted assumption that its principles can be universally applied to all institutions, irrespective of contextual differences. The programme which has been widely adopted by the UK and other Western governments to operationalise this ideology is widely known as New Public Management (NPM) (Lorenz 2012). Sitting behind neoliberalism's privileging of markets is the belief that competition and the profit motive encourage greater entrepreneurship (Connell et al. 2009; Marttila 2013). NPM views leadership as key to achieving its large-scale reforms objectives. Entrepreneurial leadership is the leadership style which NPM considers best suited to operating within the context of ongoing reforms in the public sector (including Defence) (Bartlett and Dibben 2010; Caton 2015; Denhardt and Denhardt 2000; Diefenbach 2011; Klein et al. 2010; Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Windrum and Koch 2008).

### Leadership

While there has been continuing academic interest in the topic of leadership as a mature field (Hunt and Dodge 2000), a precise definition

remains elusive due to the myriad perspectives that cover the topic (Batmanghlich 2014; Janda 1960; Yukl 1999). Even meta-studies tend to limit themselves to specific perspectives—for instance, trait affect (Joseph et al. 2015); transformation and transaction (Judge and Piccolo 2004); charisma (Schyns et al. 2007); bad effects (Schyns and Schilling 2013); and team effectiveness (Wang et al. 2014).

The links between entrepreneurship and leadership have also been widely examined (Antonakis and Autio 2006; Harrison and Leitch 1994; Miroff 2003; Vecchio 2003). The term ‘entrepreneurial leadership’ has, unsurprisingly, several definitions, including the ability to create visionary scenarios (Gupta et al. 2004); ‘to solve complex business, social, and environmental problems’ (Greenberg et al. 2011, p. 57); extension of leadership transformational theory (Vecchio 2003); and aligning the entrepreneurship within ongoing social systems of understanding (Maguire et al. 2004; Dacin et al. 2002; DiMaggio 1988a). The convergence of the two theoretical views—leadership and entrepreneurship—while acknowledged as important, remains an underdeveloped research topic (Cogliser and Brigham 2004).

## Entrepreneurship

For North (1990), entrepreneurs and interested parties exploit their institutional environment by gaining access to important networks and resources to pursue entrepreneurial objectives. An individual’s purposeful actions are thus believed to be directly associated with, if not entirely shaped by, their enduring social relationships that give rise to advantage within institutional contexts (Adler and Kwon 2002; Burt et al. 2000; Gabbay and Leenders 1999; Lin 2001; Shepsle 2005).

Compared to men, women do not have equal access to leadership networks (McNae and Vali 2015), which are described as the most significant component of successful power acquisition within institutional settings (Berg 1997; Timberlake 2005). Even when women do access the leadership networks that traditionally generate early promotions and other benefits for men, these networks appear to be less effective for women (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986; Barr 1998; Brass et al. 2004; Dorado 2005;

Gabbay and Zuckerman 1998; Hébert and Link 1989; Narayan and Cassidy 2001; Podolny and Baron 1997; Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

The issue of gendered networks and entrepreneurship, including how women appear disadvantaged within institutional network relationships, has received limited attention (Bevelander and Page 2011; Carter et al. 2001; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Wijen and Ansari 2007). The study of how women can act as entrepreneurs or transformational leaders within institutional settings has taken on increasing interest (Eyal and Kark 2004).

Sociological institutionalists suggest that dominant institutional relationships manifest themselves through institutional logics of appropriateness that constrain and enable individual action from a macro perspective (Beckert 1999; Hall and Taylor 1996). However, a criticism of the macro perspective is that it reflects a gender-free context that ignores important social relationships at the level of the individual whilst, in reality, the attempts of these game players at purposive action within institutions are founded in ongoing systems of social relations (Granovetter 1985).

Similarly, theorists involved in the study of institutionalism (the military is taken to be an institutional arrangement) have frequently omitted the study of gender and how these social interactions among the individual, structure and agency bring about change (DiMaggio 1988b; Fligstein 1997; Lawrence and Suddaby 2006). Therefore, by using a sociological-institutional perspective that allows the examination of how the structure and order of shared systems and rules enable or constrain group or individual action (Powell and DiMaggio 2012), the relationships that oppose institutional change by women entrepreneurial leaders in an effort to maintain stasis may become evident (Katzenstein 1998; Kenny 2007; Seo and Creed 2002). Unlike private institutional settings, such as banking, there appears to be no such substantial equivalent research on women entrepreneurial leaders within a UK public service setting (Sundin 2011; Sundin and Tillmar 2008).

Criticisms of earlier approaches to viewing entrepreneurship included an over-emphasis on trait theory or personality characteristics (Gartner 1988); limited exploration of female gender and social relationships in comparison to males (Ahl and Marlow 2012; Ridgeway and Correll 2004); and poor analysis of the dynamic organisational mechanisms

and structures which exclude certain groups such as women leaders (Ahl 2006; Ahl and Marlow 2012; Alvarez and Barney 2007, 2013).

In exploring these criticisms, the literature has identified four related variables that substantiate the need for further enquiry because they have been under-researched in the examination of entrepreneurship. Of these four variables, two—structure and agency—have been the most extensively examined (Acker 1988; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999). The other two are networks (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986, Bevelander and Page 2011; Brass 1985) and context (Johns 2001; Sewell 1992; Welter 2011). While all these authors acknowledge that the variables they have explored interact with others to influence entrepreneurial outcomes, there is as yet no research available on how all four interact with each other at the level of the individual (Acker 1990; Bygrave and Hofer 1991; Fenwick 2003; Morris and Jones 1999; Sexton and Bowman-Upton 1990; Sorenson and Stuart 2008; Welter 2011).

Definitions of all four variables are heavily contested because they do not exist entirely as distinct entities but are terms often associated with identifying a tapestry of complex social relationships from which meaning is implied through interpretation (Sewell 1992). The following definitions are therefore limited to providing descriptions relative to the case study research discussed later in this chapter.

Structure is ambiguous because it is said to define what it designates and is often articulated through social concepts derived through the meaning of rules and schemas (Sewell 1992). Herewith, the term ‘structure’ is taken to imply ‘both the medium and the outcome of the practices which constitute social systems’ (Giddens 1981, p. 27).

Agency is taken to mean, at its most basic, ‘to act, do, set in motion’ (Hartwig 2007, p. 18). Individual agency, through reflexive interpretation of structure, has the transformational capacity to enable an individual to alter structure (Giddens 1993). Both structure and agency are important because they are said to constrain or enable individual action through the degree of an actor’s embeddedness within the organisational structure, which is perceived through the interpretation of the prevailing logics of appropriateness (Hall and Taylor 1996).

Networks as a term faces definitional imprecision because of the lack of attention paid to situating network analysis within the field of sociological enquiry (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994). Networks are both structur-

ally and associatively described as the social relations between individuals through linkages or ties (Kilduff et al. 2006). Networks provide important routes to power-holders that are essential in creating social capital and for accessing non-redundant (new) information needed to enact acceptable institutional change. Network linkages are used by individuals to enact entrepreneurial outcomes (Burt 1997, 2000, 2005).

Contexts are 'situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behaviour as well as functional relationships between variables' (Johns 2006, p. 386). The importance of setting boundaries for the purposes of conducting research is well understood (Johns 2006; Cappelli and Sherer 1991). The inclusion of context is important because it is known to impact on institutional behaviours and is an underdeveloped topic in studies on entrepreneurship.

In summary, most theorists involved in the study of institutionalism have, all too often, omitted the study of gender and how the social interactions among structure, agency and the individual bring about change (DiMaggio 1988b; Fligstein 1997; Lawrence and Suddaby 2006).

## A Case Study of Female Leadership in the UK Military

### Overview

To address the omission mentioned above, a case study was conducted within the UK MoD between 2012 and 2014. Reasons for choosing the military were, first, it is an institution (irrespective of its host nation) where males dominate leadership roles; second, as demonstrated in Table 3.1, the vast difference in gender equity between the UK's MoD and other institutions in the present decade warrants further investigation; third, having such a low percentage of female leaders (EHRC 2011) in the UK suggests the MoD may have some distinctive contextual variables which cannot be addressed by universal policy edicts; fourth, given that the UK is more advanced in implementing neoliberal reforms (Troy 2009; Whitworth 2016) than most nations, the comparative lack of progress in this institution warrants investigation; finally, because the MoD has had to make drastic reforms due to shrinking budgets

**Table 3.1** Women in top jobs in the UK, 2010/2011

Armed forces (Officer ranks 6–9)	01.3%
Judiciary	13.2%
Further education university vice chancellors	14.2%
Business FTSE 100	16.0%
Police ranks	16.6%
Politics cabinet	21.7%
Sport governing body	21.8%
News media	29.9%
Civil service	34.7%
Public appointments	36.4%
Secondary education	36.7%
General UK workforce	32.0%

(Source: EHRC 2011)

and workforce numbers (Chalmers 2015) and because producing officers is an expensive and time-intensive exercise, making better use of the creative talents of every leader in a reduced workforce has become a strategically important issue.

## Research Framework

The research was an exploratory, qualitative, collective case study that set out to answer the following question:

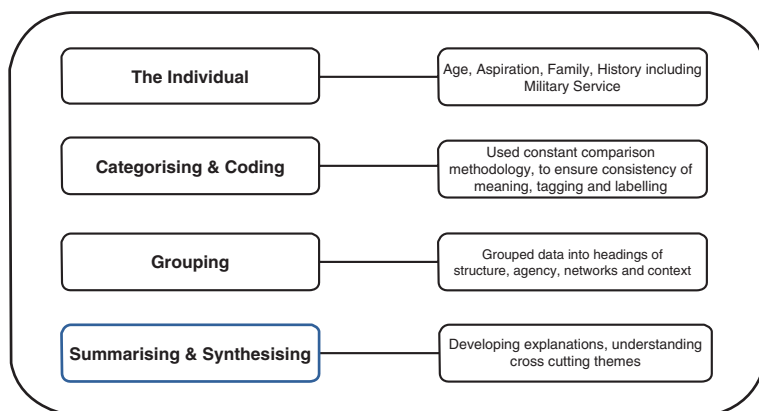
*How do female leaders as entrepreneurs interpret and respond to the dynamic relationships between structure, agency, networks and context to successfully change those institutional logics that hinder their career advancement?*

The sample drawn for the study consisted of 52 uniformed female officers from all three services (Navy, Army and Airforce), as detailed in Table 3.2.

Most of the primary data came from semi-structured interviews lasting from 60 to 90 minutes, which were conducted with all the officers. A questionnaire (Appendix 3.1) aimed at investigating the four dynamic variables (structure, agency, networks and context) was developed by the authors to guide the interviews. All responses to the questions were recorded and transcribed, and were then analysed using Miles and

**Table 3.2** Senior leadership military grades and ranks of the research participants

Service	Officer rank	Grade (OF 6 is a senior leadership appointment)	Female
The Royal Navy	6	Commodore	0
	5	Captain	2
	4	Commander	14
The Army	6	Brigadier	0
	5	Colonel	3
	4	Lieutenant Colonel	13
The Royal Air Force	6	Air Commodore	1
	5	Group Captain	5
	4	Wing Commander	14
Total			52

**Fig. 3.1** Steps used in data analysis

Huberman's (1994) methodology which incorporates the constant comparison method from Grounded Theory. These authors describe data analysis as progressively focusing and funnelling the information gathered to understand its true meaning. Fig. 3.1 below depicts the steps that were progressively used to refine the data and develop the five themes which follow.

## Findings from the Study

The overall findings confirmed that each of the four variables developed for the purposes of this research had a causative effect on career progression and that all four variables interacted in a dynamic manner. However, it was also found that individuals and their corresponding service environment offered different patterns and interpretations of these four variables. Deeper analysis of the findings revealed the following five themes.<sup>1</sup>

### **Theme 1: Women Needed to Navigate Institutional Structures to Enhance Leadership Potential**

Being able to navigate structure was found to be a very important factor in terms of gaining promotion. This formal network was portrayed within a hierarchy that reflected the concept of authority and status correlating with the symbolism of leadership within the military. Typically referenced examples were badges of rank and titles of organisations such as MoD, Navy Command Headquarters, Headquarters Land Forces and Headquarters Air Command. This finding on the importance of symbols is closely aligned to cultural leadership theory and transformational leadership as depicted by Den-Hartog et al. (1999).

### **Theme 2: Leadership Legitimacy**

Institutional logics are based upon historically formed scripts of acceptable practice. They also provide the means through which actors can leverage resources to explore opportunities for agency and to enact change (Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Thornton et al. 2012). Thus, women needed to gain the symbols associated with formal structure in order to be viewed as having leadership legitimacy within the male dominated context of Defence. Without such leadership legitimacy, they found it difficult to gain access to higher ranks which would enable them to enact change in a structurally acceptable way. Female officers faced what Levy and Scully (2007) refer to as the 'paradox of embedded agency' and what



Holm (1995) describes as the puzzle of ‘how actors can change institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change’ (p. 398).

### **Theme 3: Institutional Processes that Provide Access to Leadership Roles Within the Military Are Gender Neutral but Are Not Gender Blind**

The ability of women to advance into senior leadership roles beyond Officer Level 5 was largely viewed as being dependent upon two elements. The first was described as the ‘Golden Escalator’, a method by which the MoD matches people to important high-status leadership roles in a suitably time-sensitive manner. The second was a selective course titled the ‘Advanced Command and Staff Course’ (ACSC). Virtually all interviewees suggested that these two elements were mutually inclusive determinants for female, but not male, leader advancement. Despite this assertion, a review of the MoD’s official career guidance policies found nothing to support this view. There appeared to be a large gap between the espoused values in formal policies (gender neutrality) versus the values-in-use (gender blind) which the subjects believed were heavily pro-male when it came to selection for attending the ACSC.

The ‘Golden Escalator’ appeared to operate in parallel to the needs of the formal structure by identifying the preconditions for being appointed to important roles. Most women took the view that getting off this escalator for any period of absence would cost them promotion opportunities. The most commonly cited reason for leaving the escalator was childbirth. Three dominant responses to deal with the escalator were developed. The first was to delay having children (often in the early 40s) until higher ranks had been reached. The second was to have children earlier but then rely on support systems outside the military (e.g. family, full-time nannies and husbands willing to support wives in their careers ahead of their own) which allowed the women to return to work within a relatively short time (generally less than six months). The third response broke into two types. The first was to make a deliberate choice to not have children so as to reduce career advancement risks. Others were simply not interested in having children for various personal reasons (e.g. own values

and beliefs). Anecdotal data gathered on those who left the MoD suggested that their rationale for making this decision was consistent with multinational comparative studies which have consistently demonstrated gendered divisions of labour and responsibility, where children are largely viewed as the women's responsibility (Wilson 2011).

As all institutions within the UK struggle with the issue of women, children and career (Chartered Management Institute 2013), the MoD is not exceptional. A common explanation for this organisational struggle is that while neoliberal policies espouse various forms of equality, they are weak in distributing the resources needed to achieve those outcomes (Bacchi and Eveline 2003). This criticism appears less applicable to the MoD with respect to resources defined in very limited economic terms. While neoliberalism acknowledges that resources can include social factors, it is nonetheless an ideology founded upon—and largely informed by—classical economics, and its formal policies struggle to deal with ideas that cannot be expressed in financial terms. Accessing intangible assets (e.g. trust, legitimacy, relationships) constitute a key part of many of the resources needed for career advancement. As the findings in the case study showed, however, women cannot easily access such assets due to limited pathways bound by many restrictions, including gender biases based around institutional conformity that are male-centric.

Independent evidence supporting the above view was found in 2011, where a senior Royal Air Force (RAF) female officer won a sex discrimination claim against the MoD. The Tribunal ruled that the officer 'should have been the preferred candidate for the role but was passed over because she was a woman' (BBC 2013). In response, the MoD made the following public statement: 'The RAF is fully committed to the Equality Act 2010 and has consistently received extensive recognition for its work on gender equity and is promoting career opportunities for women' (BBC 2013). That this statement is factually correct tends to demonstrate how, despite such laudable efforts, deeply embedded institutional logics persist in shaping job promotion outcomes.

### **Theme 4: Women Who Seek Senior Leadership Roles Within Defence Act Strategically by Adopting a 'Calculus' Approach to Leadership Role Selection**

The 'calculus' perspective is where the principal aspects of human behaviour are based on strategic calculation, and behaviour is directed towards maximising the attainment of pre-defined internalised goals (Hall and Taylor 1996; Shepsle 2005). In drawing parallels with the field of entrepreneurship, this accrual of benefit closely relates to the critical resources that entrepreneurial leaders need to deploy in order to enact change (Dacin et al. 2002; DiMaggio 1988a). The responses to this perspective covered a wide range, from women who acted strategically by reviewing and then pursuing options that returned the maximum benefit through to those who saw the system as a meritocracy in which hard work would be recognised and rewarded. By comparison, those women who considered the service promotion system as a meritocracy and emphasised their inner beliefs about the appropriateness of the selection system appeared not to be as hopeful of promotion to senior leadership positions as those who adopted a 'calculus' approach.

### **Theme 5: Context Plays a Role in Leadership Selection**

Contextual factors were identified in the findings as creating endogenous effects that could impact on the ability of women to acquire suitable roles to obtain the leadership legitimacy needed for promotion (e.g. until recently, women's exclusion from combat positions). The majority of interviewees stated that there were far fewer barriers in place than there had been over the past 20 years. While externally imposed legislative requirements were viewed as the main reason for creating these improvements, they were also seen to be creating a contradictory force which reduced opportunities for serving women. NPM's relentless drive for ever greater outsourcing naturally targeted non-combat activities, precisely where female officer positions were in the highest number.

Using internal metrics, the MoD has made considerable progress with a far higher proportion of female officers in place than ever before.

Nonetheless, compared to other institutions which have also been forced to outsource many activities, the percentage of women in high level leadership positions in the three military services remains extremely low.

## Conclusion

This chapter investigated what recent changes in institutional contexts, driven primarily by neoliberal ideology and subsequently implemented through NPM, have meant for women with respect to two interrelated dimensions. Drawing on a recent case study, the chapter sought to first examine the kind of issues women have needed to address in the MoD to improve their career prospects. Entrepreneurial leadership theory was selected to guide the study because it aligned well with the leadership issues that women face within a contemporary institutional setting such as the MoD. Second, as these contextual changes were driven primarily by neoliberalism, which claims gender neutrality, the chapter sought to assess the degree of substance behind that claim.

With respect to the first dimension, it was demonstrated that the four variables which inform entrepreneurial leadership theory (agency, structure, network and context) acted, as predicted, in creating a complex, highly dynamic interrelationship. It was found that women who adopted an entrepreneurial leadership style could exercise personal agency to increase their career prospects. In addition, the structural changes made within the MoD, such as programmes to help women advance their careers and less restrictive gender based policies, have provided even greater support. The net result is that women in the MoD now have more opportunities for career advancement than has previously been the case. However, in comparative analysis terms, the MoD remains, by a very considerable margin, the least likely organisation where women can advance to senior ranks. The findings of the case study suggested that the overall organisational network did have, and continues to have, an impact on the present recruitment, training, promotion and retention practices, as it is still bound in an institutional logic, driven largely—and perhaps unwittingly—by linear thinking, process-focused maintainers of the status quo, with the result that women are held back.

The second dimension—neoliberalism’s claims to gender neutrality—was found to be overstated for two possible reasons. First, there appears to be an inherent contradiction between neoliberalism aspiring to an ideal of gender neutrality while simultaneously implementing NPM strategies which undermine the chances of these goals ever being achieved. As shown in Theme 5 from the case study, NPM’S privileging of economic decision making has resulted in ever more outsourcing of the military roles where female officers had the greatest chance of advancement. The resulting trajectory is one where female officers have more enabling and supporting policies to help them progress, but into ever fewer roles. The second reason is that neoliberalism’s assumption about universal applicability may not be correct. The case study described in this chapter showed that the MoD has not responded, in outcome terms, to the neo-liberal agenda in the way most other institutions have. This suggests that, compared to other organisations, the MoD may have institutional differences which are so great that universal policies cannot adequately address them.

The two interrelated dimensions foregrounded in this chapter also reinforce commentary from the literature which points to the gap in present understandings of gendered networks and entrepreneurship, including how women appear disadvantaged within institutional network relationships. The findings of the case study presented in this chapter lend support to that commentary. The findings may also have applicability to military organisations across the Western world, as most have been exposed to the same policies aimed at greater gender neutrality, and most provide evidence which suggests these policies are either not working at all or working at such a slow rate as to be considered ineffective. Either way, a strong case can be made to critically investigate both the validity of foundational assumptions currently underpinning gender policies in respect to military institutions and their networks, and the effectiveness of those policies.

## Note

1. Ministry of Defence (2016). UK Armed Forces: Biannual diversity statistics. Retrieved 1st April 2016 from [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/530586/Biannual\\_Diversity\\_Statistics\\_1Apr16\\_revised.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/530586/Biannual_Diversity_Statistics_1Apr16_revised.pdf).

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# 4

## Small and Medium-Sized Accounting Firms in India: Inclusive or Exclusive Leadership?

Sujana Adapa and Alison Sheridan

### Introduction

Integral to the effective management of the business are the concepts of creativity and innovation that set apart one business from another through differentiation and competitive advantage (Hulshegar and Anderson 2009). Business owners need to display effective leadership capabilities in the management of critical resources such as funding, information and time (Carmeli et al. 2010a, b), no matter what their size. Businesses globally face an increasingly uncertain and turbulent environment. Major challenges in this regard include globalisation, technology, privatisation and competition (Cooper et al. 2003). These forces, whether internal or external to the work environment, need to be managed effectively to ensure viability and profitability.

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For businesses to thrive in the turbulent contemporary environment, the time for the single 'heroic' leader is well past (Sinclair 1998). Leaders need to motivate their staff to engage in creative work practices in order to differentiate the business from competitors. Leaders not only act as role models, but also need to create an inclusive environment by building trust-based relationships with their staff (Atwater and Carmeli 2009). Trust-based relationship building will enable staff to appreciate their leaders as they believe that 'their voices are genuinely valued' (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006, p. 948). Leaders need to exhibit openness and availability and empower their followers (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006).

Inclusive leadership is useful in making successful critical decisions and in meeting desired ends. It promotes interpersonal relationships and mutually benefits leaders and followers. While traditional conceptions of leadership acknowledge and put greater emphasis upon leaders' qualities, capabilities, character and charisma, they tend to lack a framework in which effective relationships are established and maintained with followers. Inclusive leadership thus pushes the boundaries of the traditional leadership framework and takes the concept to the next level by way of creating mechanisms for the benefit of all by including followers in the process (Hollander 2004). Cooperation between leaders and followers is vital for business success. Moreover, followers play an active role in constructing an inclusive work environment and fostering group, organisational and societal goals alongside profitable business outcomes (Howell and Shamir 2005).

While reasonable literature exists upon inclusive leadership and the creation of inclusive work environments internationally, the focus of research tends to relate to larger organisations. Research related to inclusive leadership and inclusive work environments in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) is sparse, and notably, only a few studies have focused upon exploring the Indian business context. To address this research deficiency, our primary aim was to understand perceptions of owner-managers as leaders of small and medium-sized accounting firms in India due to the high economic growth of the emerging middle class and the increase in the number of small and medium-sized accounting firms in the recent past (The Business World 2010). This study aims to explore perceptions of owner-managers of small and medium-sized



accounting firms in India with reference to notions of an inclusive work environment and whether or not they showcase inclusive leadership in day-to-day work-related activities (with their employees construed as 'followers'). In-depth interviews with 20 (13 men and 7 women) owner-managers (accounting professionals) of small and medium-sized accounting firms in Chennai, India, were undertaken. The questionnaire used in the in-depth interviewing process primarily aimed to understand the career progression strategies of these accounting professionals in order to explore women's under-representation in senior roles in the profession. The qualitative data obtained from the interviews and the experiences shared by the owner-managers of small and medium-sized Indian accounting firms revealed some interesting leadership practices prevalent in the sector.

### **Small and Medium-Sized Accounting Firms in India**

While there is no universally accepted definition of SMEs (Lokhande 2011), it is clear that SMEs throughout the world contribute to socio-economic development and entrepreneurship and provide employment opportunities alongside overall growth (Baumol 2004; Love and Roper 2015). They achieve competitive advantages over large organisations by providing tailored and personalised goods and services that meet the requirements of the clients (Majumdar 2007). However, SMEs also suffer from significant financial and institutional barriers such as the management of taxation and government and financial support (Muthaiah and Venkatesh 2012). Further, SMEs face external and internal barriers in the form of market positioning, networking abilities and owner-managers' expertise (Curran 2000; Bartlett and Bukvic 2001; Love and Roper 2015).

Indian SMEs are predominantly classified into manufacturing and service enterprises as per the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Act of 2006. The services sector in India is estimated to be the second largest in the world and is expected to contribute 62 per cent share of India's gross domestic product (GDP) by 2020. SME classification in India relies upon investment amounts (The Business World

2010). Many factors such as technological changes, rapid globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation are constantly changing business performance, and increasingly, firms are operating in a turbulent and competitive environment. However, because of their size, flexibility and adaptability, SMEs are expected to effectively operate in uncertain business environments. Many SMEs operate in isolation and this actually hinders access to marketing, information, and financing and institutional resources (Singh et al. 2008).

## Indian Accounting Firms

Accounting firms in India offer regular accounting, auditing, business consultancy and tax services on a day-to-day basis. Additionally, they also undertake management consultancy and advisory services (Ghatak 2010). The professional nature of accounting firms requires specialist technical knowledge to satisfy clients' needs and the creation of customised solutions to solve clients' problems. The accounting sector in India is the second largest in the world after the United States (Ghatak 2010). The sector is highly developed, has the potential to be internationally competitive and provides services to 80 per cent of the country's businesses (Ghatak 2010). The accounting profession was largely controlled by the Indian government prior to 1949. Later, the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) set accounting and auditing standards for the profession as the prime regulatory authority. The Institute of Cost and Works Accountants of India (ICWAI) also regulates and sets standards for the profession (Kyriacou et al. 2010). All accounting firms and accountants require familiarity with Indian Accounting Standards (IAS).

The accounting sector in India is fragmented and characterised largely by SMEs. The sector operates under a variety of regulations in order to maintain professional standards and quality. The British also exerted a greater control on the development of the accounting profession in colonial and postcolonial societies in India (Anisette 2000). As per the Indian Companies Act of 1956, only local small and medium-sized accounting firms were allowed to conduct statutory audits. However, major structural and jurisdictional changes were evident in the Indian

accounting sector from 1990 to 2005. The Big Four multinational accounting firms (KPMG, Ernst & Young, Deloitte & Touche and PricewaterhouseCoopers) entered the Indian market in 1991, and in 1995, over 62 per cent of the market share was occupied by these firms. The Big Four accounting firms were granted unlimited market access by the Indian government as part of the reform process in 1991 following the foreign exchange crisis (CAAC 2002).

Given the prominence of small and medium-sized accounting practices in India, it is germane to understand how the owner-managers as leaders manage the workforce to not only attain a competitive advantage, but also promote an inclusive work environment to facilitate the long-term success of the firm. The next section presents important theoretical underpinnings associated with inclusive leadership and an inclusive work environment. The rationale for the selection of qualitative research methods is also discussed, and the results and the discussion of the findings are then presented.

## Literature Review

Contemporary workplaces have diverse workforces, and business leaders need to effectively leverage this employee diversity to achieve profitable business outcomes. Traditional workplaces in India (irrespective of size) mainly comprised male workforces and there has been a massive shift in terms of composition of the workforce in firms after the social reformation processes in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Organisations and firms attract women alongside men as female participation in paid work increased substantially after the reformation process. In a culturally diverse yet constrained society like India with class and caste stratifications, leaders of firms and organisations continuously grapple with the management of talent, gender and work in order to obtain successful business outcomes. While organisations internationally have embraced diversity and talent in the work environment and fostered the creation of equal and inclusive opportunities, little has been published upon leadership and inclusive work practices in the Indian context.

## Inclusion

Talent and diversity in work environments demand inclusion to foster team engagement and to promote organisational innovation and creativity (Hulsheger and Anderson 2009). Many organisations internationally have identified the positive outcomes associated with inclusive strategies and also have embraced elements of inclusion such as fairness and respect, value and belonging, and confidence in vision and mission statements. For example, fairness and respect promote equal treatment of employees and foster opportunity to all. Value and belongingness focus appreciation of any sort of uniqueness and embrace a sense of social connectedness. Confidence and inspiration in the work environment foster team performance and encourage individuals to raise their voice and be heard by leaders.

The twenty-first-century business leader needs to be adaptable and readily embrace inclusivity in their organisations as there seems to be a divide between organisational policies and real work practices. Although business leaders recognise that the elements of inclusion are vital for business success, today's organisations lack frameworks related to inclusive leadership. Inclusion in the work environment is related to job and psychological characteristics as perceived by employees construed as followers (Mor Barak and Cherin 1998). For example, specific organisational practices and approaches determine employees' accessibility to information and resources which, in turn, have an impact on their subjective experiences and further influence the extent of employee participation and engagement in various work-related activities (Roberson 2006). Organisations that embed inclusion strategies navigate various obstacles, encourage employee diversity, increase participation and reduce employee turnover (Mor Barak 2010; Nishii and Mayer 2009).

## Inclusive Leadership

Leaders continuously strive to create inclusive environments in modern workplaces and understand the many benefits that inclusive leadership offers in fostering workplace creativity and innovation (Carmeli et al. 2010a, b). Inclusive leaders act as exemplars of inclusive behaviour and

take into account the views of various individuals without bias. Inclusive leadership also focuses upon recognising employees' self-efficacy levels; develops employees' current performance; and promotes employees' future advancement. Inclusive leadership also fosters a shared vision for the business by engaging all employees in decision-making. Therefore, inclusive leaders need to communicate authentically to enhance the trust and loyalty of their employees. Organisations with inclusive leadership frameworks place greater emphasis upon exploring—rather than exploiting—aspects of workplace culture. This characteristic typically enhances creative and innovative work tasks and the development of new products, services and markets. The exploitative framework primarily concerns the control of costs and workplace procedures. The quality of the relationship between leaders and employees construed as followers is critical in understanding the concept of inclusive leadership and the theoretical underpinnings relating to the social exchange model (Emerson 1976). Social exchange theory provides a valuable explanation in understanding the workplace behaviour of leaders and followers as the interactions between them are interdependent and influence the actions of each other (Blau 1964). Existing research highlights the influence of social exchange theory upon the exertion of social power, the formation of networks, the independence of leaders and the formation of psychological contracts between leaders and followers (Linden et al. 1997; Nishii and Mayer 2009).

### **Inclusive Leadership: Gendered Work**

Inclusive leaders need to effectively manage gender and occupational divisions and changing workforce demographics (Nishii and Mayer 2009). Inclusive leaders also have the responsibility to overcome traditional work practices that trigger gendered work and gender segregation due to the integration of sector- and industry-specific contextual and gender-based individual cognitive assumptions (Cappelli and Sherer 1991). The theory of statistical discrimination offers a valid explanation of how leaders classify work on the basis of their employees' marginal productivity and gender, leading to the formation of stereotypes and

homosocial reproduction (Aigner and Cain 1977; Shore et al. 2011). For example, women in male-dominated work environments consciously adopt masculine traits and behaviour to conform to prevailing norms (Kanter 1977). However, women with masculine traits are often excluded from formal and informal work-related activities (Carter and Silva 2010). Employees might view female leaders as less competent and less effective in a male-dominated leadership environment (Thoroughgood et al. 2013). Similarly, males promoting gender initiatives are perceived by employees as possessing feminine traits (Rudman et al. 2013). Therefore, it is relevant to understand the promising insights that inclusive leadership will offer in negotiating gendered spaces and spreading the balance of power in ever-changing business environments. The next section presents the rationale for undertaking a qualitative interviewing approach and outlines the methodological considerations pertinent to this study.

## Methods

The research question prompting this study explores whether owner-managers of Indian small and medium-sized accounting firms (here construed as leaders) promote an inclusive work environment for their employees (construed as followers). Existing research upon accounting firms and gender orientation is primarily quantitative, and does not explore the respondents' insights into their daily experiences. Moreover, comparatively little research has been done on the Indian small and medium-sized accounting firm context. Furthermore, the usage of inclusive practices in this specific context has been underexplored. Therefore, we have employed a grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Walsh et al. 2015) to understand the theoretical concepts that underpin the broader areas of leadership and their efforts to create inclusive work environments. Qualitative interviewing techniques have been identified to be a valid research method to obtain exploratory data from respondents and to provide an overall understanding of the stated research argument (Charmaz 2008). Ethics approval (HE13-077) was obtained from the University of New England's Human Research Ethics Committee prior to data collection. Overall, 20 semi-structured interviews with both male

( $n = 13$ ) and female ( $n = 7$ ) principals and partners (owner-managers and leaders) of small and medium-sized accounting firms operating in Chennai, India, were conducted in early 2014.

The firms were initially identified using a random sampling technique. The principal researcher initiated the primary contact with the respondents via telephone conversation. The respondents who agreed to participate in the research study were contacted by the principal researcher and more respondents were recruited via a snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling involves sourcing potential participants on the basis of references made by the initial participants (Hair et al. 2003; Zikmund et al. 2013). Respondents identified themselves as principals or partners or owner-managers or leaders of small and medium-sized accounting firms. The interviews were scheduled in accordance to the respondents' convenience and availability. Each interview took 45 minutes to 1 hour and was conducted in small cafes located within the respondents' workplace or sometimes in the respondents' offices. Respondents shared their experiences in the accounting profession, their views upon their work environment, career advancement, male domination, professional associations, clients, networks, work and family balance, as well as caste and class stratifications.

The principal researcher audio-recorded the 20 interviews and transcribed them manually. All interviews were then systematically coded with qualitative software (Nvivo 11) in order to identify themes with conceptual coherence (Miles and Huberman 1994). The principal researcher coded data obtained from the respondents and tabulated important themes upon the basis of word frequency. The researchers then worked together to resolve points of difference by comparing the thematic categories obtained from this research and themes in the existing research. The existence of a limited literature upon inclusive leaders in small and medium-sized accounting businesses in India and the frequent mention of gendered work practices helped the researchers make sense of the respondents' conversations. Emergent thematic categories of importance were checked by the researchers by cross-referencing existing work and identifying new insights from respondents' responses. This process allowed the researchers to agree upon the final themes of importance related to the sector specificities of our research.

## Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The respondents' demographic profiles presented in Table 4.1 included variables such as average age, level of income, level of education and experience in the accounting profession. The age range of the respondents construed as leaders or owner-managers varied from 50 to 65 years. A much closer examination of the demographic data revealed distinctions between small and medium-sized accounting firms in India. Small-sized firms (including micro-sized accounting firms operating in Chennai) have more accountants as owner-managers aged 50 to 55 years compared to medium-sized accounting firms (the minimum age for promotion to principal or partner was 60 years). Family-owned businesses operating in Chennai have examples of female accountants as owner-managers at 35 to 40 years, which is a rarity in the accounting profession. Respondents' average income ranged from Rs 150 000 to Rs 500 000, with owner-managers of medium-sized accounting firms earning more than the small-sized, micro-sized and family-owned firms. Another point of distinction on the basis of demographic data is that the owner-managers of medium-sized and family-owned accounting firms attracted higher salaries compared to owner-managers of micro-sized and small-sized accounting firms. A majority of the owner-managers possessed a master's qualification such as MCom (master's in commerce) or MBA (master's in business administration) and relevant professional qualifications as chartered accountants (CA). The majority of the owner-managers who participated in the study were affiliated to professional bodies such as the ICAI and the ICWAI.

**Table 4.1** Demographic profile of the respondents

Age	50–65 years
Level of income	Rs 1,50,000–Rs 5,00,000
Majority level of education	Master's (MCom and/or MBA)
Number of years of experience	20–30 years
Majority professional qualifications	CA
Professional associations	The Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI) The Institute of Cost and Works Accountants of India (ICWAI)



## Results and Discussion

The responses obtained from the male and female owner-managers provide information upon how leadership practices are practised on a day-to-day basis and offer important insights into the treatment of employees. Firstly, all of the small and medium-sized accounting firms employed female accountants despite the traditionally predominant practice of the exclusion of women from the workforce and leadership. Secondly, the responses showcased a lack of core competencies relating to inclusive leadership in a professional context. Thirdly, the owner-managers associated their allocation of gendered work practices to work often regarded as 'expert work'. Fourthly, the responses evinced differences between small and medium-sized accounting practices and between male and female owner-managers in terms of executing inclusive strategies for employees.

### Core Competencies of Inclusive Leadership

The responses obtained from the owner-managers emphasised a lack of competencies related to inclusive leadership. They failed to encourage intellectual stimulation in promoting creative thinking among their employees. Similarly, they focused less on providing equal growth opportunities for all of their employees in realising their unique potential and contributions. Moreover, the owner-managers construed as leaders undermined the confidence of female employees by not recognising their self-efficacy levels and by not providing feedback. The owner-managers seemed incapable of engendering inspirational motivation through idea generation and unqualified acceptance of all employees without bias. The responses continuously focused on the powerful role of the principals and partners in the firm in devising rules and regulations, in addition to the power, control and hierarchical position that they held. These prevailing practices within the accounting firms under study represent a unidirectional focus of the owner-managers and vertical management structures. All of these practices followed within the sample emphasised the exclusive strategies followed by principals and partners as evident from the following quotes obtained from the respondents:

*Principals or partners were never seen to be jovial and interactive figures. They were always seen as men with power, as entrepreneurs, as risk-taking, as leaders, as rule makers and as decision-makers. Senior accountants rarely interacted with the junior accountants or trainees. The interactions that occurred were purely task-oriented and performance-related. There was no discussion on career progression, gender equality, nature of work or pay gap. (Respondent 3, Female Principal, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*Principals and partners have the power to devise rules and regulations. Employees are used to follow the instructions given by principals and partners (usually men) as they are very powerful. Next to principals and partners are the associates (also mostly men). (Respondent 5, Male Partner, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

The owner-managers also exerted bias in their responses towards employees in terms of work allocation, rewards and recognition. For example, the owner-managers as leaders of the Indian accounting firms seemed to favour male employees by engaging them in out-of-business-hour work and paying additional bonuses and commissions. Often the leaders of the accounting firms chose not to disclose the amounts paid as bonuses and commissions, thus exerting a conscious bias differentiating male and female employees, in terms of the type of work that they could perform and the amount of income that they could earn—factors all characteristic of exclusive leadership practice evident from the following respondents' quotes:

*We need dynamic male employees who are prepared to travel with a short notice and network with clients (formally or informally) if the work demands. So, they get paid more as commissions and bonuses for that extra bit of work. We do not disclose how much is paid to our male employees as a bonus or as a commission. (Respondent 7, Male Principal, Small Micro-sized Accounting Firm)*

*Male accountants work harder than the female employees and usually factor in extra time out of normal business working hours. We simply cannot encourage the female accountants to engage in the profession out of normal work hours. Women with family responsibilities cannot afford to take up travel-associated*

*work and have to compromise on commissions and bonus payments. Female accountants just earn the regular salaries. However male accountants work harder by engaging themselves in out-of-office-hour work and get paid extra (in the form of commissions and receive a bonus for new client leads).* **(Respondent 17, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)**

Furthermore, the owner-managers lacked characteristics of inclusive leadership such as empathy (to appreciate the perspectives of employees), persuasion (to influence employees' actions without force), foresight (to consider the views of employees), stewardship (to serve everyone rather for self-gain) and healing (for the well-being of all employees). The principals and partners exerted power to influence employees' actions and also restricted the decision-making to themselves by consciously avoiding to take into consideration employees' views. Principals and partners saw profit maximisation and business expansion as critical and thus focused on these at the cost of the well-being of employees and a more equitable form of resources management as expressed in the following quotes:

*The principals and partners make decisions and employees generally are not consulted given the size of our firm. As principals and partners, we also need to enforce strict control mechanisms as we need to continuously monitor our profits. We have plans to expand our business and it is critical that we get the work practices right so that the clients are happy.* **(Respondent 8, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)**

*Principals and partners make the decisions at our discretion and let the employees know what our expectations from them are.* **(Respondent 17, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)**

## Creation of Gendered Workspaces

Rather than embracing inclusive leadership practices, the owner-managers chose to create gendered spaces within the work environment. These are visible in terms of the nature and the type of work allocated to male and female accountants by the principals and partners. Female accountants' skills and capabilities were often restricted to the management of clients'

records and other ‘backstage’ work (Kirkham and Loft 1993) such as maintenance of the existing client base with the implementation of effective relationship-building strategies. The follow-up work with identified potential clients, existing clients, business and high net worth clients as well as marketing and networking activities were usually assigned to male accountants. The principals and partners as leaders displayed discriminatory work allocation practices to their employees on the basis of gender.

*Senior male employees are asked to take care of our high net worth clients (both individual and business) and junior male accountants are asked to take care of the low net worth clients. Female accountants usually keep track of the clients’ books and records. This practice of work allocation is not new in the profession and has been there for many years. My father and grandfather were accountants and worked in different firms and shared similar work-related practices prevailing in the accounting industry during their time. (Respondent 5, Male Partner, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*Our employees are aware of the type of work that they have to do. The usual process in the firm is that female accountants take care of all of the clients existing records and update these records after the tax period every year. The male accountants are involved in meeting up with the business clients, networking with new clients and other professional activities. (Respondent 7, Male Principal, Small Micro-sized Accounting Firm)*

Moreover, the owner-managers as leaders supported the discriminatory status quo (Khalifa 2013). Similarly, they contended that the type of work and the nature of work allocated to female accountants were in line with the societal, class and caste stratifications in India, thus creating and replicating gender segregation and bias.

*The main deterrent is the out-of-business-hour work that may not be suitable to many women with families. Married women and women from certain castes have many restrictions from their families and as firm’s owner-managers we should not be wasting our time working on these things. (Respondent 1, Male Principal, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*It has been an ongoing tradition in the firm that male accountants are encouraged to meet up informally for social and professional events. Female accountants are not even asked to be part of these formal and informal events. Female accountants are generally asked to maintain and update the records of individual clients. New clients and business clients are usually assigned to male accountants (juniors and seniors). (Respondent 8, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)*

Furthermore, comments from owner-managers reflected discriminatory and stereotypical views held by principals and partners. For example, the principals and partners readily evinced a willingness to financially support their male employees for upskilling through the acquisition of new qualifications, whereas they expressed reluctance either to support or to offer the same benefits for the female accountants, thus limiting the female employees' career progression opportunities. They unquestioningly accepted the cultural masculinity of leader stereotypes (Koenig et al. 2011).

*We also try and encourage our employees to upskill their studies by the acquisition of CA and CPA professional qualifications as increasingly we are attracting highly educated clients looking for these qualifications in our accountants. Generally, we do not encourage our female employees to pursue professional qualifications as it is unlikely that they would stay with us for more than 4 years. (Respondent 18, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*Usually senior male accountants and male associates have informal coffee conversations and sports commitments after work. Often they ask principals and partners to join their informal events. As some of our female employees have family commitments after work, we don't even ask them to join us. A majority of them (female accountants) wouldn't even turn up for the firm's annual dinner. (Respondent 18, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)*

## Common Identification of 'Expert Work'

Small and medium-sized firms suffer severe competition and effective deployment of financial and human resources. Similarly, the marketing capabilities of small and medium-sized accounting firms are limited due to a lack of expertise among employees (Battisti et al. 2010). Therefore, a majority of small and medium-sized business focus upon customised approaches to satisfy their clients and the delivery of complex and specialised services (Battisti et al. 2010). Accounting firms struggle to offer a differentiated service due to the prevalence of routine compliance-based work. However, the need to introduce innovative solutions to solve clients' problems cannot be ignored because of the competitive advantage that these solutions create in the long term.

The nature of work carried out in accounting firms is very much rule-based (McDowall and Jackling 2010), and the firms' management often link employee performance with available inputs and expected outputs. As such, the focus of many modern accounting firms is still based upon traditional workplace cultures and owner-managers are often reluctant to embrace change (Chang and Birkett 2004). Development of creative solutions to existing problems demands a considerable investment of time, and in the accounting profession, time is related to monetary value and meeting deadlines. Therefore, the principals and partners as leaders are reluctant to embrace any changes at the expense of work production (Shalley et al. 2004). A typical accountant is perceived to work hard, carry out expert work and deliver timely outcomes.

*I would attribute this situation to the intensive nature of the profession and the type of work carried in the accounting firms. Simply work arrangement and work allocation practices do not suit women very well. Also, the female accountants cannot meet the intense work demands in the profession as it involves working for extended hours (specifically during the tax filing periods) and other marketing/networking activities. Women with children and family responsibilities may voluntarily decide not to engage in these types of after work hour's activities and plan for a different career path. (Respondent 5, Male Partner, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*The accounting work determines who can become a principal or a partner. The work is extreme and intense that one has to put in a lot of hard work, commitment, travel time, out of normal working hours, and willingness to engage in formal and informal networking. Women cannot manage all of these on top of family commitments and therefore cannot work towards attaining the status of a principal or a partner. (Respondent 10, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)*

Also, the owner-managers of small and medium-sized accounting firms placed greater emphasis upon meeting the expectations of the clients. Clients' needs and expectations seemed to be the priority for most of these accounting firms. Meeting the clients' needs effectively and efficiently has to be a priority for businesses, particularly service-oriented ones. However, the categorisation of clients as low or high net worth businesses or individual clients and the offering of highly specialised and customised services to each and every client seemed to be a labour-intensive and time-consuming process. The owner-managers of Indian accounting firms in this study largely overlooked the employees' contribution or commitment to retaining the existing client base and the acquisition of new clients. These prevailing practices derive in part from a lack of inclusion of employees in the decision-making process, and the lack of transparent communications within the firm.

*It is always like the more you work and meet the needs of your clients you will be able to make profits and venture into expanding the business. (Respondent 1, Male Principal, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

*Clients are used to meeting up with a male principal or partner on a regular basis. They wouldn't be comfortable to discuss their needs, expectations and tax management practices with the female accountants. (Respondent 17, Male Principal, Medium-Sized Accounting Firm)*

## Characteristics of Firm Size and Gender

The responses show a difference of opinion held by owner-managers relating to firm size, type and the gender of the owner-manager. For example, a majority of the owner-managers interviewed felt that small-sized

accounting firms tended to include their employees in the key processes of communication, negotiation, information-sharing and decision-making. Small-sized firms were thus seen to be more flexible in their approach to their employees.

*Small-sized accounting firms are obviously viewed by women as much safer with lesser number of employees (...no harassment). Personally, I have found it very hard to work in a medium-sized accounting firm. Firstly, there were many employees (...more men). Secondly, nothing seemed to be transparent (...pay rates or the type of work). Thirdly, lots of discussions occur behind the scenes (... more often female colleagues form part of the discussion).* **(Respondent 2, Female Principal, Small Micro-sized Accounting Firm)**

*Small-sized firms seemed to be somewhat better at least in sharing accurate information with all of the employees and seemed to engage in a lesser level of gossiping. Medium-sized accounting firms maintained a strict hierarchy of the roles. However, these hierarchy levels seemed to generate different levels of informal discussions and gossip about employees (mainly female employees). Both small- and medium-sized accounting firms seemed to be strict with the working hours, maternity leave and sick leave.* **(Respondent 3, Female Principal, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)**

Further, based on the number of employees working within a firm and the annual profits generated by the firm, two distinct subcategories have been identified in relation to small-sized firms: micro-sized and small family-owned practices. The owner-managers of the micro-sized firms seemed to be more open and willing to disseminate information to all of their employees (and also seek feedback from them). The owner-managers of micro-sized accounting firms seemed to focus on inclusion strategies in this respect. Small family-owned accounting owners were relatively young and many of the employees were related to each other. Initially, small family-owned accounting practices seemed to incorporate inclusive practices by involving all of the employees of the firm in the decision-making processes; however, owner-managers tended to operate in a more exclusive environment. The founders of the family-owned



firms had more influence in terms of power and control, thus excluding the opinions put forward by the existing owner-managers. The founders of the family-owned practices, although not formally engaged in the firms' activities, attributed their involvement in the firms' activities to the inexperience of young existing owner-managers in making critical decisions related to business expansion, client acquisition and staff recruitment.

*Usually principals are involved in the process of decision-making. However, we communicate to our employees and ask for their input if any changes are required. A majority of our clients are women as well who are involved in running other small businesses. (Respondent 12, Male Principal, Small Micro-sized Accounting Firm)*

*I am not allowed to recruit competent people from outside our family, in order to maintain the family business tradition. Focus has been on upskilling the family members' professional qualifications rather than recruiting from outside. I am acting as an owner-manager in a protected environment under the suggestions of close family members. Right now members of the family who are older to me control my decisions. (Respondent 9, Female Principal, Small Family-Owned Accounting Firm)*

For example, some of the male and female owner-managers of the micro-sized accounting firms seemed to create inclusive work environments by encouraging employees' involvement in client management and business management. However, some of the male and female principals and partners strongly attributed the exclusion of female accountants from marketing and networking activities to family commitments and strong stereotypical beliefs that they held towards women in the profession (Haynes 2016).

*We also encourage our female employees to take up work-related travel if they are interested. We involve all our employees in making key decisions related to client and business management. (Respondent 15, Female Principal, Small Micro-sized Accounting Firm)*

*Almost all of our clients are men managing different types of businesses and sometimes even managing more than one small business. It would be hard for women to understand the types of business activities that our clients carry out and work towards an acceptable solution to manage our clients' personal and professional taxes. For this reason, I prefer not to take any measures in the firm at this point of time as our firm is generating profits on a sustained basis. Implementation of any new measures would mean to allow time for employee adjustment and this would immensely put a pressure on our business in dealing with the competitors. (Respondent 19, Male Partner, Small-Sized Accounting Firm)*

## Conclusion

The study sets out to understand whether owner-managers as leaders of small and medium-sized accounting firms operating in India utilise inclusive leadership practices for generating a competitive advantage. The responses obtained from the semi-structured interviews indicate that exclusive leadership practices and work environments predominated. Common themes identified in this respect relate to the lack of core competencies of inclusive leadership among owner-managers; the principals' and partners' inclination to create gendered spaces; the commonly held perceptions of the accounting profession; and differences in firm size, firm type and the gender of the owner-manager. Owner-managers of the accounting practices readily accepted female accountants into the profession as trainees and junior accountants. In doing so, the owner-managers challenged the traditional work models prevalent in India, at least by encouraging female participation in the workforce. However, the representation of male accountants compared to female accountants in a majority of the firms was not equal, with more men occupying roles as senior accountants, associates, principals and partners, thus limiting the potential of innovation and creativity.

The owner-managers construed as leaders followed the traditional management models of power and control; they made unilateral decisions; they related firms' inputs to outputs; and they largely neglected creative employee involvement in the firms' activities. The owner-managers of small and medium-sized accounting practices also lacked the core

competencies of inclusive leadership as the work allocation practices followed within these firms largely sidelined female accountants from handling high net worth and business clients, and marketing and networking activities. Both male and female owner-managers developed bias against junior female accountants and fostered preferential treatments towards junior and intermediate male accountants. The owner-managers of accounting practices held strong stereotypical beliefs and favoured male accountants over female counterparts. Employee performance was linked to profit generation potential. The owner-managers of accounting practices excluded female accountants from rewards and recognition, and encouraged a work culture where they were required to perform the same routine work for many years. The principals and partners as owner-managers preferred short-term advantages over long-term benefits to the firm of reducing gender inequality.

The gendered work environment is partly conditioned by tradition and industry stereotypes, the gender of the employee/owner-manager, the career stage of the employee, and firm size and type. The owner-managers were familiar with gender-based inequality in the profession; however, these issues are not discussed with employees and are taken for granted by both leaders (owner-managers/principals/partners) and followers (employees) as long as profit motives are met. There is a need for owner-managers of accounting practices to understand the many benefits associated with an inclusive work environment and inclusive leadership practices. Acquiring competency in inclusive leadership will be critical to future-proofing their businesses.

The findings obtained from this study provide important theoretical, methodological, social and practical contributions. From a theoretical perspective, the study adds to the literature about owner-managers of small and medium-sized practices largely following exclusive leadership practices by hindering female accountants' rewards and recognition. Several contextual, psychological and societal factors have an impact upon the owner-managers' tendency to follow exclusive leadership practices. Methodologically, the study obtained firsthand information from owner-managers of Indian accounting practices—a sector that has not been studied in detail to date. The class and caste stratifications evident in the owner-managers' responses reflect prevalent social practices in India.

Effective management of class and caste stratifications would offer new avenues for accounting practices in general and for female accountants in particular. Irrespective of the firm size and firm type, the owner-managers of the accounting practices need to liaise with professional bodies in devising plans to effectively handle the workforce in a more inclusive manner. Inclusive leadership could be a tool to increase the participation of female accountants in professional practice and to increase the representation of female accountants in senior roles.

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# 5

## The Same or Different: How Women Have Become Included in Corporate Leadership in Australia

Karen Handley, Anne Ross-Smith, and Sue Wright

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on an elite group of women and men leading Australian organizations. The group consists of board members of the Australian Securities Exchange (ASX) top 200 corporate boards (ASX 200). We analyse data on male and female new (not previous) ASX 200 appointments in 2013 and 2014 to understand how women have become included in corporate leadership in Australia, and what strategies they have used to open doors for themselves. We also shed light on the pathways taken by men in the context of this heightened competition for leadership roles. In line with the book's focus on "inclusive leadership and organizational effectiveness" and "the skills and competencies of leaders

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and followers,” we contribute to a better understanding of how both men and women might improve their navigation and negotiation of gendered spaces.

Directors form a critical component of the leadership of large corporations. The board approves or accepts the organization’s strategy and thus has a role to play in shaping the corporation’s future direction. Directors are also responsible for the appointment and termination of the CEO. Indeed they can be influential in the termination of other senior staff as exemplified in 2016, when the board of AMP Limited (a large Australian financial services company with one-third of its board being female) removed three members of the senior leadership team following a significant drop in earnings (Palmer 2016). Directors are often role models and mentors for senior executives and aspiring board directors, again signalling a leadership role.

The area of women on corporate boards has arguably been a hot topic in the leadership space for more than a decade both internationally and in Australia. Debates around female appointments to boards have been the concern of governments, academia, the corporate sector and mainstream media. The main focus of this discourse has been increasing the numbers of women on corporate boards. In Australia the percentage of women on ASX 200 boards as of June 2016 was 23.4%. Despite all the institutional pressures on companies to appoint more women, the percentage has not yet reached what is known as the “critical mass” or the “tipping point” of 30%. This is the percentage needed to bring about culture change (Kanter 1977).

The topic of women on corporate boards has also generated much academic research (Singh et al. 2008). Internationally one area which is an under-examined but crucial area of research is the process of selection and appointment of new directors, and whether it differs between males and females. This chapter examines the profiles of new appointees to corporate boards in Australia, both male and female, to better understand how widening the talent pool may contribute to diversity-led changes in the boardroom. While the discourse about new female directors is very similar to that of new male directors in terms of expertise, achievements

and previous roles, the novelty of new female directors is also apparent. Our findings are interpreted using two different theoretical approaches: human capital and institutional theory.

Many countries have addressed the under-representation of women on boards. Some, such as Norway, France and India, have imposed quotas of different sizes, whereas others, such as the USA and the UK, have required disclosure of the policies and processes of appointment. A regulator-endorsed voluntary approach, without specifying targets, has been adopted by some countries such as Germany and Hong Kong. Australia was the first country to adopt an industry-regulated voluntary approach directed at increasing the number of women on boards, under which companies that do not comply with the recommended guidelines must explain why they have chosen not to (“if not why not”) (Sheridan et al. 2014).

The process of change in Australia began with the revision of the Corporate Governance Guidelines of the peak regulator, the ASX, in 2010. From 1 January 2011, the guidelines require all companies listed on the ASX to provide details in their annual reports of the number of women on their boards, in senior management roles and across the organization, and also to introduce gender targets and report on their effectiveness. This was heralded as a turning point in the Australian corporate regulatory environment, and certainly there has been a significant increase in the number of women appointed to the boards of the ASX 200 listed companies (Australian Institute of Company Directors (AICD) 2014; Australian Council of Superannuation Investors 2015). The proportion of women on boards in Australia has more than doubled between 2010 and 2016. In June 2016, the percentage of women on ASX 200 boards was 23.4%, demonstrating a steady increase from 10.70% in 2010 when the new corporate guidelines were released (AICD 2014).

The Australian Institute of Company Directors (AICD) set a target of 30% female board membership by the end of 2018, although recent media coverage suggests that this target is unlikely to be met (Khadem 2016).

## Theory and Research Questions

In this chapter, we focus on two dominant and insightful bodies of theory—human capital and institutional—as we seek to understand from the commentary available in the public media how women have become included in corporate leadership in Australia. Human capital theory focuses on the characteristics of the newly appointed leaders who bring benefits to the firm. Institutional theory focuses on the deeper and more resilient aspects of the board and the firm as institutions. Disruptions to these resilient practices would be necessary for women to be included.

As defined by Dunn (2012, p. 558), citing Becker (1993), “human capital is the experience, expertise and reputation of the individual.” Singh et al. (2008) examine the profiles of recently appointed directors, using human capital theory. They argue that “just as human capital theory is useful in describing why women have historically been absent from the boardroom, given the views traditionally held by chief executives and chairmen (whether or not the women lacked human capital in reality), this theory is relevant in explaining recent appointments of new female as well as new male directors” (Singh et al. 2008, p. 49).

Research that uses human capital theory to analyse incumbent female directors considers specific attributes of the women, including age, education, background, social status, ethnicity, nationality, reputation, marital status and number of children, and elements of their career history including board experience, top management team experience, international experience and language, company characteristics and mentoring opportunities (Burgess and Tharenou 2000; Vinnicombe and Singh 2011; Singh and Vinnicombe 2004; Singh et al. 2008). The findings support the notion of an uneven playing field for aspiring women directors in terms of human capital; the importance of influence in accessing board positions of leadership (Sheridan and Milgate 2005); and the similarity of women directors to their male counterparts (Singh et al. 2008; Dunn 2012).

In contrast to the focus of human capital theory on the attributes of the women, institutional theory focuses on the practices of the board and the firm. Scott (2008) posits that institutional theory can be seen as a widely accepted theoretical perspective that emphasizes the notions

of rational myths, [isomorphism](#) and legitimacy. Until recently, in the context of female representation on corporate boards, the institutional posture in Australia, as elsewhere, has been very low numbers of women leaders. This posture is enhanced by the myths widely supported by the media that there are no qualified women, by the practices of other firms and by the legitimacy of long-standing traditions in the boardroom. Institutional theory also explains why female directors are so like male directors: the environment of the boardroom engineers their similarity. This is a form of isomorphism as outlined by Scott (2008).

As a result of the regulatory changes described earlier, Sheridan et al. (2014, p. 145) saw a shift in this posture of “malaise” surrounding low female representation on boards, describing the future Australian boardroom with optimism. Using an institutional perspective, they analyse the disruption to the “institutional inertia” (Sheridan et al. 2014, p. 155) as a result of media pressure, lobbying and the potential for government intervention.

In this research, we investigate the effects of the issues raised by Sheridan et al. (2014) by focusing at the deeper level of the individual directors, and examining board appointments in detail. We investigate how the disruption that has resulted in greater female leadership at the very top of the corporate sector has been reflected in the characteristics of and discourse around new female directors.

## Method

We analyse the profiles of all new female appointees to ASX 200 boards in 2013 and 2014, and compare them to a random sample of male appointees in 2013 and 2014. We limit our study to the 200 largest listed companies in Australia because these companies have the highest level of resources to attract and appoint influential directors for whom we expect to find a reasonable amount of commentary in the public arena. In total, we study 49 female board appointments and 56 male appointments without any previous ASX 200 board experience. We use data obtained from publicly available data sources including annual reports, the internet, media mentions, Google and LinkedIn. Our final samples consist of

191,000 words for men and 162,000 words for women. The characteristics we examine include education, career background, country of origin and all other board memberships.

After manually collating important metrics for each board member, we analysed the data using a program for content analysis called Leximancer, which is able to both identify and analyse the human capital and the firm characteristics reported in the publicly available documents. Content analysis of the publicly available documents allowed us to generate a list of themes or groups of concepts found within a set of documents. It progressed with a process of iterative content analysis to arrive at this list. In each case, our analysis repeatedly scans text to identify concepts, and learns definitions for each concept from the text itself. From this iterative “learning,” a thesaurus of weighted terms is automatically generated, and concepts that appear together commonly in the text are clustered together as themes. The themes provide a “quick high-level summary of the data” (Palmer 2013, p. 226) and each automatically derives its name from the most prominent concept within it. In identifying and inductively analysing the discourse in the public profiles, the analysis allowed us to discern the reasons for the appointments. The analysis carried out also allowed us to derive information about the focus in publicly available media on the characteristics of male and female director appointees.

## Findings

The industries for the appointing companies identified for this study, shown in Table 5.1, cover a total of 19 of the 24 industry group Global Industry Classification Standard (GICS) classifications. The highest appointing industry groups are Consumer Services and Materials for women in 2013 and 2014, respectively, whereas the Materials industry appointed more men in 2013. For 2014 men, Materials and Real Estate are the highest ranked industries.

Our initial analysis included a collation of key metrics for each individual in the sample. A summary of these metrics is provided in Table 5.2.

From Table 5.2 we note the similarity between the men and women samples. The majority of directors in both samples hold undergraduate qualifications and about half hold postgraduate qualifications. Similarly,

**Table 5.1** Industry breakdown of board appointments using Global Industry Classification Standard (GICS)

GICS industry group	2013 F	2013 M	2014 F	2014 M
Banks		2		2
Capital goods		2	2	3
Commercial & professional services	1	1	1	1
Consumer services	5	4	1	3
Diversified financials			2	1
Energy	2	2	1	1
Food, beverage & tobacco			1	2
Food & staples retailing	1			
Health care equipment & services	1	1	2	2
Insurance	1	1	1	1
Media	3	3	2	1
Materials	4	7	10	6
Pharmaceuticals, biotechnology & life sciences	2			
Real estate		1	3	6
Retailing	1	1		1
Software & services	1		1	
Telecommunication services			1	
Transportation	1		1	
Utilities		1	1	1

around 40% of both samples are professionally qualified, and close to 60% of both samples have had industry experience that relates directly to the industry of the board to which they are appointed. However, there are some distinctions between the two groups. A higher percentage of women than men in our samples is appointed as non-executive director and to board committee positions in the ASX 200 companies; has held prior ASX board appointments in companies not listed in the ASX 200 or not-for-profit organizations; holds membership in AICD; and hails from academia or government positions. In contrast, a higher percentage of men than women is appointed as chief operating officer (CEO), chief financial officer (CFO) or managing director, and has been CEOs in other ASX-listed companies (not necessarily ASX 200), and slightly more men than women have international experience outside Australia.

The qualitative content analysis of the document outputs a list of the concepts contained in the male and female samples<sup>1</sup>. The top 10 concepts for men (in descending order, from most frequent concept) were identified as *company, business, year, executive, board, companies, million, director and experience*. For women, this list is *business, director, company, executive,*

**Table 5.2** Key human capital metrics derived from the data

Property		M board appointments <sup>a</sup>	%	F board appointments <sup>b</sup>	%
Position	Non-Executive Director	46	78	47	90
	Alternate CEO, CFO or MD	1	2	2	4
		12	20	3	6
Committee positions	Holds	25	42	30	58
	Not found	34	58	22	42
Other ASX board appointments (not ASX 200)	Holds or has held	17	29	24	46
	Not found	42	71	28	54
CEO ASX-listed	Has held or holds	11	19	2	4
	Not found	48	81	50	96
Executive ASX-listed	Has held or holds	23	39	18	35
	Not found	36	61	34	65
CEO or executive other	Has held or holds	54	92	49	94
	Not found	5	8	3	6
Qualifications: UG	Holds	52	88	50	96
	Not found	7	12	2	4
Qualifications: PG	Holds	27	46	27	52
	Not found	32	54	25	48
Professional qualification	Holds	25	42	21	40
	Not found	34	58	31	60
Membership: AICD	Holds	13	22	27	52
	Not found	46	78	25	48
Industry experience related to board appointment	Yes	37	63	31	60
	No	22	37	21	40
Academia	Has held or holds	9	15	17	33
	Not found	50	85	35	67
Not for Profit (NFP)	Has held or holds	16	27	30	58
	Not found	43	73	22	42
Government	Has held or holds	22	37	26	50
	Not found	37	63	26	50

*(continued)*



Table 5.2 (continued)

Property		M board appointments <sup>a</sup>	%	F board appointments <sup>b</sup>	%
International experience	Has	48	81	38	73
	Not found	11	19	14	27
		59		52	

<sup>a</sup>Several directors were appointed to more than one board, and they are represented for each appointment

<sup>b</sup>(2013). Arctic quip breaks the ice for Pickard. *The West Australian*, June 5.

<https://global-factiva-com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&n=TWAU000020130604e9650001f&cat=a&ep=ASE> [accessed 7 May 2017]

*women, experience, board, year, companies and management* (see Table 5.3).<sup>2</sup> Note that the same concepts appear in the top ten of the lists for both the male and female samples, with the exception of *women* and *management* (female), and *million* and *time* (male). There are a number of concepts that appear only in one list and not in the other. *Women, roles, technology, public, non-executive, take, appointment, sector* and *leadership* do not appear in the men list, and *million, chief, officer, chairman, served, firm, former, mining, investment, operations, private, down, mobile, listed, number, team, shareholders, finance* and *significant* do not appear in the female list.<sup>4</sup>

## Female Sample

### Director

For women, the most important theme is *director*. This points to prior experience and current and past status and provides a track record for the new appointees. Another way this concept adds legitimacy to the appointees is when it is used to signify membership of a director's professional body. In our sample, as shown in Table 5.2, 27 of the women are found to be linked with AICD in some way, either as members or as graduates of one of the programmes as elaborated in the following quotes:

**Table 5.3** Relevance of concepts

Concepts	M counts	F counts	M rank (count)	F rank (count)
Company	508	329	1	3
Business	402	390	2	1
Year	402	238	3	8
Executive	389	309	4	4
Board	293	268	5	7
Companies	273	219	6	9
Million	271		7	
Director	267	359	8	2
Time	264	180	9	14
Experience	261	275	10	6
People	261	181	11	13
Management	257	207	12	10
Chief	236		13	
Market	190	119	14	27
Financial	183	125	15	24
Officer	174		16	
Chairman	162		17	
Work	162	182	18	12
Industry	158	189	19	11
Months	157	109	20	34
Served	156		21	
Services	154	123	22	25
Appointed	152	152	23	17
Senior	149	134	24	22
Firm	149		25	
Corporate	144	175	26	15
Growth	144	111	27	32
Former	143		28	
Directors	132	112	29	30
Role	130	144	30	20
Mining	128		31	
World	127	115	32	28
Investment	126		33	
Held	123	105	34	37
Operations	118		35	
Global	116	139	36	21
Member	116	147	37	19
Private	115		38	
Down	114		39	
Development	113	105	40	36
Mobile	112		41	
Listed	110		42	
Group	108	120	43	26

*(continued)*

Table 5.3 (continued)

Concepts	M counts	F counts	M rank (count)	F rank (count)
Number	108		44	
Career	107	171	45	16
Team	107		46	
Shareholders	105		47	
Finance	104		48	
Significant	102		49	
Women		279		5
Roles		150		18
Technology		128		23
Public		113		29
Non-executive		111		31
Take		110		33
Appointment		108		35
Sector		101		38
Leadership		100		39

During this time, I also undertook the AICD course and have kept up to date on director roles and responsibilities by reading various publications. [Debbie Goodin]<sup>3</sup>

She is an Adjunct Professor at the City Research Futures Centre of the University of NSW, a National Fellow of the Institute of Public Administration Australia, a Fellow of AICD, a recipient of the Centenary Medal in 2003 and was a Finalist for the Telstra Business Woman of the Year in 1998. [Jennifer Westacott]<sup>4</sup>

An interesting phenomenon is that the directors in this female sample are frequently discussed in narratives that highlight their gender. For example:

Forrest made it clear that his appointments are based on a talent alone. Fortescue has now been fortunate to find another extremely talented director who also happens to be a woman, which will go some way to abolishing any perception that the miner's board is too blokey. [Sharon Warburton]<sup>5</sup>

Dr Megan Clark, one of the world's most powerful mining executives, made history yesterday as the first woman to head Australia's peak science agency, the CSIRO. [Megan Clark]<sup>6</sup>

A closer examination of the concepts that are most prominent and directly connected to *director* is with fewer concepts identified.

## Prior Experience

Related to *director*, there is an informative cluster of concepts that appear to be related to a pathway to appointment, or prior management and executive experience. These concepts are *corporate*, *roles*, *senior*, *management*, *experience* and *executive*. Examination of these concepts reveals more discussion of the specialist skills and experience that the new directors bring to the boards they are joining. From Table 5.2 we observe that 31 female directors had experience related to the industry or business of the company whose board they were joining. This related skill is often reported in the company announcement or in the annual report when a new director is appointed. For example:

‘These new appointments bring additional skills, which will strengthen the board of the FAC as it deals with the issues associated with privatisation and the competitive challenge posed by the new airport operators, who bring overseas management expertise and capital,’ Mr Sharp said in a statement. [Maxine Brenner]<sup>7</sup>

Mrs Lo has significant experience in directing business expansion across the Asia Pacific region and globally as well as in managing healthcare business challenges and regulatory processes. [Annie H Lo]<sup>8</sup>

In other cases where the prior experience is not in a related industry, extensive senior management or executive-level experience is still a key factor in appointments, as evidenced by:

Ms Goodin’s diverse management experience in private and public sector corporations would serve to strengthen the Senex board. Debbie has undertaken senior executive roles with professional services firms, government authorities and ASX-listed companies including Downer EDI and Coffey International. [Debbie Goodin]<sup>9</sup>

Ms Kelly also has experience in strategic growth, mergers and acquisitions, leadership, finance, risk and compliance; and governance and stakeholder management. Prior to founding Pottinger, Ms Kelly gained international and Australian corporate experience within FLT's key markets. This included working for GMAC Commercial Mortgage in Asia, Deutsche Bank in London and New York, HSBC in London, McKinsey in Sydney, South Africa and London and Bankers Trust in Sydney. [Cassandra Kelly]<sup>10</sup>

The women themselves also emphasized their past experience in personal posts, like their LinkedIn profiles, and in other media outlets. For example:

Abi Cleland (BA, BCom, MBA, GAICD) Independent Non-Executive Director. Ms Cleland has over 15 years of global experience in senior leadership roles with a focus on strategy, mergers and acquisitions, managing businesses and online, in the industrial, retail, transport, agriculture and financial services sectors. [Abi Cleland]<sup>11</sup>

## Human Capital: Roles and Location

Within the *business* theme, there are two major clusters. The first centres around the *roles* the new directors have occupied and there are concepts that describe the different positions that directors might have held—both by function (*financial, technology, services, career*) and company type (*corporate, companies, public*). The second cluster describes location and firm-specific characteristics like *global, Australia, industry and development*. These concepts describe the human capital of the new directors: the type of businesses in which they have had experience, and their roles.

Further examination of the roles that women have played reveals additional concepts, which include *banking, media, marketing, research, leading, president and chairman*. The narrative is therefore centred on past functions and positions held by the women. Software and services and

telecommunications were also featured for women board members, scoring 13.64% and 21.05%, respectively. For example:

She later ran the company's venture capital operations in the United States, advising on commercial investments in new mining technologies. She became BHP Billiton vice-president of technology in 2003 and is the company's vice-president of health, safety, environment, community and sustainability. [Megan Clark]<sup>12</sup>

Her global contributions to technology and communications were recognised with a KEA World Class New Zealand Award in 2013. [Geraldine McBride]<sup>13</sup>

The existence of positions like *president* and *chairmen* signals that these women have also risen to significant positions within their organizations. For example:

Ms. Fessenden was most recently president of Alcoa's Primary Metals Allied Businesses located in New York City. [Elizabeth Fessenden]<sup>14</sup>

Mrs Cheng is the honorary president of the All-China Women's Federation Hong Kong Delegates Association, honorary president of the Hong Kong Federation of Women, permanent honorary committee member of The Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and a member of the Court of The Open University of Hong Kong. [Kam Fun Cheng Li]<sup>15</sup>

The second cluster evident in *business* relates to location. Many of the female directors have had international experience. Our analysis reveals that 73% are identified as having international experience outside Australia (see Table 5.2).

## Customers and Work

Finally, other notable themes are *customers* and *work*. While the lexical analysis indicates that these themes are less important than the other two,

they are not insignificant. They are also of interest because some do not appear as important for men.

*Customers* is interesting because it implies that female directors have either referred to their customers or there is something reported in the data that relates customers to the directors. This reveals some have prior experience in customer service or a customer focus. For example:

Freshtel chief executive Rhonda O'Donnell said the deal with Star-Tech would enhance the company's brand among university students. This deal benefits Freshtel, Star-Tech and the customers involved. [Rhonda O'Donnell]<sup>16</sup>

Given the global nature of SAP, the various regional leaders and, of course, those executives who love the tech spotlight, what will be the right visibility for McBride, who's apparently not playing it safe? "I like to be connected to customers and connected to the market," she says, "and there is plenty of opportunity to offer thought leadership on behalf of SAP." [Geraldine McBride]<sup>17</sup>

*Work* highlights important concepts for women like family and people. Details of the female directors' personal lives appear frequently in the publicly available narrative about them. This is not identified by Leximancer in the male sample.

I can get along very well with my colleagues because I give them the ammunition and drive them; they feel my energy levels and do things. But you don't do that in the family; otherwise your husband and kids will run away. [Margaret May Yee Leung]<sup>18</sup>

I consciously decided many years ago that I wanted a NED portfolio later in my career and that the best approach was to ensure that I had NED experience early on in my career. I found it challenging, but rewarding juggling the time demands of being a non-executive director and executive, whilst having a young family. [Debbie Goodin]<sup>19</sup>

## Male Sample

The content analysis of the male sample reveals a number of similar themes to the women. However, closer examination of the data also reveals some important differences in the publicly available narratives about this sample of men compared to that of the women.

### Business

For the male sample, Leximancer identifies the most prominent theme as *business*. While there appears to be no *director* theme that corresponds with the one found for the female sample, there are two complementary themes for the men: *executive* and *board*. Closer examination reveals that the concept of *director* does exist, within the *board* theme.

Detailed analysis of the *business* concept itself reveals that this is a broadly used, sometimes generic term used to denote the company being discussed, acts associated with trading (“being in business”) or the economy. There is no equivalent concept in the female sample. For example:

Jones says: ‘Board members are also partners and this changes the dynamic of a board. I think it is a positive in the sense that people on the board have a clear understanding of the value drivers of the business because they’re part of business.’ [Ewen Crouch]<sup>20</sup>

### Human Capital: Experience, Age, Networks and Service

Based on the common themes or groups in the discourse from the underlying quotes, we explore business experience, directors’ age, connections, qualifications and skill sets in more detail. The concept of *business* relates to the past experience of the directors in the dataset. This is similar to the female sample. *Experience* is the tenth most frequent concept for men and the sixth most frequent concept for women (see Table 5.3). Since a large part of this data relates to the appointment of new directors and to their personal biographies, this is not surprising. Director’s business experience



in either a related or a non-related field of business is used to highlight their suitability to fulfil their current roles and justify their appointment. For example:

“Chin Hu Lim has a significant range of skills and experience to bring to the Telstra Board from the perspectives of technology, geography, health-care, venture capital and broader pan-Asian business,” Ms Livingstone said. “It is essential the Board continue to evolve its skills and diversity base to reflect the needs of the business and the interests of shareholders.” [Chin Hu Lim]<sup>21</sup>

Prof. Compton has extensive senior executive experience in healthcare services. He is currently Adjunct Professor in Management (Healthcare Leadership) at Macquarie Graduate School of Management, non-executive director of Macquarie University Hospital, Chairman and Chancellor of St John Ambulance Australia (having served as a volunteer for 38 years) and Chief Executive Officer of St Luke’s Care. [Mark Compton]<sup>22</sup>

Directors are drawn from a range of age groups, and particularly for younger directors, their age and associated issues form a notable part of the commentary. This is an interesting difference to the women directors in our sample, for whom there is no discussion of their age, because female directors are on average younger than male directors. A recent report from the Australian Council of Superannuation Investors notes that “women on boards are bringing a younger perspective, with 62% of women aged 40–60, [compared to] 27% of men in the same age bracket” (ACSI 2015).

With the advent of the young, technical entrepreneurs making a mark in global business practices, some boards are being joined by young members, adding to their diversity. [Ewen Crouch]<sup>23</sup>

Derek Handley is 33, but has been a person ahead of his time from an early age. From one of the youngest executives to list a company in New Zealand, to creating seven start-up ventures in as many years, Derek has learned, failed and succeeded with what it takes to create, maintain and build successful teams. [Derek Handley]<sup>24</sup>

Equally important in the narrative for male directors are the business connections and networks of the appointees. There is no equivalent discussion in the narratives of female directors. While it is expected that the majority of appointees will be impressive achievers, publicly available narrative further advertises and highlights their well-placed connections. For example:

Over 2012, Derek donated a year of his life to Sir Richard Branson to co-found and lead The B Team to accelerate a movement of global leaders working to catalyse business as a driving force for social, environmental and economic good. [Derek Handley]<sup>25</sup>

The wide-ranging nature of Mr Jones' career means that he has been able to build up a very broad range of business contacts... His career with Alcoa progressed through operational management of a mine and various chemical and mineral processing facilities to becoming President of the company's USA smelting operations with responsibility for global manufacturing coordination. [Lloyd Jones]<sup>26</sup>

Further, many of the new directorship incumbents have formal training in the form of business studies or degrees, and this is often reported, as are their business skill sets which complement their appointment. Again there is no equivalent important concept for the women.

Mr Tonagh holds a Bachelor of Commerce from the University of New South Wales and a Masters of Business Administration from INSEAD, Europe's leading business school. [Peter Tonagh]<sup>27</sup>

While training and practising as a lawyer bolsters those broad skills needed by directors, lawyers can also help boards navigate through an increasingly complex regulatory environment. Lawyers-turned-directors can place the regulatory environment in the business context and help the board understand what it means and how it might affect the business. [Ewen Crouch]<sup>28</sup>

Many of the new directors also hail from a service background. This is interpreted by the researchers as the concept *services*.<sup>29</sup> In some cases, this background includes work performed for the company appointing the

director, or experience serving the industry. For others, their skills complement the needs of the board, illustrating the potential reason for their appointment and explaining their position on the board. Some examples of the *services* commentary include:

Mr. Virk has 20 years of work experience, including private equity investing, mergers and acquisitions (M&A), project finance and financings in a broad range of industries. [Kanad Singh Virk]<sup>30</sup>

Mr Lim started his career in Hewlett Packard and held various sales, marketing and management positions with HP in Singapore, Melbourne and south-east Asia. He was previously Managing Director for Sun Microsystems in Singapore and country director for Sun in Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam. [Chin Hu Lim]<sup>31</sup>

## Career

Finally, of interest in the *career* concept is the amount of strategic decision-making evident in the career progression of some directors. For example, Lloyd Jones stated in an interview after his appointment to the Myer Family Company Board, “On returning to Australia, I wanted to develop a NED career.” Similarly, the following example speaks of the same dedication to career development:

‘The advice I’d had was that if I wanted to make a success in the board-room, then getting involved in my mid-to-late 50s was the right time for me,’ says Crouch, 57. While Crouch made his name as a lawyer, he had always had an interest in business and the way in which companies were run. [Ewen Crouch]<sup>32</sup>

## Executive

The second most prominent theme for the male sample is *executive*. The concepts that we expand from the analysis are *executive*, *chief*, *officer* and *financial*. These concepts tell a story of directors’ prior and current appointments to senior positions within companies. *Chief*

and *officer* are very closely related in the analysis, as is *financial* is also relatively nearby, reflecting their use in position titles such as chief executive officer, chief financial officer and chief executive. Similarly, the *executive* concept is the fourth most frequent for both men and women, according to Table 5.3, reflecting its use in position titles in the male sample, for example, executive director. However, it can be used to describe a category of individuals, for example, executive services or the executive team:

Michael currently provides executive consulting services to clients in Australia, US, Europe and Africa. [Michael Renshaw]<sup>33</sup>

*Executive* is also a class of experience that is sought by boards, for example,

Peter has over 30 years of senior executive experience gained in publicly listed, private and government owned organisations in Australia, South East Asia, Europe and the United Kingdom. [Peter Turnbull]<sup>34</sup>

At the top of the concept list, we find the *board* theme. To better understand the connection between the most important concepts within this theme, only the most frequent concepts, viz. *board*, *director* and *chairman*, are considered for further analysis. *Chairman* does not appear for the female sample on the list provided of the most relevant concepts in Table 5.3.<sup>35</sup> *Board*, on the other hand, ranks as the fifth most important concept for men and seventh most important concept for women.

The concept of *board* is to be expected in the male sample, as elevation to an ASX 200 board is one of the selection criteria for the members of the sample. Examples of the use of this concept include:

With respect to the mix of skills and diversity that the board is looking to achieve in its membership, the board undertakes a skills matrix analysis of desired skills relevant to the Company's projects and operations compared with the skills and experience of its directors. The board undertakes periodic evaluation and performance review processes. [Colin (Cobb) Johnstone]<sup>36</sup>

Following the changes to the Board in 2012 in line with the Company's Board refreshment program, Cobb's appointment is the next phase of positioning the Company with the right Board structure, independence, experience and skill set to support the Company in achieving its objective of delivering shareholder value. [Colin (Cobb) Johnstone]<sup>37</sup>

## Combined Samples

A further output of Leximancer is an "insight dashboard," which maps the concepts onto axes of strength versus relative frequency. We have generated it for the top ten female and male concepts from the independent samples analysis.

Our preceding analysis of the dominant factors relates to the several themes that appear for only one sample on the dashboard: for men only there is *million*<sup>38</sup> and *time*, and for women only there is *women* and *experience*. This analysis indicates that *women* and *million* are strong themes—particularly *women*. Also, it demonstrates that most of the concepts are both stronger and more frequent for the men. The exception is *director*, which is the unique concept in these pairs. It is stronger and more frequent for women. Therefore, we conclude that the narrative for men is much stronger and more frequent than for women, when the same concept is being discussed. When the strength is comparable (as is the case for *board* and *business*), it is still more frequent for men. This signifies that for men the public discourse is primarily to do with them being well qualified and experienced. *Director* is the only concept in the top ten for which women have a stronger and more frequent public profile. This indicates that the narrative surrounding female board appointments is more newsworthy than for male appointments.

We conclude from our analysis that when female directors are discussed in the public media, the narrative combines their appointments with their positions and their pathway to the role. In this regard, there is little distinction between men and women: women who are appointed are similar to the men.

## Analysis

We find that the prior positions and pathways of women mirror those of men. We could argue that boards select the most effective directors for the role regardless of gender, and the attributes of effective directors are strongly associated with males; alternatively, we could argue that these predominantly male environments result in board appointments of people who are like the incumbents, acting as gatekeepers to board positions.

Human capital theory, with its focus on the characteristics of the individuals who bring benefits to the firm, can explain aspects of the similarity of new male and female board appointments. Drawing on the definition of Dunn (2012, p. 558), citing Becker (1993), that “human capital is the experience, expertise and reputation of the individual,” our lexical results show that the narratives around the appointments of both genders focus on concepts such as their expertise and achievements (*director, management*), and their previous roles (*experience*). The overall discourse is that their directorships will benefit the company by their service and their association (*company, board*).

However, there are small but subtle differences in the discourse that do not fit a human capital theory perspective. In the narratives on the achievements of the male directors, there is a focus that is not mirrored in the narratives of the females: the concepts of *business, time* and *million*, their business skills, reflected in discussions of their business connections and networks, and their formal training and qualifications.

And for the women, we observe the predominant use of the word *women*, which is not used to highlight their experience, expertise or reputation, but rather the novelty of their appointment. The female directors in this study are frequently discussed in narratives that highlight their gender, and unlike the men, details of their personal lives are frequently mentioned. The only personal detail about male directors that is specifically mentioned is reference to their younger age, because younger male directors are as novel as female directors: 27% of male directors are aged below 60, and 23% of directors are female (ACSI 2015).

We now draw on institutional theory, which as previously described, focuses on the deeper and more resilient aspects of the board and the firm as institutions. We note that the concept of a director as a (older white)

male is deeply entrenched in Australian (and other) business culture. Metz and Tharenou (2001, p. 316) argue that “[w]omen find it more difficult than men to fit in at senior management levels because, according the homophily theory (Kanter 1977), environments are predominantly male at high levels of management.” Institutional theory explains why the practices of one firm with respect to gender board diversity reinforce the practices of others. The absence of female directors is supported by myths about the lack of qualified women, when “qualified” is interpreted in terms of male characteristics. Institutional theory therefore explains why female directors are so like male directors in many respects, and also why the appointment of female directors is worthy of mention every time it happens.

We have noted that Sheridan et al. (2014, p. 155) saw a shift in this posture of “institutional inertia” surrounding low female representation on boards, analysing several disruptions in the forms of media pressure, lobbying and the potential for government intervention. As we focus at the deeper level of the individual directors, and examine board appointments in detail, we find fewer reasons to be optimistic about continued increases in female representation on boards. Dimaggio and Powell (1983, pp. 155–156) hypothesize that in the context of isomorphic change, “there will be a threshold level, or a tipping point, beyond which adoption of the dominant form will proceed with increasing speed.” The latest AICD (2016) figures suggest that gender equity on boards has not yet reached that tipping point. Resistance to change in this case is greater than the momentum for change from the previous disruptions, and further disruptions are needed to move closer to the tipping point. Although unlikely in the current political climate, the introduction of mandated quotas to assist the ASX 200 companies in reaching the target of 30% has recently been suggested by the Chair of the AICD Elizabeth Proust (Khadem 2016).

## Leadership Theory and Inclusive Leadership

As noted elsewhere in this chapter, our research confirms that the board-room is a gendered space where the traditional norms of masculinity prevail (and as far as this research suggests will continue to prevail) due

to the high degree of similarity of backgrounds of the male and female appointees. Nevertheless, there is a certain novelty about female board appointments that lends support to the notion of a “female advantage.” The “female advantage” literature suggests that women are inherently more caring, more relationship focused and more inclusive (Fletcher 2001; Helgesen 1990) and they bring these attributes to the workplace, in this instance, the boardroom. The female advantage leadership has been criticized for its reliance on an essentialist view of women, that is, the notion that these attributes make women essentially different from men and this somehow makes them better at managing/leading people. We would argue that there is a danger in essentializing women, suggesting rather an approach that allows for the possibility of both males and females to possess leadership qualities around relational skills and inclusion. We would also argue that such skills can be learned. They are not innate.

A more contemporary view of what women bring to board leadership can be derived from the notion of gender capital (Ross-Smith and Huppatz 2010, p. 563) which suggests “that female and feminine dispositions have become currency” in masculinized fields such as board leadership. Thus, the presence of women on boards may act to shape the discourse and practices of the board as we have seen in the example of the board of AMP cited previously.

Another insightful way to explore what women can bring to board leadership draws on the notion of “tempered radicals.” Meyerson (2001) describes tempered radicals as “people who want to succeed in their organizations yet want to live by their values or identities, even if they are somehow at odds with the dominant culture of their organizations. Tempered radical want to fit in and they want to retain what makes them different. They want to rock the boat and stay in it.” This notion expresses the sameness/difference that we found in our research.

## Conclusion

This chapter focuses on selection and appointment to ASX 200 boards in the post-self-regulation era in Australia, using publicly available data to analyse and compare the commentary about profiles and career path-



ways of newly appointed female and male directors. The commentaries are coded using Leximancer, a program that objectively analyses text to identify themes and concepts. Our results on the similarities and differences between the themes discussed for the two groups are interpreted using institutional theory (Sheridan et al. 2014; Scott 2008) and human capital theory (Becker 1964; Hillman et al. 2000). We find much evidence of similarities in the human capital of men and women, in the context of a public discourse that dwells on the novelty of female directors in Australia. In the context of an uneven playing field, we find considerable similarity of women directors to their male counterparts (Singh et al. 2008; Dunn 2012) in terms of recognition of their business skills, particularly their networks and qualifications. Our findings reinforce one of the axioms of institutional theory, that is, the notion of isomorphism or homophily—the concept of like associating with like. Board director archetypes based on traditional masculine stereotypes are continuing to be reproduced.

We find that the public discourse of the profiles and career pathways taken by new female appointees to the boards of ASX 200 companies in 2013 and 2014 were not very different from those of new male appointees. Men face a very competitive process to be appointed to boards, and their achievements should not be overlooked when there is so much focus on the women. We also find that the novelty surrounding female appointments evident in the public discourse reflects the challenges of effecting change in this bastion of male domination.

The recurring concept in the public profiles of women that identifies the reason for their appointment is their business experience. While they are not as strongly associated with leadership as the men, and their careers are not as predictable to the outside observer, what is discussed is a remarkable depth of experience and contributions across many fields. We conclude that their profiles and pathways, and these concepts, do not differ greatly from those of new male appointees. In relation to the theme of this book “inclusive leadership—negotiating gendered spaces,” we have shown that the board room is still a gendered space where women are negotiating even without their numbers having reached the elusive 30% tipping point. They are appointed to boards because of their likeness to their male counterparts in terms of human capital. In a fascinating twist,

however, both board chairs and women appointees refer to their gender being a reason for their appointment. This phenomenon is explored by Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010), who suggest that women's gender capital is a tangible asset. In the case of being appointed to an ASX 200 board, it may be that being a female is a tangible asset for both parties.

This chapter contributes to the literature by providing an empirical analysis of the profiles of women and men recently appointed to corporate boards in Australia—a country acknowledged (Davies Report 2011) for its innovative self-regulatory process to increasing female board appointments. It conducts this analysis through the lenses of institutional theory and human capital theory. We seek to shed further light on the emphasized entry routes for women to leadership at the apex of the corporations after what is considered a widely disruptive change in Australia's corporate regulation history (Sheridan et al. 2014). Our results are useful for international scholars and practitioners who seek to understand the access of women to the upper echelons of corporations.

There are several limitations to our data. First, the data collected for each individual are not uniform—some people have a large web presence, and others a minimal web presence. Second, by using publicly available data, we include a potential inherent bias that a media report might have towards an individual, as well as an individual's own self-bias in their LinkedIn and Google profiles and personal websites. These are acknowledged, but we would argue that a strength of our analysis is that it includes information about the reasons and rationale for individual successes. Further, we provide a good starting point for further research in this area, including interviews with new board members. The challenge for future research is to include eligible people who are not appointed, and to probe more deeply into the process of appointment.

## Notes

1. A subset containing the top concepts identified by Leximancer is displayed in this table.
2. Sorting by male concepts results in the list of male concepts being longer than the list of female concepts. Sorting these lists using the female concepts provides very little additional insight.

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# 6

## Examining the Politics of Gendered Difference in Feminine Leadership: The Absence of ‘Female Masculinity’

Alison Pullen and Sheena J. Vachhani

### Introducing Feminine Leadership: Towards a Contradictory Reading

Women’s advancement through organisational hierarchies and women’s leadership roles and capabilities have gained considerable attention. Notably, the ‘feminisation of management thesis’ has argued that contemporary management practice has adopted feminised ways of working (Calás and Smircich 1993; Colgan and Ledwith 1996; Frenier 1996; Fondas 1997), and this has led to closer inspection of the capital women bring to leadership roles. The ways women lead (Rosener 1990), their

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female advantage (Helgesen 1995), their autonomy and empowerment (Alimo-Metcalfe 1995; Vine 1997) and their leadership styles (Eagly and Johnson 1990) have dominated the leadership literature for decades (Ford 2005). Within such debates, inherent problems have been identified for women, such as the social and cultural pressures to manage like a man (Wajcman 1998) and becoming an imposter (Vinnicombe and Singh 2002), alongside the marginalisation of women who do not conform to the prescriptive leadership discourses this brings or do not perform gender in appropriate ways defined for women leaders.

The problem of not identifying with discourses of masculinity/femininity makes androgynous images of leadership problematic. Not surprisingly, women's difference to men (Kanter 1977; HBR 1991; Alimo-Metcalfe 1995; Appelbaum et al. 1995) has been the source of quantitative and qualitative interrogation in debating issues of difference and sameness in leadership. In practice, and more positively, organisations have recognised the value of feminine skills as a source of organisational effectiveness and developed feminine ways of organising (Vinkenburg et al. 2000). This feminine organising centres, more often than not, on what are thought of as skills that women naturally possess (Metcalfe and Linstead 2003). Such skills include 'building relationships, communication, consensus building, power as influence, and working together for a common purpose' (Trinidad and Normore 2005, p. 574). Some commentators go further to categorise this 'feminine leadership' as focusing on participatory, non-hierarchical, flexible and group-oriented practices that are often, if not problematically, associated with feminine stereotypes (Due Billing and Alvesson 2000, p. 144). Feminine leadership is also promoted as being able to 'humanise' the workplace through practices infused with 'empathy, intuition, relatedness, nurturing and cooperation' (Edlund 1992, p. 81).

To contribute to the debates in this book surrounding the nature of inclusive leadership, this chapter troubles the relationship between the conflation of feminine leadership and the leadership positions that women occupy, and the often traditional gendered assumptions that follow suit which reproduce restrictive notions of femininity and the feminine in organisation. It is striking how much of the gender and leadership literature continues to treat femininities and masculinities as discrete

concepts even in the wake of advancements in gender performativity. What are often absent are ethical questions of difference, especially the ideological motivations for ignoring minority forms of masculinity and femininity. Indeed, we could argue that the empty signifier of leadership (Ford et al. 2008) has been constructed out of dominant masculinities and that it is still wedded to constructing femininity through the guise of hegemonic masculinity.

Feminine leadership literature focuses on the effects of women on leadership capacities, effectiveness or commitment but obfuscates critical ethical questions of difference, especially the reproduction of gendered dualisms in the leadership literature (Ford 2006; Bowring 2004). The key question we address relates to how feminine leadership constitutes an acceptance of the traditionally 'othered' female within the masculine domain of corporate leadership. Our argument is that in the literature on feminine leadership, femininity is read through hegemonic masculinity and serves to reproduce rather than disturb dichotomies such as masculine/feminine and reason/emotion. Whilst it is clear (and perhaps too clear) that the feminine has entered leadership discourse, especially since the proliferation of leadership (Ford and Harding 2007), a key issue arises as to what the character of that feminine is and how it relates to the multiplicity of possibilities for gendered subjectivity.

This chapter considers difference in leadership studies as political and as a potentially productive alternative to the continued reinforcement of binary notions of gender in leadership theory and practice, such as the reproduction of problematic dualisms: male/female, mind/body, public/private, and nature/nurture. In particular, we read feminine leadership subversively through Halberstam's notion of female masculinity (1998) which troubles the binary division between masculinity and femininity. By introducing and problematising the 'masculine woman', a critical platform for the interrogation and questioning of feminine leadership becomes possible. Through our reading, feminine leadership *becomes* a contradictory site, one which may promote malleable and ambiguous portraits of gender in leadership.

The possibility of change, and we argue a more ethical encounter with the other, rests on being able to recognise the ambivalence of constructions of femininity manifest in leadership practice. Contesting feminine

leadership is an important way of further questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions surrounding leadership's gendered character and attempts to show how dominant stereotypes perpetuate inequality. Discrimination is sustained in the notion of feminine leadership in that it emphasises who and what is different (e.g. Kanter 1977), reifying gender binaries, instead of exploring *difference* itself. Put simply, difference, to quote Crosby (1992, p. 140, in Ely and Padavic 2007, p. 1121), 'is not a thing to be recognised but a process always underway'.

Our chapter provides a much needed critical reading of the feminine leadership literature that challenges the restrictive and oppressive gender dualisms as identified above. Through the concept and politics of female masculinity, we hope for more engagement with alterity, difference and otherness which does not render the feminine abject and placed under control. As we explore later, Halberstam (1998) identifies how minority masculinities, such as female masculinity, allow us to see how masculinity is constructed. Masculinity can be considered the social and cultural and indeed political expression of maleness and where 'masculinity in this society inevitably conjures up notions of power and legitimacy and privilege; it often symbolically refers to the power of the state and to uneven distributions of wealth' (Halberstam 1998, p. 2). Halberstam (1998, p. 1) writes that, 'masculinity must not and cannot and should not reduce down to the male body and its effects'. Female masculinity asks us to read masculinity outside the male body. This signals the subversive potential of female masculinity, reclaiming it as a point of disruption to hegemonic ideas of gender and sexuality (Nguyen 2008, p. 665–666).

We suggest that politicising gendered differences in leadership, embodied in constructions of masculinity and femininity, also requires interventions into addressing in/equality. This is an ethical challenge for all genders and requires an ethical openness with difference so that the oppression of difference can be identified and problematised, leading to it being practically addressed. This is a challenge against what many academics writing about such matters are complicit in and one that we partake in with a commitment to refute the perpetuation of sex/gender binaries and heteronormative regimes (Bowring 2004; Harding et al. 2011). The politics of such a critique lies in challenging gender equality in both theory and practice which breaks with the reproduction of unproblematic notions of feminine leadership.

The chapter is structured as follows: we start with a critique of leadership literature to highlight representations of the feminine. In doing so, forms of 'feminine leadership' will be identified and a deconstruction of gender binaries offered through contemporary, critical gender writings. Through a discussion of Judith Halberstam's 'female masculinity', we turn to an exploration of the return of androgyny and the resistance to female masculinity, which manifests as subordinate or as an alternative to hyper femininity and highlights the complexities of gender performance. To conclude we raise the ethical questions arising from gendered difference which *undo* accounts of gendered leadership that work against a responsibility to the other. Too much focus has been placed on the 'effectiveness' of feminine leadership and its related positive connotations rather than the subjectivities and problems that arise from these perspectives.

## Leadership and Gender: From the Construction to Constriction of Femininity

Theoretically, whether 'gender matters' to leadership has been questioned (Eagly 2005; Marshall 1984) and the stereotypes surrounding such debates have been problematised (Due Billing and Alvesson 2000; Pullen and Vachhani 2013). Gendered difference and femininity have been constructed (or, indeed, valued or devalued) in a variety of ways in relation to leadership. Different approaches either emphasise the distinctiveness of female managers, women's proclivities for particular styles of leadership such as more participation-orientated styles, or how gender is not a factor in leadership 'effectiveness' at all. In particular, numerous studies show differing empirical relationships of similarity and difference between men and women sharing similar values, norms and goals in pursuit of leadership, as well as leadership styles that question the basis of gendered leadership difference (Eagly and Johnson 1990). Other studies show how women have a different attitude to power (Grant 1988) or stress the individuality of female managers (Helgesen 1995; Rosener 1990). In an exemplary case study, Rosener found that men and women communicate differently, which leads to what she termed 'sexual static'

(Rosener 1995). Rosener's study shows how men tended to speak declaratively, whilst women negotiated and stressed their interactivity with others in terms of how they talked about themselves and their leadership approach. Additionally, interactive leadership, as well as the emphasis on gender norms in transformational leadership styles, has often been associated with women leaders especially their relationships with culture change, listening, empathy, cooperation, empowerment and sensitivity (Rosener 1995). The effect of emphasising the role of nurturing, cooperation and empathy (Rosener 1990) in female managers has contributed to promoting more women towards mentoring or nurturing roles in the workplace.

More recently, the turn to 'positive' or indeed 'valuable' constructions of femininity as cooperation and empathy suited to effective leadership styles has been read as a response to urges for women to take responsibility for themselves and their lives, or an ideology promoted by pro-managerial feminists to identify with leadership and to receive some form of legitimation (Due Billing and Alvesson 2000). These demarcations of difference have political effects in terms of the legitimation of feminine leadership but neglect the complexities of different effects on individual and collective subjectivities. Due Billing and Alvesson (2000) note, in the literature on feminine leadership that little attention is paid to the differences between different groups of women and men or the historical or cultural settings in which differing contexts may be situated. This location of difference through empirical analyses of style, norms and attitudes to power, for example, may say more about the situations than the people (Kanter 1977) where feminine leadership may be seen more as a 'regulative ideal, a normative construct, rather than an empirical phenomenon' (Due Billing and Alvesson 2000, p. 149). What remains unquestioned is how and in what ways individual managers represent the groups to which they are perpetually subscribed. Those who are identified to sit on equality and diversity committees raise thorny questions of representation and whether diversity, understood, for example, as class, race, gender or sexuality (and their intersections), is a manageable phenomenon (Ahmed 2012; Zanoni et al. 2010). The demarcation of sexual difference in this manner raises the question of the political potential of feminine leadership.

The questioning of gender and the problematisation of gendered stereotypes echoes a more general cultural tendency not to take feminine leadership for granted (see, e.g., Bowring 2004). The Hollywood movie *The Iron Lady* with Meryl Streep playing Margaret Thatcher has brought the gendered nature of leadership to the fore for popular audiences (political affiliations aside), highlighting the ways in which traditional gender stereotypes are mapped into the leadership styles of women. Thatcher's masculinity became associated with the nickname 'Iron Lady' as she defied expectations of how women should behave (Pullen and Taksa 2016). In culture at large, the assumptions surrounding socially acceptable norms and culturally produced practices of gendered leadership are evidenced usually by women of power; in politics alone, we can compare Hilary Clinton in the USA (Ladkin and Taylor 2010), Julia Gillard in Australia (Bell and Sinclair 2016) and Angela Merkel in Germany. In business, women such as Sheryl Sandberg provide 'common sense solutions' for women empowering themselves (Sandberg 2013). These individuals are often held up as exemplars of women leaders (thus reproducing some of the ideals of Great Man Theory and reinforcing structural inequalities), and as Bell and Sinclair argue, they receive 'disproportionate visibility' because of their leadership role (2016, p. 275). However, what we are often left with is a *constrictive view of femininity*, one that is either turned into a form of competitive advantage through naturalising and neutralising alternative femininities or one which negates femininity to question whether gender matters at all. In the latter perspective, gendered subjectivities of men and women disappear under the weight of what it means to lead and the positive or instrumental outcomes entailed for the organisation. From this view, the process of leadership is marginalised at the expense of its effects or objectives. Whilst this focus on outcome rather than the process of leadership has invited radical rethinking (Cockburn 1991; Eagly 2005; Marshall 1984), it obscures the multiplicity and fluidity of gendered subjectivity and leaves numerous assumptions about the process of organising and the backdrop of masculine/feminine forms of leadership unquestioned. Leadership creates huge anxieties for managers as it puts them in the contradictory position of having to be both masculine and feminine at one and the same time, so whatever they do is unacceptable (Ford et al. 2008).

To develop this argument further and explore these assumptions, we now turn to Halberstam's (2005) ideas on female masculinity which enable us to highlight the contradictions and paradoxes inherent in current thinking of feminine leadership and provide an alternative which moves us beyond the collapsing of femininity into already prescribed traits or behaviours.

## **The Politics of Gendered Difference in Leadership: The Absence of 'Female Masculinity'**

Halberstam's exploration of female masculinity highlights the problematic reification of masculinity/femininity as a binary construct and enables us to disrupt normative accounts of gendered leadership. We use this as a critical platform to promote a richer understanding of the ambivalence of gendered constructions of leadership subjectivities. Halberstam (2005, p. 17) states, 'representations of the gender-ambiguous female body have rarely produced the same interest as their male counterparts inspire'. This is because ambiguous bodies, using Halberstam's categorisation, are profoundly disruptive to the status quo. In leadership in particular, whether the attention is on developing leadership skills, leadership advantage, leadership success or sustainable leadership practice, undoing the normalisation of leadership as a masculine phenomenon is potentially damaging, at least to those who represent dominant modes of operation, and to those wishing to privilege leadership effectiveness for practical or profitable gain.

### **Female Masculinity**

Female masculinity has received 'widespread indifference', as Halberstam (2005, p. 2) notes and attributes this to 'clearly ideological motivations' that have 'sustained the complex social structures that wed masculinity to maleness and to power and domination'. Male masculinity figures in Halberstam's project as a hermeneutic, and as a counterexample to the



kinds of masculinity that seem most informative about gender relations and most generative of social change (Adams 2000; Halberstam 1998, p. 3). Whilst often evading classifying female masculinity, Halberstam (2005, p. 2) reads how masculinity 'becomes legible as masculinity where and when it leaves the white male middle-class body'. Masculinity is then 'not reduce[d] down to the male body and its effect' (ibid., p. 2); indeed 'far from being an imitation of maleness, female masculinity actually affords us a glimpse of how masculinity is constructed as masculinity' (ibid., p. 1). In classic disruptive form, as part of Halberstam's project, men and women are not compared to explore gender difference; 'butch lesbians and female-to-male transsexuals' explore gender difference with all its fluidity. Similarly, Schilt and Connell (2007) explore the potential of transsexuality to disrupt the normalisation of what is becoming a common critique of gender binaries (Pullen and Knights 2007; Knights and Kerfoot 2004; Borgerson and Rehn 2004). Halberstam's analysis of the relationship between dominant masculinities with 'minority masculinities' (Halberstam 2005, p. 4) becomes important in undoing the restrictive privilege of such binaries. Adams (2000, p. 1–2) contends:

*Too often, the study of masculinity seems to come at the expense of the study of women; its unfortunate consequence is to imply that questions about women have become uninteresting, or are so familiar that they no longer need to be asked. Moreover, when it focuses on the burdens of gender and the fragility of bonds among men, this scholarship tends to ignore the persistent links between masculinity, patriarchal power and privilege.*

Female masculinity is therefore employed by Halberstam to 'explore a queer subject position that can successfully challenge hegemonic models of gender conformity' as it has been 'generally received by hetero- and homo-normative cultures as a pathological sign of misidentification and maladjustment, as a longing to be and to have a power that is already always just out of reach' (Halberstam 2005, p. 9).

Halberstam is largely indifferent to dominant male masculinities and as such is useful to our project to destabilise dominant binaries, by destabilising gender binaries without direct challenge from the feminine or reintroducing alternative dualistic organising principles. It is here that

Halberstam's (2005, p. 41) ideas on 'gender transitivity' become practical. Adams (2000) contends that the masculinity field reveals 'a dual mechanism of a lack of care for the self and a callous disregard for the care of others' which 'seems to characterize much of what we take for granted about white male masculinity' (Halberstam 1998, p. 274). Indeed what differentiates Halberstam's book is that this is a study of masculinity without men, a project with explicit critical and personal goals:

*In fact, masculinity is most complicated and transgressive when it is not tied to the male body, especially to the straight, white male body. Halberstam argues that female masculinity is not merely a perverse supplement to dominant configurations of gender, but masculinity itself cannot be fully understood unless female masculinity is taken into account. (Adams 2000, p. 3)*

Consequently, Halberstam's *Female Masculinity* problematises masculinity thus empowering models of female masculinity have been neglected or misunderstood because of a cultural intolerance towards the gender ambiguity that the masculine woman represents. We live in a culture that, for several hundred years, has been unable to acknowledge gender indeterminacy as a functional mode of identification, instead explaining figures like the stone butch, the tomboy, and the androgyne in terms of pathology and deviance (Adams 2000, p. 3).

## **Female Masculinity and the Implications for Female Leaders**

In addition to decoupling masculinity from men, Halberstam proposes to remedy the denigration of the masculine woman by mainstream feminists and woman-identified lesbians alike, who view her as a traitor for capitulating to butch stereotypes and engaging in a masochistic rejection of her own femininity. If we parallel such criticisms at leadership, we can infer that there are two available options—the feminine or hyper feminine leader who may or may not masquerade to conceal masculine, rational styles and outcomes, or the masking of femininity to portray desired masculine attributes. The masculine female, however, has only received academic attention from the desire of masculine performance

(Metcalf and Linstead 2003) and charges of being too masculine (Calás and Smircich 1993). Sedgwick (1995) has suggested that understanding female masculinity requires movement from a two-dimensional to an n-dimensional conceptualisation of gender and sex in which masculinity and femininity are no longer oppositional but orthogonal and independently variable. Such an approach focuses our attention beyond failed femininity or the inability of women leaders to imitate male masculinity (Nguyen 2008). It opens up the subversive possibilities and the political consequences of not playing with the gendered codes that were given to us.

By problematising the ‘masculine woman’ with the political intention of bringing about social change as well as theoretical advancement, Halberstam states that in the past the masculine woman ‘has rarely been depicted as an interesting phenomenon – usually, she has been portrayed as the outcome of *failed femininity*, or as the result of pathetic and unsuccessful male mimicry’ (1998, p. 17; emphasis ours). Such gender ambiguity has traditionally been a source of stigma in society in which such difference is constructed as the source of shame and where ‘female masculinities are framed as the rejected scraps of dominant masculinity in order that male masculinity may appear to be the real thing’ (Halberstam 1998, p. 1). Here we have an interesting tension at the level of gender dualisms which see all ‘situations’ as reinforcing gender, keeping the binaries intact. If we draw on this connection for the practice of leadership, we have some interesting and noteworthy comparisons. Firstly, if you are not feminine enough at the level of discursive materiality, impression management or leadership style, you have failed. Secondly, if women do not ‘manage like a man’ (Wajcman 1998)—or at least demonstrate masculine leadership through careful mimesis, they have failed.

Already female leaders cannot win. It appears that another option to ‘take account of oneself’ as a means to provide authentic leadership (Ford and Harding 2011; Ladkin and Taylor 2010) is also a problematic option for women leaders. Ironically, if difference is a source of shame, it seems that shame cannot be escaped because sameness, that is to be feminine and even hyper feminine or to practise male mimicry, also renders women failures, and possibly marked by shame—unable to live one’s life as we want it or more exactly to achieve a ‘viable life’ (Butler 2005).

For female leaders there is pressure to demonstrate femininity, to be an authentic leader and to manage like a man by adopting masculine styles of leadership.

We can surmise that 'feminine leadership' is a contradictory site which provides the opportunity to see flexible and ambiguous portraits of gender and leadership. Within this complexity, ambiguity and ambivalence, the potential for change exists—especially, we argue, a more ethical encounter with the other. Moreover, female masculinity is other to not only the masculine but the feminine, and this disrupts simplistic and oppressive dualistic conceptions of gender reproduced in analyses of the effectiveness of feminine leadership, for example. For leadership, female masculinity is perceived as a threat as it is equated with strong leadership which many leaders are forced to downplay, replacing female masculinity with alternative practices such as feminine leadership or androgyny.

Female masculinity, therefore, allows us to highlight the performative aspects of gender and that femininity and masculinity cannot simply be translated to and from male and female bodies (Ladkin 2008, 2012; Sinclair 2005). Indeed we could suggest that the ways in which feminine and masculine have been mapped onto male and female bodies in the leadership literature are rather outmoded (Halberstam's broader project which explores radically different bodies and sexualities). Even though Halberstam is not interested in the heterosexual female body, the emphasis on diverse female bodies engaged in diverse types of masculine performance that are connected to various forms of same-sex desire enables us to problematise gender, sex, sexuality and bodies as relational and provide more nuanced readings of leadership as relational and performative. We contend that simplified gender differences in leadership research and practice represent outmoded categories of feminine and masculine leadership which reify gender difference in restrictive terms and thus marginalise problematic or ambiguous leadership subjectivities. Having explored aspects of female masculinity which trouble gender binaries and dislocate a number of gender norms associated with feminine leadership, we turn to the ethical relationship between leadership and gender to further unearth the oppression of difference.

## Feminine Leadership and an Ethics of Leadership

By identifying and problematising oppressions in the gendered leadership literature, we are able to conceive of ways in which such marginalisations may be addressed. Within what has become known as the ethics of leadership (Painter-Morland 2008) literature, feminine leadership often resonates with espousing culturally feminine traits such as interdependence, community, connection, sharing, emotion, body, trust, absence of hierarchy, nature, immanence, process, joy, peace and life. The aim of such an approach has been to revise, reformulate or rethink traditional ethics and their deprecation and devaluation of what is understood as women's moral experience (Jaggar 1992). Feminine leadership evokes ethico-feminine categories such as care and love but in so doing also risks its instrumental rationalisation, in that 'feminine leadership seeks to arouse awareness of and appreciation for the contributions feminine leadership can make' such that 'when the workplace is humanised, organizations are more effective' (Edlund 1992, p. 87). It has even been suggested that 'women are more likely than men to lead in a style that is effective under contemporary conditions' (Eagly and Carli 2003, p. 807). This focus on 'effectiveness' in studies of feminine leadership (Eagly 2007; Lipman-Blumen 1992) resounds in studies that have established whether men or women have some 'gender advantage' when it comes to producing results (Vecchio 2002). However, our argument is that the inclusion of the feminine within leadership is not undertaken on the grounds of ethics, justice or equality, but rather more instrumentally as a means through which an unchanged set of organisational goals can be best pursued. This feminine is valued, and we could argue valorised, in the end if and only if it results in 'more sales, better market share, and to take away from competitors' (Calás and Smircich 1993, p. 79).

There is also leadership literature which suggests that women are 'more ethical than their male colleagues' (Lämsä and Sintonen 2001, p. 257) and of course evidence to the contrary (Harris 1990). We draw on the small body of work in organisation studies on feminist/feminine ethics (e.g.,

Borgerson 2007) to critique these lines of enquiry as they presuppose gendered differences in problematic and dualistic ways. While uncovering parallels between the conceptualisation of feminine leadership and feminist ethics, we argue that feminine leadership lacks the ethical basis of the feminine because it commodifies and consumes the feminine, rendering the feminine other, abject and controllable. To reiterate, social justice and equality for women rely on an acceptance of difference rather than the reinforcement and inversion of gender binaries and stereotypes, that is to say valuing already-ascribed feminine ideals over masculine ideals. Having a responsibility to the other requires an appreciation of the other, alongside the understanding that the other is never fully knowable (Diprose 1994; Butler 2005)—an open relationship that is without categorisation and judgement (Pullen and Rhodes 2013; Pullen and Knights 2007; Knights and O’Leary 2006).

## Exploring an Ethics of Sexual Difference

Developing our critique of restrictive notions of masculinity/femininity in feminine leadership leads us to Luce Irigaray whose writing becomes helpful to us, especially her work which shows the means by which difference and identity are produced in the cultural production of sexual difference. Irigaray offers an avenue for the exploration of ethics at the level of sexual difference which she discusses in numerous works (Irigaray 1985, 1993a, b, c; Vachhani 2012). Importantly for our argument, Irigaray (1991) calls for a revolution in ethics ‘where ethics is understood as problematic of identity or place’ (166, 167 cited in Diprose 1994, p. 36). So rather than being preoccupied by the exclusion of women, and in our case women from leadership positions, Irigaray’s feminist philosophy helps us to examine ‘the conditions which give rise to this exclusion’. This enables us to rethink sexual difference not as the identification of different traits or possibilities for leadership effectiveness but through a questioning of how and in what ways femininity is constructed, thus enabling us to expose how femininity is rendered abject, controllable or other. Irigaray is concerned with the question of sexual difference as a rethinking of the ethical relations between the self and other. Irigaray exposes the

perceived neutrality of social relations identifying the relations between men and women as patriarchal. Feminine subjects are marked by the alterity, and Irigaray asks what kind of alterity a feminine subject would presume (Vachhani 2012). This is fundamentally a question of alterity as the self's necessary confrontations with the other (Grosz 1989). Elizabeth Grosz says that this does not mean that women are automatically equated with otherness; 'rather, the other, whether male or female, is always understood as a variation of the sameness of self' (ibid., p. 141). The other is therefore a necessary condition of subjectivity, and ethics, a response and responsibility to the other's needs and actions (Chanter 1995). Irigaray testifies to the 'economy of the interval' between 'the male subject and discourse, between the subject and his world and between the subject and woman' (Irigaray 1991, p. 166, 169, cited in Diprose 1994, p. 36). 'This "interval" or distance is the difference created – not given – between the subject and his [*sic*] others, and therefore enables an autonomous self-identity' (ibid: 36). Importantly for leadership, as a result of this economy man can establish his own place in the world, and by consequence woman is denied 'a place of her own' (ibid, p. 36). Rosalyn Diprose succinctly puts it that 'sexual 'difference' is constituted in such a way that man gains his autonomous identity at the expense of woman' (ibid, p. 36), and 'as women's difference, being constituted in relation to man's identity, is lacking what a man is said to have' (Irigaray 1985, p. 69, 74–5). In this way there is no sexual difference to speak of, only sameness or lack. Irigaray goes further, however, wanting sexual difference to take place by creating 'the possibility of an ethos for women' (Diprose 1994, p. 36), and this ethos is created in and through the body. New modes of being for women emerge from the interrogation of the economy of the interval itself:

*This reconstitution of female habitats occurs "between what is already identified" (ibid., p. 168), between those poles of sexual difference we take for granted. This ethics of sexual difference is a material practice (an opening of one's embodied ethos towards other possibilities); its products emerge from challenging what already is; and the character of the emerging modalities of existence cannot be predicted. (Irigaray 1991, p. 174, 169, 176, cited in Diprose 1994, p. 37)*

Grosz (1989, p. 135) reminds us that Irigaray wishes to ‘undermine, provisionally over-throw the reign of dichotomous oppositions, those that define women, femininity and the various qualities and properties associated with them in some form of dichotomy with masculinity’. For Irigaray it is a matter of disrupting and modifying this symbolic order rather than inverting it which amounts to the same (Irigaray 1985). Questioning the bind of restrictive gender dualisms, Irigaray works from an understanding of (sexual) difference that does not amount to an unconditional surrender to the dominance of gender dualisms and makes sense of the constitutive exclusions of women. Irigaray makes a turn to embodiment where the body is an active site—one that enables a visceral, embodied and corporeal thinking (Trethewey 1999; Sinclair 2005; Ladkin and Taylor 2010; Pullen and Vachhani 2013; Ropo and Sauer 2008 in relation to leadership). Yet, for us this site is contradictory, and as well as being inscribed upon, bodies bring about disruption and trouble. It is at this site that ethics emerge. For leadership, ethics emerge at the site of the body, or in other terms, ethics emerge as an inter-corporeal engagement through the relationships between individuals, including leaders and followers.

## **Discussion: Leadership as an Ethical Encounter of Difference**

So far normalised gender assumptions prevalent in existing leadership writing have been challenged and we suggest that by invoking theories of difference and ethics—and more precisely an ethics of sexual difference through Irigaray—we can undo normative accounts of feminine leadership. We propose an ethical encounter with difference that renders ethics not as rational and calculable prescriptions to social actions but as a recognition to others—to individuals and to bodies. These relationships have a variety of implications for feminine leadership and offer considerable potential for understanding femininity and leadership. Firstly, it highlights the inadequacies of current thinking on feminine leadership that currently does not recognise difference. Secondly, it



breaks with the notion that femininity can only be interpreted through its relationship with masculinity. Thirdly, attention to the 'othering' of femininity and sexual difference in the context of leadership is crucial for our understanding of leadership ethics.

The key challenge for leadership studies is recognising the complexity of the intersections between gender, ethics and leadership in ways that do not close down possibilities for the ambiguities and contradictions of difference as they are expressed in the leadership of organisations. To open up leadership and gender and to critically analyse ethical practice, we move forward only with responsibility of and for the other, essential in advancing social justice and equality in organisational life. In order to achieve this, we turn to discuss the ethical relationship of leadership performance (Bathurst and Ladkin 2012), especially those performances which normalise and attempt to know difference. Following Irigaray's account of the ethics of sexual difference and reading her work as a material practice (such as Rosalyn Diprose) surfaces that ethics are not just about rules, rationality and reasoning, but rather originate with a pre-rational and generous openness to the other (Pullen and Rhodes 2010; Pullen and Vachhani n.d.). These ethics are infused with and informed by affectual relationships characterised by encounters with others and otherness made through the body (Ladki 2008, 2012; Ladkin and Taylor 2010; Sinclair 2005). These are affective encounters that 'constitute social relations' (Diprose 2002, p. 5) and offer the possibility of a 'corporeal generosity' (Diprose 2002) which is marked by an 'affective openness and response to difference' (Pullen and Rhodes 2010, p. 246) that require engaging with ethics at the level that both precedes and challenges those practices that close down difference.

The potential for rethinking leadership begins by challenging the normalisation of gender differences as they are expressed in the binary archetypes of masculine and feminine and to challenge assumptions and representations of feminine leadership. This involves *disrupting* the taken-for-granted means through which judgement is violently imposed on the gendered differences of women, which for Irigaray (1997) is the problematic of sexual exchange. Moving forward with a politics of difference has the goal of undoing and disrupting those types of social classification and stratification that preserve inequality. Bell

and Sinclair (2016) recently wrote that leadership continues to be gendered in ways where women's leadership, read as embodied, is flawed in comparison to the dominant male norm.

Approaching such discriminatory acts becomes possible by locating the origin of ethics in living breathing bodies—a body both in and of the world—that experiences and lives in that world (Ladkin 2008; Sinclair 2005). It is at the site of the body that ethics come to bear on the inter-corporeal relations between leaders, and prior to their categorisation, normalisation and regulation as subjects through the identification of what constitutes femininity in leadership. These relations arise not in a 'meeting of minds' but from inter-corporeal encounters that problematise the relationship between self/other and identity/body. Ethically, this is vital for the sustained re-theorising of gendered leadership as an ethical encounter to the other—an other which is acknowledged through the complexities of gender rather than the pursuit of feminine leadership as abject and female masculinity as invisible.

To conclude, this chapter has discussed how current conceptions of feminine leadership serve to strengthen gender stereotypes and inequality by reproducing restrictive gender binaries that reify masculinity and femininity expressed through male and female bodies. We suggested that this is problematic for both developing leadership practice and for advancing gendered readings of leadership as a theoretical concept. Having revealed how the feminine is constructed as other and is restricted to being other in the leadership literature, we turned to Halberstam's (1998) exposition of female masculinity as a useful way by which to critique problematic gender binaries that play out through current understandings of feminine leadership. Continuing on from scholarship in queer theory and gender performativity (Tyler and Cohen 2008), we worked to undo the normalised gender assumptions prevalent in existing leadership writing, and suggest that by invoking theories of difference and ethics—and more precisely an ethics of sexual difference through Irigaray—we can disrupt normative accounts of feminine leadership.

Our critique of the gendered differences of leadership is a social and political critique which has ethical practice at its core. This radical

approach starts us thinking about the ways in which leadership is practised not only at the level of the individual but how it is practised between gendered subjects, where ethics are the relationships between those subjects. We have attended to the ethical relationships in organisations drawing heavily on the values and strategies of feminist ethics that challenge individualism, universality and difference, and rationalism (Friedman and Bolte 2007).

The future of studying gender and/in leadership involves redefining, or perhaps relegating, feminine leadership as currently incapable of representing the feminine with all its difference. Identifying and problematising the oppression of difference lead to it being practically addressed and politicised. This political and ethical practice cannot begin without critiquing current conceptions, categorisations and normative practices of feminine leadership which further marginalise the political potential for women's equality. Social justice and equality rely on redefining a feminine symbolic of leadership to break the reinforcement and inversion of gender binaries and stereotypes. It is from this practical and political position that the potential for rethinking leadership begins and we are able to challenge the assumptions and representations of feminine leadership as they are currently conceptualised.

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# 7

## Leaders and Followers: Co-constructing a Creative Identity

Heather Round

### Introduction

Creativity is viewed as an important factor in sustaining economic growth (Jung 2000), and many contemporary business leaders believe it is critical for their organisational survival (Baer 2012). This view is unsurprising given the escalating competition and ongoing disruptions prevalent in the organisational context. Organisations wanting to succeed need to come up with new ideas, products and services on an ongoing basis. Innovation may be thought of as the lifeblood of contemporary organisations, without which these organisations are not likely to thrive. Creativity, which is commonly viewed as a critical component of innovation (Ness 2014), is considered to be equally important. Given the focus on innovation, unsurprisingly leaders are increasingly being tasked with the responsibility for boosting creativity in their organisations.

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Based on the historical focus of creativity research, leaders can be forgiven for assuming that creativity centres on a definitive set of characteristics associated with a “creative” individual. Academics have devoted much time to studying the skills and personality traits of a creative individual based on a positivist approach. This is hardly surprising given that much of the contemporary work into creativity is attributed back to Guilford’s address to the American Psychology Association in 1950 (Ford 1995). In this speech, Guilford encouraged researchers to focus on the creative individual in order to understand what made “him” different from other individuals (Guilford 1950), thereby setting a creativity research agenda underpinned by the assumption that creativity is the result of the efforts of a talented (male) individual and that the discernible characteristics of the individual distinguish him from others. While this research has been useful in providing insight into the personality traits and skills of individuals involved in creative activity, it has some limitations in terms of informing practice.

As will be argued in this chapter, securing the “right” people, those with the so-called creative tendencies, is only half of the leadership challenge. In order to be successful, leaders need to consider how they respond to the unique identity-related needs of creative employees. Underpinning this argument is the assumption that leaders and followers are intricately connected in the co-construction of the concepts of leadership and followership (Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien 2012). By bringing together leadership and creativity and developing a conceptual model of these in conjunction with identity work, this chapter focuses on how leaders and followers co-construct key aspects of the organisational context, which in turn impacts organizational outcomes. In addition, by overlaying a gender perspective on the conceptual model of leadership, followership and identity work in organisations, it will be argued that certain gendered behaviours are more likely to facilitate the co-construction of the creative identity.

## Creativity and Innovation

While creativity has been of interest in the areas of art and science for a long time, more recently creativity and the resultant innovation have gained significance in the organisational context. Before the 1980s, cre-

activity was only occasionally thought of as being important to an organisation, whereas in the 2010s most business leaders believe that creativity is critical to the survival of their organisation (Yuan and Woodman 2010). The growing importance of creativity to contemporary organisations may be attributed to certain facets of the evolving organisational environment. The past few years have been characterised by unprecedented change and, in particular, large-scale technological change and growth (Luftman et al. 2013). In addition, organisations exist in an increasingly constrained environment with rigid government regulation, escalating environmental restrictions (Bayne 2017) and a paucity of resources (Steenkamp and Fang 2011). Due to the large numbers of similar products, with indistinguishable features which are available to consumers today, markets are considered to be more commoditised, and differentiation is more challenging (Rosenzweig and Grinstein 2015).

In this constrained, competitive and volatile context, successful organisations need to be able to innovate through the development and implementation of new technologies or the formulation of new strategies (Balkin et al. 2000; Rosenzweig and Grinstein 2015). In addition, the commoditised environment provides a strong incentive to innovate in the area of products or services, as the introduction of distinctive offerings is one of the ways of competing for market share (Trott et al. 2016). Creativity and innovation are intrinsically linked (Amabile 1996), with innovation being described as the act or process of introducing something new and useful (King 1995) or as the successful implementation of a creative idea (Amabile et al. 1996). Organisations seeking to enhance innovation need to pay attention to creativity too.

In addition to innovation, organisations that exist in an increasingly constrained environment need to have access to excellent problem-solving skills in order to use limited resources in the most effective way (Goldenberg et al. 2006). Psychologists have linked creativity to an individual's problem-solving process by suggesting that creativity happens when a thinker grasps the essential features of a problem in relation to the solution (Amabile 1996). Therefore, organisations need to be cognisant of creativity when considering the problem-solving capacity within the organisation.

Due to the emphasis on innovation and enhanced problem solving, creativity is being recognised as a meaningful component of current

organisational success by ensuring an organisation remains flexible and competitive (Gilson et al. 2005). Leaders who are tasked with increasing innovation and problem solving within an organisation look to the studies of creative individuals for guidance.

## The Creative Individual

Researchers posit that certain individuals have natural or acquired skills and ability related to creativity (Amabile 1997; Torrance 1969). Creative individuals are likely to possess key creativity-relevant cognitive processes, such as searching their mind and their surroundings to find potential responses to a particular situation (Amabile 1997; Jones 1964), sifting through large amounts of data to find specific helpful information (Reiter-Palmon and Illies 2004), and divergent, flexible thinking (Barron and Egan 1968; Torrance 1969). Underpinning research in this area are two classical theoretical models: the Structure of the Intellect, a model developed by Guilford in 1967 (Styhre and Sundgren 2005), and the Torrance Test of Creative Thinking, a model which is based on work by Torrance and developed by Wallach and Kogan in 1965 (Tardif and Sternberg 1988). These models evaluate the creative process by using different constructs (e.g. flexibility and fluency) and different psychological operations (such as memory and cognition), thereby measuring an individual's skill in the creativity-specific cognitive processes (Michael 1999).

Research indicates that creative individuals display distinctive personality traits. They have a need for personal independence (e.g. Rinne et al. 2013), tend to become over-involved (e.g. Buel 1965), react positively to change (e.g. Buel 1965; King et al. 1996), and have a tolerance for ambiguity (e.g. Wang et al. 2011) and a need for power (e.g. Barron and Egan 1968). In addition, empirical work in the area of personality traits identified that the creative person has a strong internal desire that incentivises them to act creatively (e.g. Davis et al. 2011), is an idealist (e.g. Bierly et al. 2009), and has an emotional state that is conducive to acting creatively (e.g. Bledow et al. 2013). As have others, these individuals will be referred to as “creatives” for simplicity in the rest of this chapter.

## Creative Identity Work Within Organisations

Research which elaborates on the skills of creatives provides leaders with guidance as to what to look for when securing creative resources, (for example, those who display evidence of divergent thinking), and studies of the characteristics of creatives provide insight into some of the management challenges (e.g. a high tolerance for ambiguity could mean that individuals are slow in seeking closure on complex problems). Given that creatives have been shown to have strong identity needs (Styhre and Gluch 2009), it is surprising that identity-related needs of creatives and in particular how leadership should respond to these have not been attended to. While researchers have considered the way in which identity-related concepts can provide insight into the complexities of the organisational social processes (e.g. Creed et al. 2010; Maguire and Hardy 2005), few have looked at the intersection of creativity and identity (Brown et al. 2010; Dollinger et al. 2005; Farmer et al. 2003; Gotsi et al. 2010; Prichard 2002; Tuori and Vilén 2011), and the role of leadership in the co-construction of the creative identity has not been explored.

In this chapter, it is argued that creatives have specific identity-related needs which are likely to be inconsistent with some aspects of the organisational context, especially as the organisation expands and grows. Commercial imperatives and pressure from stakeholders (such as shareholders and regulators) are likely to move an organisation towards order, structure and moderated risk taking as it grows. This will include increasing amounts of process and control, as well as more clearly defined functional areas and reporting lines which constrain individual action taking and limit opportunities for creativity.

### About Identity and Identity Work

Identity may be conceptualised as an individual as well as a collective phenomenon (Alvesson 2010), in other words, “who I am” as well as “who we are.” As have others (e.g. Alvesson 2010; Collinson 2003; Watson 2008), this chapter focuses on individuals within the social context of organisations, incorporating not only individual identity work, but also the inter-

face between individual and social or collective identities. In particular, I consider how leadership and creative identity work are related.

An individual's self-identity may be described as the way in which they reflectively view themselves and is assembled based on cultural raw materials, such as language, symbols, meanings, etc., gathered through social interactions (Giddens 1991). For instance, a creative individual may see themselves as an artist, someone who produces unique artefacts and thinks outside the box. In order to sustain this self-identity they will access aspects of social interactions which support this identity, such as the confirmation from others of their artistic abilities through an emotive response to artefacts they have produced. Identity work is the active, ongoing process of reproducing and transforming self-identity (Alvesson and Willmott 2002), or "the process by which one constructs, repairs, and maintains an understanding of whom one is" (Wieland 2010, p. 509). As individuals participate in multiple discourses and practices that shift and evolve (Lok 2010), identity emerges as multiple and contextual (Alvesson 2000), fluid (Kreiner et al. 2006a, b), impermanent and fragmented (Bendle 2002). Thus, identities are continuously being constructed, reconstructed and negotiated through social processes (Alvesson et al. 2008; Gioia et al. 2000; Gotsi et al. 2010), and for those who are embedded in an organisation, the organisational context and the individuals and groups within the organisation become integral to identity work.

## Identity Work Within the Organisational Context

Research shows that the work that individuals do and in particular the work role they occupy have a significant impact on how they define and identify themselves (Du Gay 1996). Prevalent discourses within a workplace, in particular those coming from leadership (Zanoni and Janssens 2007), can provide resources for identity work (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003). In this section, the way in which overarching narratives act not

only to define subject positions available to individuals but also to legitimise certain identities is discussed.

Leadership practices are linked to various work-related roles (O'Doherty and Willmott 2000) and allow the location of employees within the organisational structure (Kuhn 2006). This implies that the structure of an organisation (such as the hierarchy, functional grouping, reporting lines) signals what is core to organisational outcomes. Based on identity-related needs, this may either provide symbolic resources to individuals within the organisation for use as part of their identity work or place limitations on identity work, acting to regulate identity. For example, if a lawyer works within a legal firm in a role which includes reference to the practice of the law, there are likely to be aspects of the environment which support their identity work as a legal practitioner. Conversely, if a creative individual is located within a large, bureaucratic organisation in a role which involves low levels of flexibility or personal initiative, there may be little to sustain their creative identity from within the organisation. Individuals have to work within the dominant discourses (Rao et al. 2003; Watson 2008) and defined subject positions (Brown and Lewis 2011) available to them within an organisation, and organisational practices can impact or regulate their identity work efforts (Alvesson and Willmott 2002).

In addition, leaders' narratives and actions may render specific identities more salient than others. For example, consider an organisation in a highly regulated environment where the narratives revolve around compliance, such as the celebration of compliance-related milestones and the insistence on employee compliance training. In this environment identities which incorporate risk taking and freedom, such as the creative identity, may not be salient.

Leaders' narratives and actions may also mean that certain identities take on an elite status, which renders them superior to other identities (Thornborrow and Brown 2009). The superiority of these identities may be backed up with claims to privileges and prestige (Thornborrow and Brown 2009) such as the rewards and recognition which may accompany high levels of quality in a manufacturing operation.



## Experiencing Identity Tensions

Social interactions that are inconsistent with an individual's self-identity may trigger identity-related discrepancies and anxieties (Alvesson and Willmott 2002; Pratt et al. 2006). When receiving information from others that is inconsistent with the way in which individuals view themselves, an individual may begin to question their identity (Swann and Bosson 2008). These contradictions may occur through "specific events, encounters, transitions, surprises, and more constant strains" (Alvesson 2010, p. 201), and can trigger feelings of uncertainty, anxiety, questioning or self-doubt (Collinson 2003; Knights and Willmott 1989). Identity tensions are likely to intensify identity work as an individual attempts to develop ontological security (Lutgen-Sandvik 2008) and a sense of authenticity (Alvesson 2010; Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003; Watson 2008) and to reconcile the conflicting identity demands (Ashforth et al. 2008; Kreiner et al. 2006b).

Research has found that creatives experience tension between their sense of being an artist and working within the constraints of an organisation (Gotsi et al. 2010; Hackley and Kover 2007; Kuhn 2006; Round and Styhre 2016). In particular, aspects of the work environment such as the structure and processes may be experienced as identity-related contradictions (Creed et al. 2010) by creatives who have a strong need for freedom and flexibility.

## Amplified Identity Work and Disidentification

An identity threat may be described as a perceived devaluation of an individual's identity, that is, the self-worth derived from a particular identity is reduced (Fiol et al. 2009). If a creative individual experiences identity-related tension and a devaluation of their self-identity due to the organisational context, they may seek to resolve these tensions by distancing themselves from the organisation.

Identity research has utilised the term "identification" as both a state and a process (Kreiner et al. 2006b). As a state, identification refers to the part of an individual's identity that is derived from an association with a

specific social group, or the overlap between the individual and the perceived identity of the social group (Dutton et al. 1994). From a process perspective, identification may be viewed as the process of aligning individual identity with that of a social group (Kreiner et al. 2006b). Building on concepts of social identity and identification, this section contends that, if the organisational context devalues the creative identity then those individuals who see themselves as creative are going to seek to disassociate themselves from the organisation as much as possible, thereby working actively on disidentification. Concepts of social identity and narrative identity work are useful for unpacking this disidentification.

Social identity research has shown how membership of a particular social group may be used as part of the process of developing a self-identity (Alvesson 2010; Ashforth and Mael 1989; Hogg and Terry 2000) as individuals present themselves in relation to others (Ainsworth and Hardy 2004; Davies and Harré 1990). In this process, boundaries are imposed in order to demarcate one group from another (Czarniawska 1997). Identity may be achieved through a “process of differentiation” (Wodak 1993, p. 126). This involves emphasising similarity between oneself and “in” group members (Ybema et al. 2009), while at the same time constructing “others” as less desirable (Maguire and Hardy 2005) and “excluding that which is ‘Other’” (Ainsworth and Hardy 2007, p. 269). Individuals may find it easier to define themselves through the social groups they do not belong to (such as by distancing themselves from the organisation by not conforming with accepted practices) rather than those they do belong to (Elsbach and Bhattacharya 2001). As a result of disidentification, individuals actively position themselves apart from aspects of their role within an organisation that they view as being trivial (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003). Thus, in this situation individuals may answer the question of who they are by being overt about what they are not (Carroll and Levy 2008).

In support of a disidentification strategy, individuals may focus on their narrative identity work (Ibarra and Barbulescu 2010), which involves developing a life story. A life story or a personal myth (McAdams 1996) comprises a set of self-narratives, as well as the relationship between them (Linde 1993). Telling a plausible story is part of meaning creation (Gergen 1994; McAdams 1996, 1999) and is thought to increase the

likelihood of an identity claim being considered legitimate (Ashforth 2001). In order to do this, individuals may integrate aspects from both “inside” and “outside” the work environment to produce a more meaningful identity. This supports the idea that identity can be conceptualised as being partially formed through life stories (McAdams 1996), which may be connected to fantasy and myth and, as such, exist outside the sphere of organisational leadership (Gabriel 1995). In particular, individuals may utilise non-work-related narratives for identity work, as these may be “less immediately affected by organisational processes and a possible source of stability and occasional resistance” (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003, p. 1166).

Creatives who are unable to meet their identity-related needs within an organisation may seek to disidentify with the organisation and proactively develop self-narratives which encapsulate aspects outside of the organisation. This may resolve the identity-related tensions to some extent but can be counterproductive from an organisational perspective. Disidentification could result in an individual’s actions being inconsistent with the ethos of the organisation or counter to the organisational goals. In addition, developing a self-narrative outside of the organisation takes an individual’s effort and energy, leaving them with less capacity (physically, mentally or emotionally) for organisational activities.

## Leaders and the Construction of a Creative Identity

Leaders interested in increasing the level of creativity within an organisation need to pay close attention to the linkage between identity and behaviour and consider the impact leadership can have on both of these. If creative behaviour is seen as being vital for the organisation, leaders need to pay attention to who they hire and the way in which their own narratives and processes impact the identity work of creatives once they join the organisation.

Leaders are responsible for defining the structure within which individuals are located from an organisational perspective. At a tangible level, structure not only organises employees into specific manageable units, but also signals what individuals are required to do, what power they

wield and the scope of their duties. Research indicates that opportunities for acting creatively are more likely to arise when there are high levels of diversity (Goncalo et al. 2015) and greater complexity (Wei 2016). Thus, structuring the organisation in such a way that there is an opportunity for networked, integrated and cross-functional discussion can act as a powerful symbol of the importance of creativity. In addition, all roles within an organisation should have scope for creativity appropriate to that particular job role, thereby indicating the expectation of creativity throughout the organisation. Organisations intent on increasing creativity should at the team and individual level set goals, define outputs, and measure and reward creativity. For example, organisations should include key performance indicators relating to innovative or creative initiatives in each employee's performance review.

In addition to structure, leadership practices can signal, literally and symbolically, the relative importance of creativity within the organisation. One way in which this can be achieved is through considering the membership of the leadership group of the organisation. For larger companies who have managing executive committees, this may imply appointing a chief creative officer or chief innovation officer to the executive team. Recent well-known examples include IBM and MasterCard. This shows the importance of creativity within the organisation and acts to legitimise the creative identity within the organisation.

Due to visibility, prominence and positional power, leadership can have a large influence on the overarching narratives within an organisation. In order to provide symbolic resources for identity work, leaders need to examine the extent to which they incorporate aspects of creativity into their messaging and reinforce this with action. A good example of this is provided by financial services company AMP, based in Australia. They have created a role at a senior level within the organisation called a "Catalyst for Magic" and since the early 2000s have provided support for an events platform called Amplify, which is a platform for exploring business innovation, technology and thought leadership (AMP 2016).

In order to successfully build a context within which creative identities can be sustained, leadership needs to pay attention not only to the tacit but also the subtle aspects of the context. This involves a paradigm shift, whereby leaders start to see themselves as integral to the co-construction of the creative identity.

## A Model of Leadership and Creative Identity Work

The above discussion explored both identity theories and creativity to reveal the way in which leaders and followers are jointly implicated in creative identity work. Based on this, a conceptual model of leadership and the co-construction of the creative identity within organisations has been developed, as presented in Fig. 7.1.

This model illustrates the intersection between aspects of the creative follower’s identity, the organisational context and leadership, in particular showing how leadership is implicated in the identity work of creative indi-

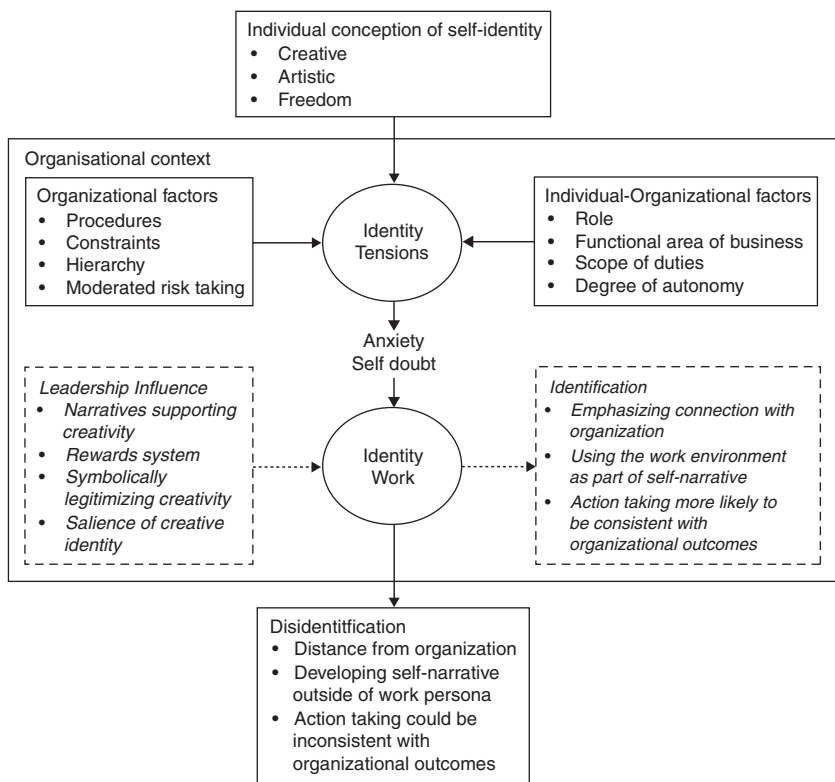


Fig. 7.1 A model of leadership and creative identity work

viduals. As illustrated in the model (by the solid lines and non-italicised text), the inconsistency between a creative individual's self-concept and the realities of an organisation (organisational and individual-organisational factors) can result in identity tensions with associated anxiety and self-doubt. This may trigger identity work in the form of an individual distancing themselves from the organisation and acting in ways which are inconsistent with the organisational goals. Alternatively (as illustrated by the dotted lines and italicised text), leadership may intervene in ways which allow for an individual's identity-related needs to be largely met within the organisation. In this way, leadership may be considered to co-construct the creative identity within the organisational context.

## Leadership Styles, Gender and Identity Work

The Model of Leadership and Creative Identity Work developed and discussed previously illustrates the way in which the creative identity of followers is co-constructed by leaders. This section reflects on the model from the perspective of gender, the importance of which is pointed out by Acker (1992), who asserts that we live in a time of "gendered institutions" and as such the organisations within which we work cannot be considered gender neutral. Gender is present within the processes and practices of social life and can be conceived as a principle of both social structure and cultural interpretation (Acker 1988; Scott 1986). Gender may be viewed as variable, temporal and socially constructed cultural categories to which meaning is ascribed. In other words, gender is not a trait of an individual but rather inherent in those interactions which are construed as gendered (Bohan 1993), such as the interactions between leaders and followers within organisations. In the same way that other cultural raw materials are utilised by individuals for the purpose of identity construction, gender may be incorporated into identity work. When gender is utilised as part of the construction of identity, individuals understand themselves, to some extent, in relation to culturally constructed meanings which are associated with gender. These gendered identities are not stable and may develop and change over a lifetime (Tobin et al. 2010). While researchers have focused on creatives and considered the connection between these individuals and

aspects of gender (for recent examples see [Conor et al. 2015](#); [Morgan and Nelligan 2015](#)), the implications of gendered behaviour by leadership for the identity work of creative followers are yet to be examined. As will be argued next, certain gendered leadership behaviours, in particular “feminine” aspects of leadership behaviour, are more likely to facilitate the co-construction of the creative identity.

## Gender and Identity Construction

Historically, there have been two distinct research approaches to gender identity: one which conceptualises gender in terms of masculinity and femininity and one which relates gender classifications to male and female social groups ([Wood and Eagly 2015](#)). In order to allow researchers to integrate the two theoretical approaches, [Schmader and Block \(2015\)](#) propose a social cognitive view of gender by utilising balanced identity theory ([Greenwald et al. 2002](#)) and arguing that there is a reciprocal relationship between gender identity and behavioural preferences and traits. This is more akin to the fluidity of gender-based identity construction as posited by [Ely \(1995\)](#) than the dichotomous, bipolar approach often assumed. Based on this theoretical framework, the following discussion considers ways in which gendered behaviours, linked to leaders’ own self-conceptualisation, may impact the co-construction of creative followers’ identity.

## Gender Stereotypes

Meanings associated with gender are developed as part of a gender belief system—the ideas that individuals have about gender ([Deaux and LaFrance 1998](#))—and include gender stereotypes that encompass the beliefs individuals hold about traits that are characteristic of a particular gender ([Kite et al. 2008](#)). Stereotypes can be explained by social identity theory ([Tajfel 1982](#); [Tajfel and Turner 1986](#)), which posits that as the identity group membership becomes salient, a tendency to exaggerate and contrast psychological and behavioural differences emerges which in

turn produces distinct categories and stereotype perceptions of the membership of the different groups (Turner 1982). In addition, the division of labour along gender lines in society shapes gender beliefs (Eagly et al. 2000) reinforcing certain stereotypes, such as interpersonal traits and a communal orientation (e.g. compassion, gentleness, nurturance, and sensitivity to others' needs) being labelled "feminine" traits (Powell and Greenhaus 2010).

By drawing on theories of social identity (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986) and organisational demography and power (Acker 1987; Acker and Van Houten 1974), researchers have shown gender as an ongoing social construction which is impacted by the context (Ely 1995). A salient aspect of the context is the prevalent stereotypes, in particular those related to gendered categories.

## Gendered Leadership Behaviour

When individuals understand themselves in terms of culturally generated meaning attached to femininity and masculinity, they may act according to these gendered aspects of themselves (Wood and Eagly 2012). This is based on the premise that a general tendency to maintain cognitive consistency is likely to promote the maintenance of balanced associations between your actions and the stereotypical behaviour connected to the gender category you associate with (Schmader and Block 2015).

Leaders may act in ways which are consistent with stereotypical traits attributed to the gender they most connect with. Gender-stereotyped traits which have been linked to leadership are the concepts of agency and communion (Eagly et al. 2000). In studying the modalities of living forms, Bakan (1966) argued that there are two basic dimensions, namely agency (focus on self) and communion (focus on others). Agentic characteristics are more likely to be linked to masculinity and ascribed to men, while communal characteristics are more likely to be considered feminine and linked to women (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001). There are specific attributes of leadership behaviour which are commonly associated with either agentic or communal practices and linked to gender categories given in Table 7.1.



**Table 7.1** Typical agentic and communal behaviours (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001)

	Agentic	Communal
Gender categories	Masculine	Feminine
Typical characteristics	Assertive and controlling	Concern with others
Examples	Aggression, ambition, competitive, etc.	Interpersonal focus, nurturing, sympathetic, etc.

Ongoing research in the area of leadership and gender continues to reinforce the idea that certain behaviours are gender specific. For example, an international study which divided participants into male and female categories found that females are generally more empathetic (Kirkland et al. 2013), while another study has shown that female leaders are more likely to demonstrate a passion for diversity, intercultural empathy and diplomacy (Javidan et al. 2016). These build on research which demonstrated that female leaders are more likely to demonstrate individualised consideration of their followers (Antonakis et al. 2003), to have an interindividual focus (Ferriman et al. 2009), to be co-operative, perceptive, diplomatic (Anderson and Sleaf 2004) and socially facilitative (Lämsä et al. 2008), and to prefer a participative leadership style, thus involving others in leadership decisions (Paris et al. 2009).

## Feminine Leadership and Creative Identity Work

By overlaying concepts of gendered leadership behaviour on the previously discussed model of leadership and creative identity work allows for a meaningful exploration of the way in which leaders and gendered behaviour impacts followers. In particular, it could be argued that behavioural traits associated with femininity are more likely to be positive for the co-construction of the creative identity as presented in Fig. 7.2.

Underpinning the argument that feminine behavioural traits are more suited to the co-construction of the creative identity is the assumption that successful co-construction requires a degree of sensitivity towards others. The so-called “feminine” behaviours, such as empathy, individualised consideration and an interindividual focus, are more likely support the

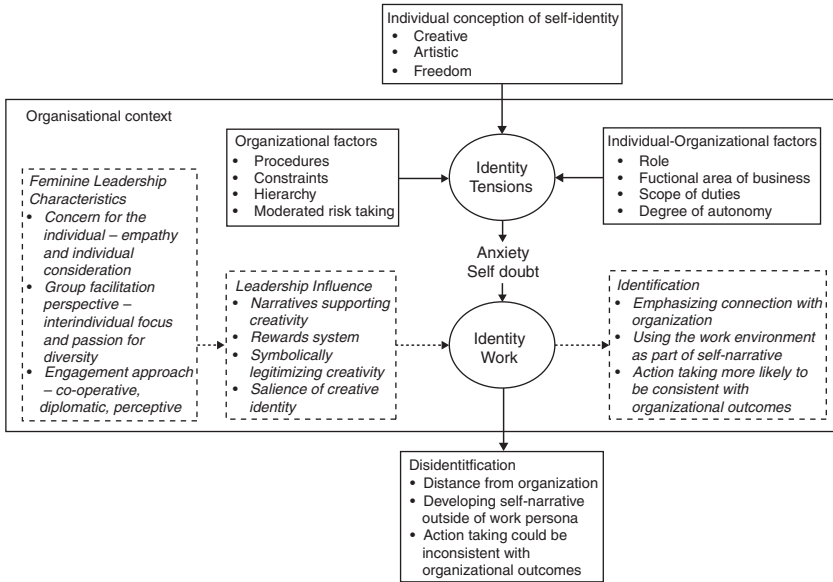


Fig. 7.2 Impact of feminine leadership on creative identity work

co-construction of the creative identity. Individualized consideration is leadership behaviour that contributes to follower satisfaction by, in addition to advising and supporting the individual, paying attention to the individual needs of followers, and thus allowing them to develop and self-actualize (Avolio 2010). In addition, having an interindividual focus implies an interest in the interactions between others and, together with the passion for diversity, can work in favour of developing an environment for creativity to thrive. In terms of creative identity work, having higher levels of diversity and meaningful interactions helps to build an overarching narrative about the creativity and innovation of the organisation. This narrative can provide symbolic resources for use in the identity work of creatives.

Feminine leadership, which is perceptive to the identity-related needs of followers and is responsive to these, is more likely to be successful in developing a context which is conducive to creative identity work. This style of leadership is nicely articulated in an interview of Christine Lagarde, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund who

said that to be an effective leader “you have to care about your staff- making sure you hear them and understand their take on the issues, making sure that everyone feels part of the team and is drawing satisfaction from their work” (Lagarde 2013).

## Conclusion

While much of the leadership research has focused on assumptions of individuality in which the leader is considered to assert top-down influence on the followers (Fairhurst 2009; Osborn et al. 2002), recently consideration has been given to the idea that leaders and followers are intricately connected in the co-construction of the concepts of leadership and followership (Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien 2012). By bringing together leadership and creativity in the development of a conceptual model of identity work, this chapter examined how leaders and followers co-construct identity-related aspects of the organization, which in turn can impact organizational outcomes. Creativity is often viewed as the first phase of innovation (Chen et al. 2005) and seen as part of the responsibility of leadership (Carmeli and Schaubroeck 2007). In particular, using the concept of creativity, this chapter demonstrates how leadership narratives and practices (i.e. the stories leaders tell, practices they support, values they encompass, etc.) impact the identity work (Alvesson and Willmott 2002) of creatives and how this in turn is tied into action taking. I have argued that if leaders provide symbolic and literal resources for the construction of the creative identity within the organisation, then followers who view themselves as creative are more likely to identify with the organisation and to act in a way which is consistent with the organisational direction.

This chapter demonstrates how leaders and followers, on an ongoing basis, construct a subjectively meaningful workplace and then act accordingly. Finally, by overlaying concepts of gender on the conceptual model of leadership and creative identity work, it is argued that certain gendered behaviours are more conducive to the co-construction of the creative identity within an organisational context.

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# 8

## Promoting Healthy Leader–Follower Dynamics to Enhance Workplace Equality

Jennifer Rindfleish

### Introduction

The 2016 United Nations Report on Women identified that even though the percentage of women in parliaments in the world has doubled over the last 20 years, this increase only translates into 22% of women in parliament today (UN Women Report 2016). The report puts forward a strong case for men and women to have equal rights and equality based on a ‘global imperative’ that would deliver more prosperous and progressive societies worldwide. In Australia, women continue to fall significantly behind men on measures of pay equality and occupational status and the much lower proportion of women who occupy positions on boards as directors. A complex set of structural reasons for these inequalities persist even after many years of proactive legislative, child-care, tax/transfer system policies and gender equality initiatives have

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been implemented (Cassells et al. 2016; Grant Thornton International Ltd 2015). Gender inequality in the workplace is further exacerbated by the fact that industries are skewed toward being more female or male dominated. Mining and construction companies are male dominated while the industries of education and social services are female dominated. Furthermore, the rewards within each industry are proportionally more favorable to men because, whatever the industry, even if it is female dominated, White males still overwhelmingly occupy the majority of leadership positions (Cassells et al. 2016; CEDA 2013).

Together with the persistent inequality between men and women on all measures of pay and occupational status, research has shown that workplace contexts are ‘gendered’ (Alvesson and Due Billing 1997; Hearn and Parkin 1987; Nicolson 2015; Smith and Hutchison 1995). The gendered nature of workplaces means individuals must learn how to negotiate the gendered spaces, and in doing so they knowingly or unknowingly engage in the ‘doing of gender’ (Adapa et al. 2016; Newman 2012; West and Zimmerman 1987). Unless it can be challenged and disrupted by effective mechanisms for change, the doing of gender further entrenches unequal divisions between men and women by continually reinforcing and reproducing gender inequality.

The chapter begins with a review of the existing literature and research describing the current position of women in the workforce. Then the many and varied reasons for the persistence and continued entrenchment of gender inequality in organizations is discussed to understand and explain why there are so few women in leadership roles. Effective change mechanisms are identified that can be applied to reduce the organizational constraints to gender equality. The leader–follower dynamic is discussed in light of how that dynamic can assist in disrupting, challenging and removing constraints to gender equality. Finally, the specific mechanisms that leaders can use to address gender inequality are discussed and recommendations for change are made.

## Gender Pay Gaps and Glass Ceilings

Even after major advances for women in both educational attainment and workforce participation, a recent Australian study showed that a gender pay gap of 18% between men and women remains a ‘permanent fixture’ of the Australian labor market (Cassells et al. 2016). The report also showed that a ‘glass ceiling’ effect still operates for women because as a woman’s income increases the gap that exists between their pay and that of their male counterparts also increases. If men and women climb the managerial ladder at the same rate, in their tenth year men can expect to have earned \$2.3 million and women \$1.7 million, a difference of \$600K (Cassells et al. 2016, p. 6). The effects of such a persistent gender pay gap are economic, political and social. While not always signaling direct discrimination, pay gaps represent poorer outcomes for women in terms of economic and personal freedoms, lost human capital potential and investment, and an impairment in economic growth for countries looking to remain competitive on a global scale (Cassells et al. 2016, p. 6).

The glass ceiling effect is also seen in research in the US context. A recent McKinsey and Company (2015, p. 3) report compared data from a 2012 study of 60 US corporations with data from a 2015 study of 118 US corporations and showed that women were underrepresented at every level of the corporate pipeline but particularly at the board level. In Australia, Cassells et al. (2016) showed that 37% of organizations have no female representation on their boards and only 6.3% of organizations have more women than men serving on boards. The gender differences are most notable between industry types. For example, there are no women sitting on boards for at least half of all organizations in retail (50.7%); mining (54.2%); wholesale (55%); manufacturing (56.8%); construction (61.3%); public administration and safety (64.7%); and agriculture, forestry and fishing (69.6%). In contrast, two in five organizations in health care and social assistance (17.3%) and one in eight in education and training (12.4%) have over 50% female representation on their boards (Cassells et al. 2016, p. 47). Statistics such as these show the ‘gendered’ structure of these industries and how the barriers to women’s



progress into leadership positions vary depending on the different industry type of each organization.

In the global context, women's participation in terms of political leadership is also low, with only 17% of government ministers being women, with the majority overseeing social sectors such as education and the family (UN Women Report 2016, p. 1). Even though the percentage of women in parliament worldwide has nearly doubled in the last 20 years, this only translates into 21.8% of women in parliament today—a slow increase from 11.3% since 1995. The report highlights the need for a 'critical mass' of women whereby 30% is widely considered an important benchmark for women's representation, so there is still some way to go before that number is achieved (UN Women Report 2016, p. 5). In the UK, the 2012 British Hansard report showed that in the political arena women are increasing their representation by 4% every 13 years. If the rate of increasing representation continues at this pace it will take at least 100 years for parity between men and women in political roles to be reached (Nicolson 2015, p. 10).

## The Personal Is Political

Betty Friedan (1964) coined the phrase 'the personal is political' to explain the entrenched social barriers women faced who aspired to careers and public lives outside of the private domestic sphere. Since then women's double workday burden of both career and domestic responsibilities has remained a central problem for women that divides their interests and materially curtails their access to power and privilege (Coontz 2013; Ting et al. 2016).

Connell (1987) showed how the social position of women was underpinned by psychological and sociological norms of sexual differences that come into conflict with one another in the praxis between the private and public spheres. The interaction between gender and power in organizations is constituted through the three broad structural aspects of labor, power and cathexis. The highly complex embedded and entrenched inequality experienced by women in the workplace reproduces itself continuously through the interplay of these seemingly normal and accepted

social structures. Focusing on one aspect of women's disadvantage, such as unconscious biases, will never change the robustness of the structure completely. All three 'structures' must be dismantled at the same time for lasting change to occur. Acker (1990) located the reproduction of gender inequality firmly within the capitalist mode of economic infrastructure and characterizes it as a multiplicity of formal and informal historical, economic, social and individual practices that uphold the 'gender under-structure' of organizations (Rindfleisch 2002, p. 37). Acker (2006, p. 441) also conceptualized 'inequality regimes' as an analytic approach to understanding the creation of inequalities in work organizations. The purpose of applying such an analytical approach was to 'unlock' the interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations, allowing them to be challenged and changed.

Apart from having to deal with the robustness of inequality regimes within organizations, women in leadership roles experience such regimes on a very personal everyday level. Nicolson (2015) documented the constant psychological toll that gender role discrepancy can take on women in professional and leadership roles. To cope with being a woman in a man's world, women have to manage psychological boundaries between themselves and men, themselves and other women, and themselves and the patriarchal organizational culture. Constantly wondering, are they selling out? Are they losing their femininity? Are they exploiting their sexuality? Are they doing their job well? The female professional has to constantly redefine her boundaries if she is to survive in a form that she herself recognizes and respects (Nicolson 2015, pp. 319–320). Marshall (1984) borrowed the concept of 'latent conflict' from Lukes (1974) to explain this constant boundary redefinition process. Latent conflict is a subversive process that suppresses any inherent conflict between men and women. Male power shapes the world of women and influences their consciousness because women fail to recognize an inherent contradiction between their own real interests and the interests of the men who exercise power over them. Women's interests remain submerged because even if they are 'sensed' they are difficult to pursue and develop because of their departure from the taken-for-granted world of accepted norms. Furthermore, if women are an oppressed class they do not readily recognize or identify with all other women. As women share real and profound

similar interests with men, they will not revolt against them (Marshall 1984, pp. 62–63).

The psychological burden of women's disadvantage appears 'normal' because it is so deeply structural in character. Newman (2012, p. 59) argues that as children we all learn gender rules that allow us to be perceived as feminine or masculine. However, simply knowing these rules does not make us feminine or masculine. Rather we each accomplish our gender in the 'doing of gender' appropriately and continually throughout each day. West and Zimmerman (1987) were the first to characterize the importance of how each of us 'does gender' in our everyday lives and how important it is to uncover the subconscious practice in order for it to be challenged if progress is to be made. Even very recently, Adapa et al. (2016) have shown that the 'doing of gender' in regional accounting firms disadvantages women, particularly in medium-sized accounting firms. Women's disadvantage is both personal and political and deeply entrenched in societal and organizational structures in the form of inequality regimes that are continually reproduced and reinforced through the 'doing of gender'.

## Think Manager: Think Male

The concept of leadership has historically been closely identified with masculine archetypes and stereotypes. The subconscious perceptions of many 'followers' are still based on managing their expectations of women to be able to fulfill these masculine stereotypes. Thus, most people perceive women as either good leaders if they are more like a man, or bad leaders if they are less like a man. Followers imbue individuals who have been given role authority over them with role legitimacy based on masculine stereotypes, and the association of manager with the male stereotype becomes the norm. As discussed earlier, women then suffer role incongruence and are 'damned if they do and damned if they don't' take on stereotypical masculine behaviors when in leadership positions (Wajcman 1999).

Powell and Graves's (2003) research in the USA showed the proportion of managers in the USA who were female had more than doubled

over three decades, from 21% in 1976 to 45% in 1999. However, managerial stereotypes continued to be ‘think manager–think masculine’ and ‘think manager–think male’. This put aspiring women managers at a distinct disadvantage by forcing them to deal with the perceived incongruity between the leader role and their gender role. The subsequent result of gender role conflict can be a self-limiting constraint on their behavior if it does not align with masculine traits, and potential discrimination against women in performance reviews who do not comply with male stereotypical traits, the result of which may limit their chances for promotion. All of these experiences lead to the fact that being a competent manager does not ensure a female the same chance at organizational success as her male counterpart.

The ‘manager-equals-male’ stereotype, and the subsequent unconscious biases that develop from that stereotype, is the most difficult barrier to challenge and change, both within and outside organizations, because it is deeply ingrained in the social psyche and largely unseen. Kiser’s (2015) research showed that many more men than women still hold unconscious biases and stereotypical beliefs about women. Comparing the attitudinal differences between women and men on issues of work and leadership, the study found that there were statistically significant differences between females and males. Men were more likely to believe that men have more rights to jobs when jobs are scarce and also that men made better political leaders and business executives compared to women (Kiser 2015, p. 598). Such differences reveal that men still hold attitudinal biases against women when it comes to work and leadership. Recent research in regional accounting firms in Australia also showed that male accountants still hold archaic stereotypical views of women’s abilities and competencies (Adapa et al. 2016).

The results of these studies add to the logic behind the case for a ‘critical mass’ of women in senior management and leadership roles. For if fewer women leaders than men hold unconscious biases about the competence and abilities of women then it logically follows that their decisions when recruiting employees will be based more on merit than gender.

## Structural Change Mechanisms: EEO Legislation, Affirmative Action and Quotas

Research by Burton (1991, 1996) identified compliance with and monitoring of Federal Government Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and anti-discrimination legislation as the most effective change mechanisms to increase gender equity in the Australian public service. These mechanisms have proved to be effective in enacting equitable practices in the 1980s in Australian public sector workplaces, even though their implementation at the time was very actively resisted both within and outside of the public sector (Sinclair 1998, p. 133). However, the mechanisms were not continuously policed or enforced to a level that ensured compliance with the legislation, particularly in private corporations (Bacchi 1990; Burton 1991; Sinclair 1998). Research on women managers in Britain also showed that for effective change mechanisms to work, structural barriers in organizations were the most important factors to focus on, as opposed to women's individual characteristics (Wajcman 1999, p. 77).

In Australia, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) has had an Affirmative Action Policy with quotas for women operating for two decades. In the early 1990s, women members and leaders identified a lack of support for women in the ALP and decided to address this through affirmative action and quotas for women candidates. In 1994, an initial target of women being preselected in 35% of all winnable state and federal seats was set; this target was later lifted to 40%. These targets increased the proportion of Labor women federally from 14.5% in 1994 to 38.2% in 2015. In 2014, the Victorian election resulted in women making up 47% of the ALP Caucus and 41% of Cabinet. Labor's affirmative action rules have transformed the Australian Parliament, increasing women's representation by 110% and delivering a raft of public policy reforms that have benefited Australian women. The ALP was acknowledged in a 2012 UN report that said that Affirmative Action (AA) and EMILY's List had demonstrated how a 'combination of concerted strategies can bring about increased women's political leadership and gender sensitive policies'. The report found that, after increasing the number of ALP women MPs,

Labor's focus on women's health and education programs, anti-domestic violence laws, parental leave and pay equity legislation had changed the perception of these from women's issues to 'social policies with relevance for all of Australian society'. The research concluded that more women in charge of making decisions about women's health and education means more representative parliaments and better policies to challenge gender inequality (EMILY'S List: Status of Women Report 2015, p. 3). These positive changes show the importance of the politics of representation for issues related to equality for women and minority groups. Phillips has been a great proponent of the 'politics of presence' (Phillips 1995, p. 5). Key to Phillips's (1995) argument is the case for the shift from the 'politics of ideas', where it is argued that democracy is working as long as interests are being considered, to 'the politics of representation', which recognizes the symbolic importance of the previously voiceless being present in the decision making. Phillips (1995) argues that the politics of presence is not just about increased visibility of under-represented groups but whether the political agenda can be transformed by their presence.

Implementing and enforcing structural change mechanisms such as anti-discrimination and EEO legislation and quotas for women has been more common in bureaucratized government run organizations. However, a number of European countries have taken up the challenge of implementing quotas for women in the private sector context. In 2003, Norway became the first country to have a gender quota, stipulating that women account for at least 40% of board members of public limited companies. Since then, other countries, including France, Spain and the Netherlands, have followed suit. In 2016, Germany's lower house of parliament passed legislation requiring large companies to allocate 30% of seats on non-executive boards to women (Whelan and Wood 2013, p. 37).

In terms of what private companies can do to improve equality, a report from McKinsey and Company (Barsh et al. 2013) outlines four important lessons from corporations that are highly successful at increasing gender representation in the senior ranks of their organizations. Firstly, diversity is personal. In other words, tracking and paying attention to the numbers of women and minority groups achieving positions of power is important and listening to real stories relayed by CEOs and

other top leaders backed by tangible actions can speed up the process of diversity within organizations. Secondly, the culture and values in an organization are at the core of successful diversity outcomes. Gender diversity programs are not enough to increase diversity. Unless the values of diversity are lived every day by the leadership, no amount of programs will work. Thirdly, improvements are systematic. This means it is important to get moving with actions that improve diversity because evidence now abounds about what works to make it happen. Lastly, boards spark movement. Companies committed to jump-starting gender diversity, or accelerating progress in achieving it, should place a priority on finding qualified female directors. Therefore, it may be necessary to take action to free up spots or to expand the board's size for a period of time (Barsh et al. 2013, p. 6).

Similarly, a government of South Australia report on 'Gender Equality in Leadership' (2015) identified three key drivers to achieve gender equality in leadership. The three 'levers' for achieving gender equality in leadership are based on current research, workplace studies, workforce statistics and feedback from public sector women and men. They are

1. The importance of leadership accountability to ensure that chief executives and senior leaders are accountable for actively supporting gender equity principles and advocating gender equality within their organizations.
2. Empowered workplaces and cultures that are supportive of women, encourage flexible work practices, and recognize and address gender biases.
3. A talent pipeline whereby talent is defined and identified, there is access to development opportunities, and where leadership capability models need to be gender-equitable and bias-free for employees at all levels.

Both the McKinsey and Company (2015) and the South Australian government (2015) reports emphasize the responsibility of 'leadership accountability', the focus on the deep and lasting cultural change required to fight unconscious biases and a very proactive approach to finding female talent for leadership roles. The type of leadership required

to bring about such changes would be a highly transformational style with the ability to galvanize all members of an organization behind the aims and outcomes for such a large cultural change.

## Stalling of Progress Toward Equality

Coontz (2013) showed that in the USA during the second half of the 1990s and the early 2000s progress toward gender equality stalled. Analyzing work–family policies in the USA in comparison with those of countries at similar levels of economic and political development, the study found that the USA was ranked last. In the ten years between 1994 and 2004, the percentage of Americans preferring the male breadwinner/female homemaker family model actually rose to 40% from 34%. Between 1997 and 2007, the number of full-time working mothers who said that they would prefer to work part time increased to 60% from 48%. In 1997, a quarter of stay-at-home mothers said full-time work would be ideal and by 2007 only 16% of stay-at-home mothers wanted to work full time. Furthermore, the analysis showed that despite the increased workload of families and the fact that 70% of American children now live in households where every adult in the home is employed, the USA has not passed any major federal initiative to help workers accommodate their family and work demands in the past 20 years. However, since 1990 other nations with comparable resources have implemented a comprehensive legislative agenda of work–family reconciliation (Coontz 2013, p. 4). Ransom (2013) also discusses how, in the USA, in the 1990s, progress toward gender equality stalled when a transition occurred from overt, structural barriers to covert, invisible impediments mainly due to ingrained gender biases perpetuated by the media that have negatively affected a whole generation of women (Ransom 2013, p. 69).

Together with the weakening of public support for equity, the obvious barriers to equality becoming more covert, and the ingrained gender biases in media portrayals of women, structural change mechanisms, such as anti-Discrimination and EEO legislation, used widely and enforced in the 1980s and 1990s, have been watered down in organizations, devolved to an internal organizational process dubbed ‘managing



diversity'. French et al. (2012, p. 11) showed how the move from EEO legislation to internal 'managing diversity' programs in organizations has stalled the progress of equity. Citing numerous studies that show the lack of systematic and convincing evidence about the overall impact of diversity initiatives, they conclude that even though more organizations than ever emphasize diversity as a core element in their business, there is no empirical research showing any relationship between managing diversity programs and organizational outcomes. They blame the voluntary nature of the programs and the fact that the responsibility for their success is spread across the organization (French et al. 2012, p. 22). Cox (1996) calls this development 'mainstreaming' equal opportunity responsibilities by devolving them to human resources departments under the guise of 'managing diversity' offering proscriptive training courses designed to 'teach' employees to better fit the traditional norms of highly gendered workplaces. This has the effect of further embedding and normalizing the gender stereotype of the manager-equals-male and reinforces the 'deficit' model of women as never being able to measure up to the 'male' stereotype of successful management performance (Cox 1996, p. 227; Abendroth et al. 2016, pp. 29–30).

Park (2016) also showed that Australia has continued to [slide down the global rankings](#) of women's parliamentary representation and now sits in 56th place, a drop of 35 places since 2001. Such a poor performance was not discussed or addressed during the recent 2016 Federal election campaign, and there was nothing offered by either party in their election campaign that would address gender equity in the parliamentary ranks. As discussed earlier, the most significant structural change in women's representation was the Labor Party's introduction of a 35% pre-selection quota for winnable seats in 1994, with only a minor increase in 2012 to a 40% quota for women. The Greens, a minority party, have always had a higher proportion of women candidates, traceable to their founding principles of equality. In contrast, the Liberal Party has long rejected quotas in their parliamentary wing, viewing them as anti-meritocratic. By effectively dismissing embedded structural and cultural biases against women, their expectation of progress has never materialized. Since 1998, the Labor Party has made strides in women's representation for both candidacy and parliamentary seats, while the Liberal Party has barely

moved (Park 2016, p. 2). Recognizing the problem, the new Federal Sex Discrimination Commissioner was quoted as saying that if targets did not improve the percentage of women in parliament then ‘hard’ quotas to increase women’s representation should be used (Medhora 2016).

## Leadership Styles and Leader–Follower Dynamics

Research into leadership styles has identified the ‘transformational’ style of leadership, as opposed to the ‘transactional’ or ‘laissez-faire’ leadership styles, as the style with the most potential to ensure the effectiveness of any organization (Antonakis, et al. 2004; Bass and Riggio 2006; De Mascia 2015; Judge and Piccola 2004; Knights 2016). Eagly and Carli (2003) and the Caliper Organisation’s (2014) research (as cited in De Mascia 2015, p. 1) showed that women have more emotional intelligence as leaders and that they also portray more transformational leadership behavior than men. UK studies have also found that women leaders have significantly more of a team management style and are more visionary than men (Cartwright and Gale 1995).

The term ‘transformational leader’ describes a process whereby a leader becomes a role model by gaining followers’ trust and confidence. Transformational leaders clearly state their future goals for their organization, develop plans to achieve those goals and apply innovative strategies to reach their goals. By mentoring and empowering their followers, such leaders encourage followers to develop their full potential and contribute more effectively to their organization (Antonakis et al. 2004, p. 285). One important aspect of a transformational leadership style is that the leader has a high level of ‘emotional intelligence’, a key intelligence of successful and ethical leaders (Knights 2016, p. 10). The leader–follower dynamic is central to these discussions about the need for more transformational types of leaders because a large part of a transformational leader’s style is their ability to mentor, empower and develop the full potential of their followers. Women’s leadership style tends to be more democratic and participative compared with men’s more autocratic and

directive style. Female managers also tend to adopt a transformational style and use more rewards to encourage appropriate subordinate behavior. In contrast, men tend to highlight subordinates' failures to meet standards, avoided solving problems until they become acute, and are absent or uninvolved more often at critical times (Antonakis et al. 2004, p. 287).

The leader–follower dynamic will be affected differently depending on the specific leadership style of the leader. At the very least, followers require consistency and certainty from leaders who treat them fairly, equitably and with respect. More than that, for any organization to flourish, followers need leaders who are ethical and visionary, trustworthy, motivating and inspiring. A good leader–follower relationship is like a close friendship; it is characterized by high trust, mutual influence, reciprocal liking, mutual disclosure of privileged information, responsiveness, synchronized plans and goals, the provision of various kinds of support, and an appreciation of the uniqueness of the relationship (Thomas et al. 2013, p. S64). Thomas et al. (2013) suggest that when a critical mass of women leaders is reached, they will be leaders who are more transformational in leadership style, more knowledgeable and committed to increasing equality and diversity in organizations, and will automatically recruit employees who also have these qualities. In such a context, the leader–follower dynamic will automatically become the catalyst for more equitable workplaces.

## **A Leader's 'Charter for Equity'**

The Committee for Economic Development Australia's (CEDA) 2013 report shows that Australia still has a significant way to go to achieve equality in workplaces and society more generally. Addressing equality was seen as a significant issue for both women and men and gender equality in workplaces was seen as good for business, good for the economy and good for society. Even though reporting and voluntary targets have been good steps in Australian organizations, the committee makes the point that there is no single solution to the problem. Research shows that unless business continues a concerted effort to unravel the causes of this imbalance, then we are never going to see the progress required

(Martin 2013, p. 4). Leaders need to be able to address the complex and hidden barriers to progress toward gender equity and diversity by clearly understanding what those barriers are, knowing the current and best practice methods to address them, and taking personal responsibility for them. The recommendations from the CEDA (2013) report were highly instructive about what needs to be done now to address inequality in organizations. They include three broad areas with specific actions for each area, as follows:

1. *Enabling workplace meritocracies*—The assumption that workplaces are meritocracies does not always hold, leaving women on an uneven playing field. Organizations may help ensure that workplaces become meritocracies by
  - Raising awareness regarding all areas of unconscious bias and addressing them through unconscious bias programs, including educating employees about gender diversity and the detrimental effects of gender stereotypes;
  - Performing structured pay audits to identify potential gender pay gaps;
  - Examining recruitment processes and selection criteria, as well as indicators used to assess performance and promotion to ensure that they are not unconsciously and unwittingly biased against women; and
  - Offering mentoring programs and networking opportunities to support women’s careers and equip them for leadership roles with a view to level the playing field.
2. *Changing workplace culture*—Societal norms, such as traditional gender roles, can affect women’s equality in the workplace. Business and government leaders can help improve women’s equality of opportunity through culture change by
  - Breaking down stereotypical gender role barriers embedded in workplace culture. For example, by encouraging fathers to take more parental leave to which they are entitled;

- Reassessing the historical way that companies have organized work by exploring alternatives to the nine-to-five work system, and reconsidering how childcare and other non-work commitments fit within the system;
  - Exploring the feasibility of designing workplaces that promote flexible work practices for all employees regardless of gender and family status; and
  - Mainstreaming flexibility can help to counter the association of flexible work with ‘women’s work’.
3. *Engaging leaders and introducing accountability*—To enable equality of opportunity in the workplace through gender diversity strategies and policies, the following is needed:
- Clear governance, accountability and leaders committed to dealing with this complex issue; and
  - Embedding changes to existing systems and processes through personal responsibility for behaviors and actions, such as adding gender diversity policies to performance indicators (CEDA Report, p. 8).

Leaders must implement all of these proactive measures simultaneously in order to deliver an effective systematic, continuous program of equity within their organizations. Leaders will benefit greatly by recruiting and working with followers who also have knowledge and commitment to these measures. Governments and public and private institutions also need to foster and promote the progress of more women into leadership roles. The three methods of ‘ensuring workplace meritocracies’, ‘changing workplace cultures’ and ‘engaging leaders and introducing accountability’ form the basis of a ‘Charter for Equity’ that can be implemented by leaders within every workplace and organization worldwide.

## The Case for Change

The rational, moral and economic arguments for increasing gender balance and diversity in leadership include the moral imperatives of fairness and equity, the need for companies to attract employees with the most merit, the increased economic benefits to companies and nations of having more women in leadership roles, and the fact that more diverse boards and decision-making bodies will improve business outcomes. There is also statistical proof of the strong relationship between having more women occupying board positions and a decrease in the gender pay gap (Cassells et al. 2016). Such a relationship, on its own, is a compelling case for increasing the number of women who occupy board and leadership positions. However, there are many more reasons why having more women in decision-making leadership roles is now a critical necessity.

The projected economic benefit of having more women in the workforce contributing to productive economic activity is quite staggering. McKinsey and Company's (2015, p. 2) report showed that if every country matched the progress for improving women's participation in the labor force of its fastest-moving geographical neighbor, global GDP could increase by up to \$12 trillion in 2025. In Australia, a study by the Grattan Institute (Daley et al. 2012) showed that by removing disincentives for women to enter the paid workforce the size of the Australian economy would increase by about \$25 billion per year. The study's authors argued that the most important policy change needed was to alter access to Family Tax Benefit and Childcare Benefit and Rebate incentives, so that the second income earner in a family (usually, but not always, a mother) takes home more income after tax, welfare and childcare costs (Whitehead 2013, p. 51). Grant Thornton International Limited (2015, p. 6) measured return on assets for companies in the USA, UK and India and found that the opportunity costs to businesses of having a more diverse board membership outperform those without a diverse team by a significant margin. The analysis showed that the profit foregone, or opportunity cost, for companies with male-only boards is

a massive \$655 billion across the three economies. Extensive research conducted worldwide by Credit Suisse (2016) has also proven that companies worldwide can boost their share price by hiring more women in senior roles (Dawson et al. 2016)

Together with the huge economic and business benefits of having more women on boards and in leadership roles, research supports the claim that on many levels women outperform men as leaders and managers. Eagly and Karau's (1991) research showed that under socially complex conditions women experienced less disadvantage than men in emerging as group leaders. Post's (2015) work showed that female leadership yielded improved communication and group cohesiveness. Dezso and Ross's (2012) research, in a large sample of US firms, showed that greater female representation in their top management teams predicted better firm performance (Eagly 2016, p. 209). Compared to men, women have also been found to be better fund managers (Dale 2009) and, as leaders, they tend to have employees who are more engaged on the job as opposed to employees with male bosses (Fitch 2014). Furthermore, in terms of their leadership style, more women than men have been found to be 'transformational' leaders, a leadership style that is more inclusive and more able to leverage the leader–follower dynamic in order to address inequality in workplaces (De Mascia 2015, p. 1).

However, these very strong rational arguments for increasing the number of women in leadership roles are still subject to three very resistant structural barriers in organizations. First, the irrational, and now largely covert, unconscious biases against women, mainly held by men. Second, the political inertia of governments worldwide to take proactive steps to address gender inequity, such as quotas and increased tax incentives for childcare. Third, the responsibility for anti-discrimination and EEO legislation being devolved to human resource departments under the guise of 'managing diversity' programs.

A public 'Charter for Equity' promoted widely by both governments and private sector organizations worldwide would go a long way to keeping the issues of equity on the agenda for all organizations and speeding up the progress of change. Such a charter would include specific practices that address the three areas of change required as enabling workplace meritocracies, changing workplace cultures, and engaging leaders

through accountability. However, the charter would only be effective with continuous and strong legislative mechanisms enforced by governments.

## Conclusion

The weight of statistical evidence supporting the business, economic, social and moral case for more women in leadership roles has never been stronger. The increased number of women in leadership roles adds enormous economic value to businesses globally and to the economies of nation states. Social justice and equity principles also demand an increase in gender balance on boards and at the top of corporations. When compared to men, women display a more transformational and inclusive leadership style than transactional or laissez-faire styles, they have more of a team management style, they are more visionary and they are able to integrate teams more effectively in innovative business contexts. Such leadership qualities are more conducive to addressing issues of equity in organizations and more able to leverage the leader–follower dynamic for tackling inequity.

However, the barriers to an increase of women in leadership roles remain deeply entrenched, and mechanisms for speeding up the process have been inconsistent and weak, leading to a stalling in progress. Together with the changes required by leaders within organizations, economic and political change outside of organizations must be much stronger, made more visible and be enforced through ‘hard’ quotas adhered to and realized, for real and lasting progress toward full equity. Thorough, systemic and continuous cultural change programs within organizations augmented with stringently enforced government legislation is the only way forward. Changes such as tax incentives to offset the costs of child-care for women, increasing women’s participation in the workforce, as well as policies that improve the job opportunities, pay and conditions for women, are required. Government incentives and programs that encourage more women to take up traditional male occupations and more men to take up traditional female occupations would also contribute to real change. If these broader social reforms are not implemented the individual efforts of leaders and followers within organizations will not, of



and by themselves, amount to the large-scale social reform required to substantially increase equity for women and targeted equity groups.

The dynamics between leaders and followers within organizations have the potential to be the basis for positive change toward equity but each of the barriers identified requires an understanding and a firm commitment from leaders and followers if they are to be changed. Leaders and followers must be recruited for their knowledge of, and commitment to, the specific and effective change mechanisms that bring about gender equality. Furthermore, they must ensure that the practices, policies and programs in their own organizations directly address inequity, while at the same time they must personally promote equity policies and programs at the broader political and economic levels outside of their workplaces.

Apart from having or developing a personal leadership style that would foster equity programs within organizations, it is imperative leaders and followers take personal responsibility for implementing systematic and continuously monitored equity programs. Leaders who choose to totally devolve the responsibility for equity programs render them ineffectual. When leaders do not take personal responsibility for the compliance and results of equity programs they are condemned to 'fighting the fires' that invariably arise when individual cases of discrimination occur and reach crisis point. The intractable and multifaceted nature of inequality regimes demand that they are addressed through a public 'Charter for Equity' that includes the three identified change mechanisms of enabling workplace meritocracies, changing workplace culture and engaging leaders by making them accountable. Such a charter must be the foundation of a new way of leading organizations and leveraging a knowledgeable and supportive leader–follower dynamic so that real progress toward equity is realized sooner rather than later.

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# 9

## Revisiting the Strategic Leadership Paradigm: A Gender Inclusive Perspective

Arash Najmaei

### Introduction

How do business leaders<sup>1</sup> matter? Early studies showed that leaders matter because they make decisions which determine the fate of their firms (Miller et al. 1982; Child 1972; Prahalad and Bettis 1986; Hamel and Prahalad 1992). Recent advances transcend these limited strategic foci by suggesting that leaders matter because they are stewards of the entire enterprise, its structure, culture and identity (Hambrick and Quigley 2013; Montgomery 2008; Quigley and Hambrick 2015). Advocates of the latter school believe that fundamental function of a leader is to design the organization and define what it is and how it adjusts itself to achieve its goals (Finkelstein et al. 2009; Montgomery 2008; Simsek et al. 2015).

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Not only is the current workforce becoming more diverse but also the global business landscape is going through an unprecedented metamorphosis driven by global openness, rapid blending of cultures and recent socio-cultural changes (Deloitte 2012; Hollander 2012; Nembhard and Edmondson 2006; Wuffli 2016). These circumstances require leaders to be inclusive, to include skills, opinions and values of employees regardless of their gender and backgrounds (Carmeli et al. 2010; Hirak et al. 2012; Mitchell et al. 2015; Sugiyama et al. 2016; Wuffli 2016). There is a pressing need to explicitly incorporate the notion of inclusivity into the underlying theoretical foundation of leadership (Carmeli et al. 2010; Sugiyama et al. 2016). As Wuffli (2016, p. 3) argues:

an inclusive leadership approach is called for where both the what (knowing what are “the right things”) and the how (doing the “things right”), as well as a high degree of agility to constantly adjust to changing environments, are instrumental for achieving success.

Considering this trend, one may ask the following question: to what extent does the current paradigm of strategic leadership address inclusivity? The answer is dismal. An overview of the literature on strategic leadership reveals a vexing lack of attention to the concept of inclusivity and leaders’ inclusiveness. This void is surprising because although the notion of diversity in leadership has long been discussed (Knight et al. 1999; Li et al. 2016; Qin et al. 2013; Rogelberg and Rumery 1996; Simons et al. 1999), inclusivity as a closely related notion has received very little attention from the strategic leadership scholars. This gap prompts us to revisit the current paradigm of strategic leadership from an inclusive view.

The objective of this chapter is to bring inclusivity to the forefront of strategic leadership. This focus portrays diversity as an asset rather than a liability and uses inclusivity as a strategic way to capitalize on this asset. To this end, first an overview of the concept of inclusivity and a leader’s inclusiveness is offered. Then I augment the literature on inclusive leadership and strategic leadership and outline an inclusive paradigm for strategic leadership. Inclusivity covers all aspects of diversity from gender to age, ethnicity and nationality (Hambrick 2007; Hambrick and Mason 1984). For the sake of brevity, I narrow the focus on gender and point to

some of the theoretical, practical and educational implications of a gendered approach to inclusive strategic leadership. The chapter concludes with a set of directions for future research on gender inclusiveness in strategic leadership.

## **Inclusivity, Inclusive Leadership and Leader's Inclusiveness**

### **Inclusivity and Inclusiveness**

The Oxford Dictionary defines “inclusivity” as “an intention or policy of including people who might otherwise be excluded or marginalized, such as those who are handicapped or learning-disabled, or racial and sexual minorities.” It is an intentional act which expresses “the need to proactively ensure the participation of poor, underprivileged people in development processes.” Inclusivity means something that “covers or includes everything” or “is not limited to certain people” (Wuffli 2016, p. 2). Building on this understanding, business scholars have conceptualized inclusivity as an organizational characteristic in which employees from different backgrounds, those who are usually overlooked or marginalized, are included in organizational activities, decision-making and goal-setting processes.

Two points are noteworthy here. First, when an organization practices inclusivity, its employees regardless of their backgrounds feel accepted and treated as insiders (Shore et al. 2010). This enables an organization to benefit from a wider spectrum of skills and knowledge blended together in a coherent way. Second, since each employee brings a unique set of knowledge and skills to the organization, shaped and formed by their life trajectories, the practice of inclusivity enables an organization to help employees realize their unique potential and contribution to the organization.

Shore et al. (2010) used the optimal distinctiveness theory of Brewer (1991) to explain and integrate these two in a unified model of organizational inclusivity. According to Brewer (1991; p. 477), individuals'



collective identity is shaped by a tension between two needs: the need for “validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other).” To be inclusive, an organization’s culture needs to satisfy employees’ needs for belongingness and uniqueness. Because these two “work together to create feelings of inclusion” (Shore et al. 2010, p. 1266), organizational inclusivity is essentially different from diversity. It is a fundamental aspect of an organization’s culture in which employees’ needs for belongingness and uniqueness are cultivated and nurtured. An organization’s culture is a cornerstone of its strategy which is designed and reinforced by its strategic leaders. An organization’s inclusiveness is a function of its leaders’ inclusiveness.

## **Inclusive Leadership and a Leader’s Degree of Inclusiveness**

Inclusive leadership is an elusive and multifaceted concept forged at the intersection of leadership and inclusivity as a diversity management approach in order to meet the challenges of increasing diversity in today’s work environments (Rayner 2009). It has been defined as “words and deeds exhibited by leaders that invite and appreciate others’ contributions” (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006, p. 941) and argued to be essentially about relationships aimed at accomplishing things for mutual benefit by “doing things with people, rather than to people,” which is the essence of inclusion (Hollander 2012, p. 3).

Followers can be included or excluded by the ways in which they are given access to goods, rights and responsibilities (Hollander 2012; Ryan 2014). In this sense, an inclusive approach to leadership overturns traditional leader-centered conceptions of leadership in which followers’ race, class, gender, and relationships can keep them from reaching their full potential (Ryan 2014) and encourages a more follower-centric style of leadership in which “leaders usually do have greater initiative, but followers are vital to success, and they too can become leaders” (Hollander 2012, p. 3). The bottom line here as stressed by Ryan (2014, p. 364) is

that “leadership can never be truly inclusive unless the ends for which it is organized are also inclusive.” Followers, or employees in the case of organizational leadership, feel they are included when they experience both belongingness and value in the uniqueness of their identities (Shore et al. 2011).

To cultivate an environment where followers’ needs for belongingness and uniqueness are satisfied, organizations should reduce hierarchies associated with bureaucracy, conformity and power and position-seeking motives (Deloitte 2012; Wuffli 2016). An inclusive leadership fosters “equitable, hierarchical, (i.e. flattened) and horizontal relationships that transcend race, class, and gender divisions and hierarchies” (Ryan 2014, p. 364) of followers (employees) promoted in traditional organizational structures associated with exclusive, charismatic and power-seeking leaders (Sugiyama et al. 2016). To create horizontal and mutually beneficial relationships, leaders must develop informal networks with individuals by making themselves visible, accessible and available. With regard to inclusive leaders in educational organizations, Ryan (2014, p. 367) suggests leaders “have to present themselves in ways that will prompt others to want to engage in dialogue with them and to get others to trust, respect, appreciate, and like them.” These features imply an inclusive approach to leadership that is not only dynamic and bridge-building across different levels of organization (i.e. heterarchichal and unranked instead of hierarchical and ranked) but is explicitly normative in terms of encouraging leaders to reflect on, and take positions related to, their underlying ethics and virtues (Wuffli 2016). Nembhard and Edmondson (2006) argue that such a normative approach helps a wide variety of organizations overcome the inhibiting effects of status differences and improve cohesiveness and effectiveness of their teams and divisions. Taken together, I define inclusive leadership as follows:

A normative follower-centric approach to organizational leadership which places the main emphasis on the heterarchichal (i.e. unranked) relationships between leaders and their followers and availability and accessibility of leaders in order to enable followers to satisfy their needs to belongingness and uniqueness.

Informed by this definition, I argue that inclusiveness is a continuum. At one end, inclusive leaders who are follower-centric, available, accessible and capable of promoting heterarchies where followers can more easily satisfy their needs for belongingness and uniqueness are placed (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006; Wuffli 2016) and, at the other end, we have exclusive leaders who are power-seeking and self-centered (Ryan 2014). These leaders promote hierarchies, distance themselves from employees (i.e. become inaccessible) and cause employees to feel marginalized, isolated and fail to satisfy their needs for belongings and uniqueness (Fig. 9.1).

Equipped with this understanding, we can conceptualize an inclusive model of strategic leadership. The first step in this direction is to explore the extent to which the existing view of strategic leadership has incorporated the notion of a leader’s inclusiveness into its underlying logic.

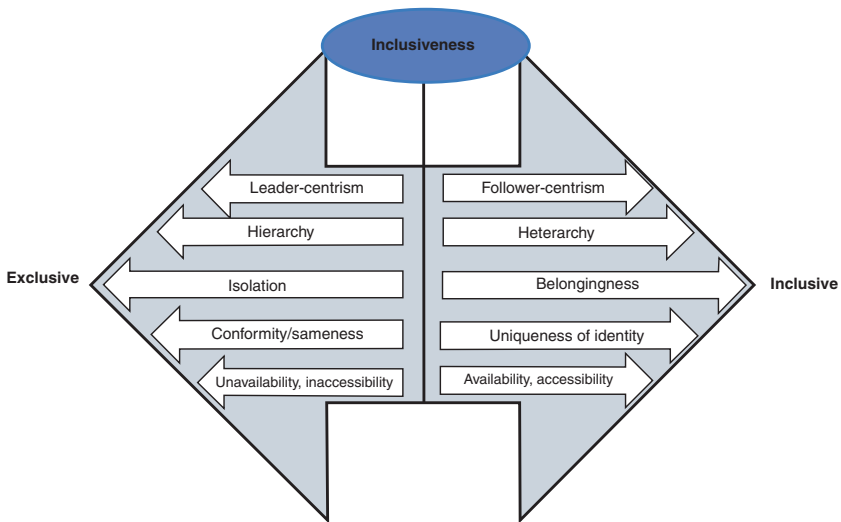


Fig. 9.1 Continuum of inclusive leadership

## Strategic Leadership: Exclusive or Inclusive

### From Strategy to Leadership

According to Nag et al. (2007, p. 942), strategy “deals with the major intended and emergent initiatives taken by general managers on behalf of owners, involving utilization of resources, to enhance the performance of firms in their external environments.” This definition implies strategy is the responsibility of top managers in the organization (Hambrick and Fredrickson 2001). More precisely, strategy “rests on the assumption that the thoughts, feelings, and social relations of general managers influence the activities and performance of firms” (Powell 2011, p. 1485). Not every general manager is a strategic leader. A common distinction between managers and leaders is that “managers are people who do things right, while leaders are people who do the right thing” (Wuffli 2016, p. 3). Based on this thinking, leaders sit at the top of an organization and know what the “right things” are, whereas the managers below need not worry and challenge these things but rather should just focus on “doing them right.” This is an example of heroic leadership, which should be critiqued because of its hierarchical and exclusive propensities. Strategy literature takes a very similar position and defines the boundaries of strategic leadership as “focussing on the people who have overall responsibility for an organization – the characteristics of those people, what they do, and how they do it.” (Hambrick 1989, p. 6).

Given this background, it is useful to think of strategic leadership as a scientific field of inquiry which fuses the theory and practice of leadership with the theory and practice of strategy to create a coherent body of knowledge about how organizations can be led strategically.

### Strategic Leadership: A Paradigmatic View

At the outset, the field of strategic leadership advances our understanding of leadership in the strategic context (Hambrick 2007; Simsek et al. 2015). Because a theory is a set of statements which advance our under-

standing of a phenomenon (Christensen and Carlile 2009, p. 240), strategic leadership, in its broadest sense, can be portrayed as a grand theory (Hambrick 2007; Hambrick and Mason 1984).

Although logically correct, visualizing strategic leadership as a theory is incomplete and misleading because strategic leadership has a more important function than just advancing our understanding of leaders in the strategic context. It explains who strategic leaders are and what they do. Strategic leadership, in this respect, shapes our view of leadership and informs our understanding of how and when leaders can make strategic difference. In the language of Kuhn (1962, p. 175), it can be viewed as a paradigm. A paradigm is a cognitive framework composed of “an entire constellation of beliefs, values, and techniques and so on, shared by a given [scientific] community.” Paradigms perform two fundamental functions. First, they are informative like theories. Second, they are generative because they “create.....models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research.” (Kuhn 1962, p. 10). Now, let us have a look at the field of strategic leadership through a paradigmatic lens and see if it has informed our understanding of inclusive strategic leaders.

## **Origins and Evolution of Strategic Leadership as an Exclusive Paradigm**

The field of strategic leadership was developed by Hambrick and Mason (1984) based on the works of Cyert and March (1963) and Cyert et al. (1959). The main motivation behind this attempt was the absence of a clear role for leaders in the strategy literature. In fact, prior to the work of Hambrick and Mason (1984) strategy was determined by the environment based on imperfect assumptions of neo-classical economics in which leaders had minimal role to affect their organizations and their strategies (Cyert and Williams 1993). Following changes in the theory of the firm (Cyert and March 1963) and revisiting the nature of strategy as a managerial job (Child 1972), Hambrick and Mason (1984) proposed the model of strategic leadership suggesting that an organization's behavior (i.e. being and becoming) is the reflection of the behavior of its leaders.

Strategic leadership makes three fundamental propositions: (1) strategic leaders have the power and authority to shape and affect the strategic posture of their organizations; (2) leaders' demographics including age, personality, gender, education level, nationality, experience and cognitive skills determine how they perceive their business environment, attend to strategic issues and make choices which affect the being and becoming of their organizations; and (3) leaders work in teams. Hence, team-based behaviors, interactions and team composition (i.e. diversity) affect leaders' decision-making processes and their organizations' behaviors (Hambrick 2007; Hambrick and Mason 1984). Strategic leadership satisfies the criteria of a paradigm as identified by Kuhn (1962). It shapes our view and perception of the role of top managers and generates fruitful research streams along at least three directions:

1. Types of diversity in top teams and their organizational performance. This includes gender diversity (Baixauli-Soler et al. 2015; Perryman et al. 2016); nationality diversity (Nielsen and Nielsen 2012; Ruigrok et al. 2007); and education, age, as well as functional and general experience (Knight et al. 1999; S. Nielsen 2010; Talke et al. 2010).
2. Psychology, cognition, personality and makeup of executives in top teams. This includes diverse factors such as hubris (Tang et al. 2015), ideology (Briscoe et al. 2014) and personality types (Peterson et al. 2003).
3. Drivers as well as consequences of various team mechanisms inside top management teams such as team behavioral integration (Lubatkin et al. 2006), cohesion and conflict management (Mello and Delise 2015), advice seeking mechanisms (Alexiev et al. 2010), and relational decision-making (Goll and Rasheed 2005).

In the next section, I outline the boundaries of an inclusive paradigm for strategic leadership. My primary motivation is to make visible how the strategic leadership paradigm (SLP) fails to provide an explicit account of how strategic leaders, alone and in teams, make themselves available and accessible to employees, nurture inclusive heterarchical relationships with employees, and cultivate an organizational atmosphere conducive to helping employees satisfy their needs for belongingness and uniqueness.

## Moving Toward an Inclusive Paradigm for Strategic Leadership

As noted, strategic leadership informs our understanding of leadership in the strategic context and offers a unique window to study being and becoming of organizations from the perspective of their leaders. However, this traditional view is not inclusive. To address this deficiency, we need to change the way diversity is incorporated into the theoretical body of strategic leadership.

An inclusive view to the strategic leadership differs from the traditional view in its underlying assumptions about: (1) the general view of strategic leadership, (2) focus on inter- and intra-team differences, (3) unit of study, (4) view of diversity, (5) implications of diversity, (6) management of diversity and (7) scope of diversity. Table 9.1 compares these assumptions in the traditional and an inclusive view of strategic leadership.

In this way, inclusive strategic leadership replaces the notion of diversity with inclusiveness, aspires to predict how inclusive leaders differ from exclusive ones and redefines the domain of traditional strategic leadership by showing that strategic leadership is, in fact, about leaders' inclusiveness and creating inclusive organizations where all employees feel included in key strategic actions and decisions. Figure 9.2 offers a schematic illustration of the change in the domain of strategic leadership from the traditional to the inclusive one.

As noted, the most fundamental change is pertinent to the general approach to leadership. In the traditional view of strategic leadership, executives and top management team are the central focus of attention. Their power, political skills, demographic attributes and key characteristics define how organizations behave. Thus, followers or employees are marginalized and ignored. An inclusive approach to strategic leadership changes this assumption. It suggests that strategic leaders matter if they adopt a follower-centric approach to their leadership. After all, there is no leader without a follower and any follower needs a leader. Therefore, a follower-centric approach to strategic leadership not only enables employers as followers to become more involved in organizational actions but also helps leaders tap into a wider set of skills and knowledge when making and implementing strategic choices.

**Table 9.1** An inclusive versus an exclusive strategic leadership

Underlying assumptions	Strategic leadership paradigm	Inclusive strategic leadership paradigm
1. General view	Strategic leadership is leader-centric	Strategic leadership should become follower-centric
2. Approach to intra-team and organizational differences	Diversity	Inclusion
3. Unit of study	Team diversity	Team inclusiveness
4. Assumptions about diversity	Team diversity can be a liability or an asset	Diversity is an asset and inclusiveness is required to nurture it
5. Implications of diversity	Diversity can create conflict and other negative outcomes if not properly managed	Negative outcomes of diversity can be mitigated via positive relationships that reinforce uniqueness and belongingness and value differences
6. Explaining how diversity can be managed	Not clear rather silent aspect of the paradigm	An inclusive approach is the best way to manage diversity and convert it into a positive force
7. Scope of diversity	Only executive level: top management teams, boards of directors	The entire organization: top management teams, boards of directors and the entire organization

In addition, an inclusive approach to strategic leadership shifts the focus from diversity to inclusion in top management and other organization teams across levels and departments. An inclusive approach to managing inter- and intra-team differences has proved very efficient in enhancing team management and improving various team processes (Hirak et al. 2012; Mitchell et al. 2015; Nembhard and Edmondson 2006), suggesting that teams' inclusiveness rather than diversity could be a better unit of study. Furthermore, inclusive teams are diverse but view their diversity as an asset rather than a liability (Mitchell et al. 2015). Benefits emerging from belongingness and uniqueness such as psychological safety, engagement in quality improvement processes and learning (Hirak et al. 2012) make inclusive teams more effective than team which are simply diverse but with an exclusive mentality.



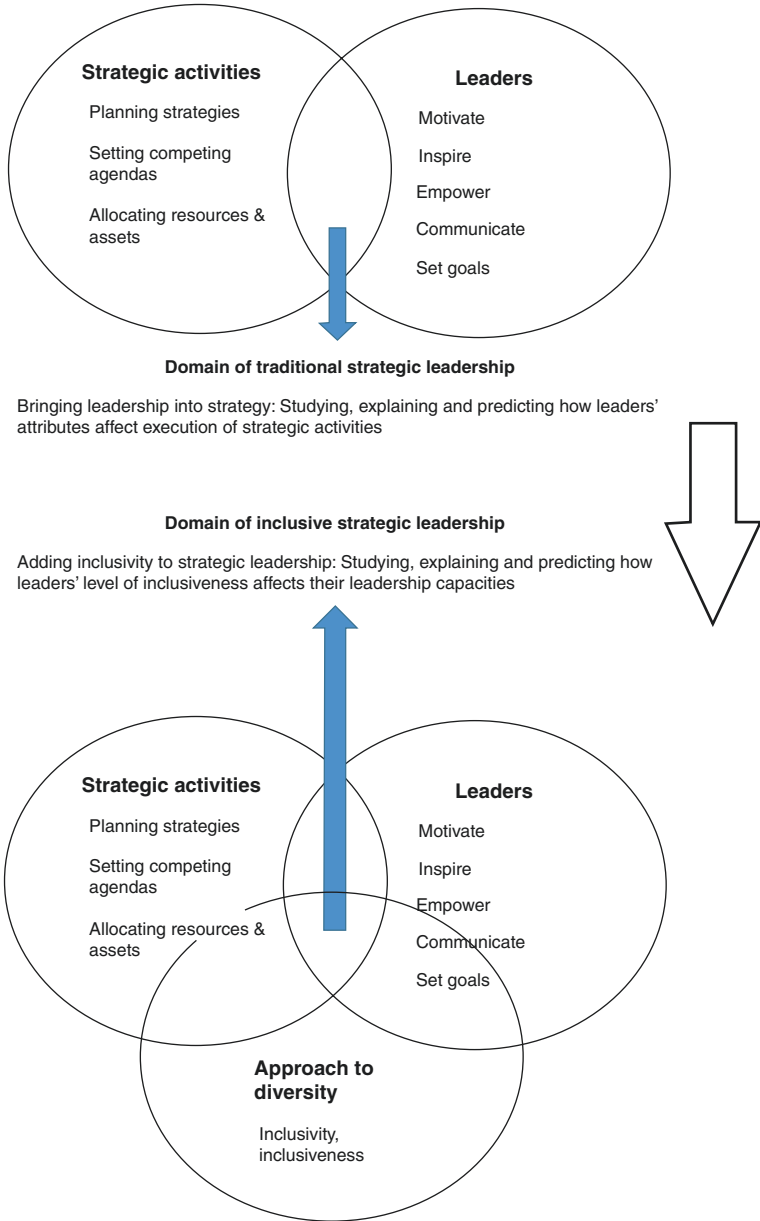


Fig. 9.2 Domain of an inclusive strategic leadership

Finally, an exclusive approach to diversity where diversity is a complex liability leads to increased tension, conflict and other negative outcomes if not properly managed (Mitchell et al. 2015). However, an inclusive view of strategic leadership implies that negative outcomes of diversity can be mitigated via positive relationships which reinforce uniqueness and belongingness and value differences among members (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006). This creates a two-way operation of leadership and followership across all teams at different levels which generates respect, recognition, responsiveness and responsibility (Hollander 2012). Such an atmosphere promotes fairness of input and output to all and nurtures both competition and cooperation in an organization (Hollander 2012). It broadens the scope of diversity from top management teams to the entire organization covering top teams, boards of directors and all other teams across divisions, departments and the entire organization.

Taken together, if we consider early views of leadership in strategy as industry-centric focusing on the similarity of leaders followed by the emergence of strategy leadership as a leader-centric approach where attributes of leaders started to surface, then an inclusive approach to strategic leadership can be regarded as the third phase in the evolution of the SLP in which leadership is inclusive and follower-centric. Figure 9.3 illustrates these phases.

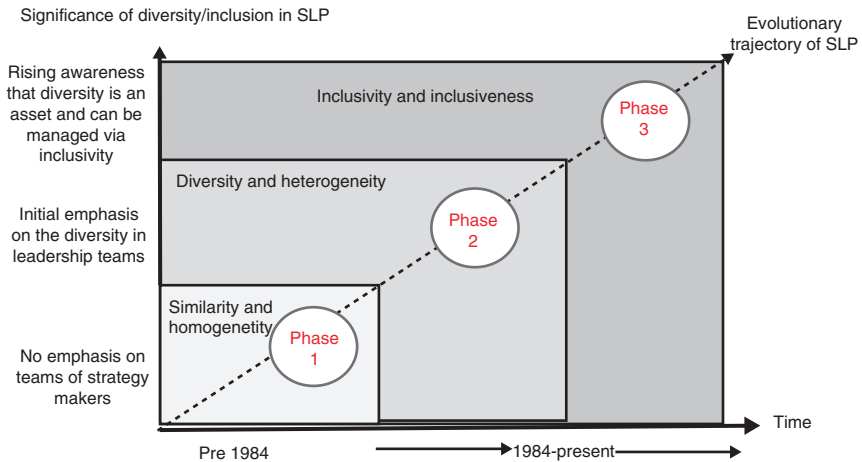


Fig. 9.3 The evolution of strategic leadership

Having defined the importance of an inclusive approach to strategic leadership and its position in the evolution of SLP, I narrow the focus of discussion on gender inclusiveness as one of the most active fronts of research on diversity in the SLP.

## **Advancing an Inclusive View of SLP: The Importance of Gender Inclusivity**

As noted, inclusivity is about managing people in such a way that differences among individuals become sources of untapped skills, knowledge and expertise, and traditionally marginalized individuals find a way to more easily and quickly satisfy their needs for belongingness and uniqueness. Employees' gender is the most important source of difference among individuals and has been a topic of ongoing debate in the literature on organizational diversity (Bernardi et al. 2002; Campbell and Mínguez-Vera 2008; Cumming et al. 2016; Dwyer et al. 2003; Rogelberg and Rumery 1996; Sila et al. 2016). Despite the magnitude of research on the gender diversity in the mainstream research on organizational demographics, strategic leadership has only recently begun to explicitly address the issue of gender diversity at strategy levels. Yet research in this domain seems to be more active than in other aspects of diversity such as nationality and ethnicity (Nielsen and Nielsen 2013). Inspired by this trend, gender diversity can be regarded as an empirical front end for advancing theory and research in inclusive strategic leadership.

The research on the relationship between gender and leadership has been recently boosted by the realization that worldwide women are underrepresented in leadership roles and strategic leadership has been traditionally about men and their masculine features yet there is no conclusive evidence suggesting that women can't lead as effectively and efficiently as men. In fact, Rosener (1990, p. 119) argues that, "women managers are succeeding today, but they are not adopting the command-and-control style of leadership traditionally practiced by men. Instead, they are drawing on the skills and attitudes they have developed from their experience as women." A recent meta-analysis of research on women leadership by Hoobler et al. (2016) suggests that

commonly used methods of testing the business case for women leaders may limit our ability as scholars to understand the value that women bring to leadership positions

This observation aligns with the key point of this research that the traditional view of gender diversity in strategic leadership in which inclusivity is ignored may be misleading and offers an incomplete picture of the facets of gender diversity in strategy literature. An overview of recent research on gender diversity in strategic leadership (Table 9.2) further substantiates this observation.

The summary of this literature points to two key themes. First, even though the number of women in middle management has grown rapidly in the last two decades, the number of female CEOs in large corporations remains extremely low (Quintana-García and Benavides-Velasco 2016). According to Oakley (2000), this disproportionate diversity has been caused by (1) lack of line experience, (2) inadequate career opportunities, (3) gender differences in linguistic styles and socialization, (4) gender-based stereotypes, the old boy network at the top, and tokenism, (5) differences between female leadership styles and the type of masculine leadership style expected at the top of organizations and (6) the possibility that the most talented women in business often avoid corporate life in favor of entrepreneurial careers.

Thus, even though various studies point to positive impacts of having more women on TMTs on firms' performance, creativity and even security and public perception, business organizations cannot hold on to their best and brightest women and still fail to fully capitalize on the benefits of having women in strategic leadership positions. Secondly, the strategic leadership literature still lacks a general understanding of the benefits of gender inclusivity and fails to offer a clear explanation for how gender inclusivity can be achieved.

Adopting a gender inclusive view of strategic leadership seems beneficial and timely. There is still a long way ahead to achieve a satisfactory level of understanding on how large and small companies can maximize their gains from a gender-inclusive approach to their leadership. It is obvious many obstacles still exist before true gender equity is achieved and inclusivity is a potential way toward this end. There is a chasm

**Table 9.2** Summary of recent research on gender diversity in the domain of strategic leadership

Authors	Focus of the study	Key findings
Cumming et al. (2016)	Implication of gender diversity in top teams for securities frauds	Women on boards mitigate securities fraud. In addition, market response to fraud from a more gender-diverse board is significantly less pronounced. Women are more effective in mitigating both the presence and severity of fraud in male-dominated industries
Perryman et al. (2016)	Gender diversity in top teams, firm performance, risk and executive compensation	Firms with greater gender diversity at executive level show lower risk and deliver better performance
Ruiz-Jiménez et al. (2016)	The effects of gender diversity of TMTs on innovative performance	Gender diversity positively moderates the relationship between knowledge combination capability and innovation performance
Quintana-García and Benavides-Velasco (2016)	The influence of gender diversity in top management teams (TMTs) on the success of the IPO of technology firms	There is a negative and significant relationship between gender diversity in TMT and IPO success in the specific context of the biotechnology industry
Parola et al. (2015)	The performance effects of top management team (TMT) gender diversity in the merger and acquisition (M&A) process.	TMT gender diversity is beneficial to pre-integration performance, but hinders post-integration performance
Baixauli-Soler et al. (2015)	The effect of TMT gender diversity on the relationship between executive stock options (ESOs) and risk taking	There is an inverted U-shaped relationship between the wealth created by ESOs for members of the TMT and risk taking, and that those TMTs in which there is female representation exhibit more conservative behavior compared to that of non-gender diverse TMTs

*(continued)*

Table 9.2 (continued)

Authors	Focus of the study	Key findings
Francoeur et al. (2008)	Gender diversity in corporate governance and top management	Firms in complex environments generate positive returns when they have a high proportion of women officers. Firms with a high proportion of women in both their management and governance systems generate enough value to keep up with normal stock-market returns
Welbourne et al. (2007)	Wall Street reaction to women in IPOs	IPO gain more with more women in their top teams due to better innovation and problem-solving processes in more diverse top management teams and the possibility that, on average, the women in these teams are higher performers than are the men on the same teams
Dwyer et al. (2003)	Gender diversity in management, growth orientation and organizational culture.	Gender diversity's effects at the management level are conditional on the firm's strategic orientation, the organizational culture in which it resides, and the multivariate interaction among these variable
Ragins et al. (1998)	Gender gap in the executive suite: CEOs and female executives report on breaking the glass ceiling	Organizations struggle to hold on to their best and brightest women due to the presence of glass ceiling

between gender diversity and gender inclusiveness. Bridging this chasm requires firms to adopt an inclusive approach to their strategic leadership. Such an approach could: (1) help the employees from different genders with managerial and leadership potentials in a follower-centric culture to realize their full potential, (2) reduce hierarchical obstacles faced by women who have the potential to rise to top managerial positions, (3) create an environment where women can satisfy their needs for belonging and uniqueness and (4) make leaders more accessible and available to

employees who may feel isolated, marginalized and excluded. Hence, helping them share their skills, knowledge, opinions and expertise in a more open, mutually beneficial fashion and respectful manner.

## **Proposing a Research Agenda for Inclusiveness (Gender) in Strategic Leadership**

As noted, an inclusive approach to strategic leadership represents a new paradigmatic phase. Hence, it is expected to generate multiple research streams. In this section, I propose few of these streams to stimulate systematic research in this domain.

First, as field of inquiry inclusivity in strategic leadership is in its formative phase. According to Edmondson and Mcmanus (2007), when a scientific field is in its formative stage, an open-ended inquiry about a phenomenon of interest using qualitative data that need to be interpreted for meaning from an exploratory view provides the best methodological fit. In keeping with this, research on inclusivity in strategic literature benefits immensely from qualitative exploratory case studies (Eisenhardt 1989; Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007) which are designed and conducted to generate context-specific and empirically rich insights into multiple facets of inclusivity by answering important yet unanswered questions such as (1) How do inclusive leaders nurture a follower-centric approach to leadership? (2) How do leaders generate cultures conducive to belongingness and uniqueness? (3) How do inclusive leaders make themselves available and accessible to employees and (4) How inclusive leaders remove positional and hierarchical barriers faced by traditionally marginalized employees such as women and ethnic minorities?

Another fruitful direction for research on an inclusive approach to strategic leadership pertains to the extensions which can be done to the existing strategic leadership literature. As noted, leaders' level of inclusiveness has been found to be a powerful predictor of various team level factors such as team's effectiveness, improvement efforts, members' psychological safety (Nembhard and Edmondson 2006), team's perception of identity and perceived status (Mitchell et al. 2015), as well as learning

from failures (Hirak et al. 2012). Building on these findings, researchers interested in an inclusive approach to strategic leadership can examine how CEO's level of inclusiveness affect various team's mechanisms such as behavioral integration (Evans and Butler 2011), decision-making processes (Olie et al. 2012), conflict management (Olson et al. 2007) and advise seeking behavior (Alexiev et al. 2010). Furthermore, future research can examine how diversity in the inclusiveness of members of top management teams affects their teams and organizations. The scale proposed by Nembhard and Edmondson (2006) to measure leader's inclusiveness helps researchers design generalizable large scale studied in these directions. In the same vein, CEOs' inclusiveness can be studied in the context of gender diversity to assess and investigate how gender inclusive teams differ from other teams and what implications gender inclusivity not simple diversity has on leadership teams and firms.

Finally, it is to be noted that directions proposed here are only suggestive and by no means exhaustive. In fact, as Rayner (2009) argues, an inclusive approach to traditionally exclusive subjects such as strategic leadership is by nature emancipatory which enables researchers to use multiple methods, approaches and techniques in the design and conduct of their research. I encourage researchers to adopt an open mind and use creative imaginations and various methods from different angles to enrich the body of knowledge on inclusivity in strategic leadership in general and gender inclusiveness in strategic leadership in particular.

## Implications

It is well understood that "understanding of effective leadership is itself in flux" (Sugiyama et al. 2016, p. 254). In line with this realization, the discussion presented in this chapter has an important implication for theoretical research on the SLP. The traditional view of strategic leadership is an incomplete theoretical field because despite the centrality of diversity in its underlying theoretical logic, it overlooks the importance of inclusiveness as a fundamental approach to promote and manage diversity in both top management teams and the entire organization. This echoes the point raised by Deloitte's (2012) which suggests that global



trends “point to inclusion as the new paradigm, and the inclusive leader as someone who seeks out diverse perspectives to ensure that insights are profound and decisions robust” (p. 1). By emphasizing inclusivity as a fundamental facet of strategic leadership, this chapter advances the understanding of strategic leadership by revisiting the traditional and exclusive view of strategic leadership. An inclusive SLP can address more questions and illuminate more sides of how, why and when strategic leaders matter in building and nurturing competitive organizations by capitalizing on the power of everyone, regardless of their backgrounds (Rosener 1990).

## Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I endeavored to develop an extended view of strategic leadership which brings inclusivity in general and gender equality in particular, to the forefront of strategy research. I argued that the traditional model of strategic leadership represents a paradigm that overlooks the significance of inclusivity and inclusiveness. Hence, some adjustments to this paradigm seem timely and required to fill this void. The outcome of this approach was a revisited paradigm for strategic leadership that directs scholarly understanding, actions and research toward a more inclusive direction in which executives consciously embrace and capitalize on the power of inclusivity both inside their teams and their organizations. This chapter is not a definitive agenda neither should it be considered a comprehensive guideline for studying inclusive strategic leadership. I believe, though, it makes an early contribution to this line of research by being among the first studies which explicitly point to the need for a more advanced view of how and why strategic leaders matter in building inclusive organizations and societies. I hope that I have set the stage for an ambitious research agenda for reframing the role of inclusivity thinking in the SLP. Hence, I would encourage future researchers and practitioners to critique and expand arguments offered in this chapter in order to unlock the mysteries of an increasingly important, but complex, set of relationships between leaders, the composition of top teams and makeup of organizations.

## Notes

1. Business leaders are loosely defined here as top managers, executives or strategic leaders who are in charge of the business

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## Appendix 3.1: Interview Question Set

1. Can you briefly tell us about your military career and your present career aspirations?
2. Can you describe the promotion process pertinent to your career advancement?
3. Who do you believe to be important influencers (formally/informally) in helping you progress/determine your career?
4. How do you believe that your role and rank are perceived by others within the military?
5. Do you believe that you will be promoted under the existing career policies? If not, why not?
6. Who, in your opinion, does the career advancement process favour and for what reasons?
7. What do you believe are the key attributes and experiences that the MoD values in the career advancement system?
8. How do you think the key attributes and experiences of female officers align to those valued by the MoD?
9. What do you consider that the MoD could do to improve the promotional rate for female officers?



10. How do you enhance your promotional prospects?
11. Is there anything else not yet mentioned that you consider important for understanding the challenges faced by women who seek promotion within the military?

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